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THE
Ecclesiastical Histories

K
OF
EUSEBIUS, } } SOZOMEN, and
SOCRATES, } } THEODORIT.

Faithfully TRANSLATED and

ABRIDG'D from the ORIGINALS.

TOGETHER WITH

A brief ACCOUNT of the LIVES of these HISTORIANS, and several
Useful NOTES and ILLUSTRATIONS, and a copious INDEX.

By Mr. PARKER.

The THIRD EDITION, carefully Review'd by the AUTHOR,
and very much Corrected, Improv'd, and Enlarg'd.

To which is now added, by a FRIEND,

An ABRIDGMENT of the History of EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS.

The Whole chiefly design'd for the Use of YOUNG STUDENTS in DIVINITY,
and FAMILIES Religiously disposed.



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M. DCC. XXIX.





P R E F A C E

T O T H I S

N E W E D I T I O N .



ANY Years are now past since this Abridgment first appear'd in the World. Upon a strict Re-examination, I find, that, between myself and the Printer, a great Number of Mistakes were then made : And these are now, I hope, in a good measure, set right. In a Work of this Nature there is no little Difficulty to sail in Compass between Scylla and Charybdis ; to avoid an Extream of Conciseness on the one Hand, or Redundancy on the other. So that if there are any Miscarriages of that Kind, all that I can say is, that the Reader's Candor is humbly bespoken. I have not been wanting in my best Endeavours ; and particularly have taken what Care I could in Complicating and Adjusting the three Histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodorit.

This naturally leads me to observe, as I did heretofore, how much more useful an Abridgment of our Historians must be than any entire Translation ; especially for the Instruction of the less Learned, and of those that have little Leisure

on account of other necessary Concerns of Life. In the Connexion of the three Historians now mention'd, this is very obvious and evident; and it is yet more so in the Abridgment of Evagrius.

Concerning which Author, the judicious Abridgment which my Learned Friend has made, with such Accuracy of Method, and Strength of Stile, convinces me, that both Valesius and myself were much mistaken, in what I have formerly objected to a useful Epitome of him. Further, we know that Repetition is surfeiting; and that the Consequence must be Loss of Time, and an unnecessary Avocation from other Affairs. And as we find a Disagreement sometimes in the Circumstantial Part of our Historians, where they have wrote concerning the same Times and Facts; so when those little Differences have been either reconciled or set aside, as I have taken pains that they should be, the Historian's Credit is the better Supported, and the Reader's Taste is the better Pleased.

What I desire may be next observed and duly weighed, is this, that a Compendious Account of what passed in the Primitive Church, whether as to Matters of Faith, Controversies, Discipline, Rites or Usages, Elections and Successions of Bishops, their several Pretensions, and the like, is a Supplement or Addition absolutely necessary to all Practical Books, and Books of Devotion; such as Dr. Scott's Christian Life, The whole Duty of Man, with the other Books by the same Hand (if indeed they came from the same, which the great Diversity of Stile would make one doubt); again, Mr. Kettlewell's Measures of Obedience, Bishop Kenn's Writings in general, particularly his admirable Manual of Devotion for the Use of Winchester-School;
Mr.

Mr. Nelson's Companion for the Feasts and Fasts; with many more that belong to this Class or Catalogue. It is not to be doubted but our Holy Mother the Church has reaped great Benefits by Treatises and Compositions of this Nature, in the Practical and Devotional Part; but what seemed to be wanting, particularly in the Whole Duty of Man, was an Introductory Part, which should have given us a just, and consequently a surprizing Scene or Representation of the State and Oeconomy of the Church in its Infancy; when there were no Disputes about a Rule of Faith or Morals, that could at all bear any Proportion to those which are now, and have been many Ages in the World; and when the severest Hardships of Suffering for a good Cause were with as earnest and impatient a Sollicitude and Application courted and sought after, as Preferments have been in the later Centuries, even in the whole Christian Church. In the common Experience of Mankind, Example and Practice gain Ground, and have the Advantage of right Rule and Reasoning. It has been often objected to the earlier Professors of the Christian Faith, how many Dissensions and Ruptures there have been among them; but this I believe may be said in Favour of many of their Dividers, that they acted upon Some common Principles, in which all the Parties were, or at least pretended to be, settled and agreed. I only mention this as it is of Service to shew, that an impartial View of Transactions in the Primitive Church may be very useful and instructive, by way of Application, to those many excellent Books, both Devotional and Moral, which the good Providence of God has bestowed upon us. It seems reasonable to think, that nothing would have tended more effectually to prevent or stop the Misunderstandings in the Church, whether of old, or later, than an historical Plan or Idea of its native original Constitution, as I may
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call it in Miniature, for the Use especially of Families and private Persons. And this I shall make appear in a stronger Light, before I conclude this Preface. For

Having thus far, in general, considered the great Usefulness and Importance of such a Delineation as is now mentioned, of the earliest Ages of the Christian Church, I shall, in the next Place, enter into a cursory View of some remarkable Parts of it, after only giving the Reader one Caution; which is, that I would not advise him entirely to depend on the Chronology of our Historians. Mistakes, I am afraid, will occur of that Kind; and a tolerable Apology or Excuse may be made for them. Exactness of Time was not that which they so much aimed at, as Exactness of Principles and Morals. The Information they proposed chiefly to give us, was not how Long, but how Well or Ill Men lived. And yet I believe the greater Part of their Errors in this Particular, as we meet with them in our modern Copies, are not really theirs, but may justly be accounted for from the Ignorance or Inadvertency of their original Transcribers.

I come now to speak to the Particulars I proposed above to take notice of: And first, as to the Point of Martyrdom. There is nothing which can affect a serious Man more in all the Faculties of his Soul, than the sharp Conflicts and heavy Sufferings of the primitive Martyrs and Confessors. This is a Noble, or rather I should call it a Divine Part of antient Church-History; which kindles his Zeal, corroborates his Faith, warms his Devotion, damps his Appetites; in short, naturally weans him from this wretched World, and, as it were, compells him to turn his Thoughts and his Eyes towards the everlastingly glorious Residence of those victorious Champions. When we see, as it were before us in a Circus

or Theater, Ignatius between the Jaws of wild Beasts, and the aged Polycarp wrapt in a Shroud of Flames; when we see Potamiana and Marcella in a Furnace of boiling Pitch; Maturus and Sanctus scourged, torn by wild Beasts, broiled on a Gridiron, and lastly the Kindness of their Throats cut; Metra, in his old Age, stoned to Death, after the Persecutors had outrageously beat his Body with Clubs, and run Spikes into his Eyes and Face; Porphyry with his Ribs bare of Flesh, his Bowels in his Hands, and sucking in the Flames prepared to consume him; Adrian and Eubulus with the Pincers at their Sides, the wild Beasts tearing them, and the Headsman releasing them; Peter, though a Retainer to the Court, yet so great and sincere a Professor of Christianity, that neither Flaying nor Scourging, nor Salt and Vinegar in his Wounds; no, nor even Broiling gradually on a Gridiron, had Force and Strength enough to warp him from his Faith in and his Duty to his God. What just Conception can you have of the Sufferings of the Blessed Blandina? What think you of Quinta, Apollonia, Ischyron, Apphian, Theodosia, Valentina, Ulpian? of that invincible Triumvirate, Heron, Ater, and Isidore, burnt after their Bodies had been miserably bruised and battered with Clubs? of Epimachus and Alexander, who, after enduring other very dreadful Tortures, were consumed in the suffocating Torture of Quick Lime?

I need not add any more; and indeed the Time would fail me to tell of all those Illustrious Christian Worthies, who through Faith converted Kingdoms; wrought Righteousness; attained the Evangelical Promises; stopped the Mouths of Persecutors and Gainsayers; overcame the Violence of Fire, and the Edge of the Sword; out of Weakness were made Strong; waxed Valiant in the Field and
Fight

Fight of Faith; turned to flight all the Legions of Men and Devils; and were tortured, not accepting Deliverance, that they might obtain a better Resurrection. To pursue this with a seasonable Practical Application: There are, God knows, many among us that should blush and tremble at the very mentioning the Names of these Great and Blessed Saints; of whom the World was not worthy; but those I mean, are not worthy of the World. Let the unhappy Men who strain and rack their Inventions, to start and make out Hypotheses for justifying the greatest Crimes and Immoralities, and for introducing the rankest Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them; nay, not only to justify, but even sanctify them too; let those Men, I say, who daily dash the Decalogue in Pieces, crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and do Despise unto the Spirit of Grace, take these holy Servants of God for an Example of suffering Affliction, and of Patience, before it be yet too late; too late.

*In the next Place, we come to discourse upon the Miracles in the Primitive Church; as to which Men do not a little vary: And indeed it is a Subject which requires great Attention on the Part of the Reader, and the greatest Impartiality of Judgment on the Part of a Writer. To make it probable that all those wonderful Works which are recorded in our Historians were Facts, is, I dare say, beyond the Reach of the most plausible Arguments. The Scene of many of them lay entirely out of the Eye of the World; in Cells and Solitudes; where, as far as appears, there was scarce a Creature that was not irrational besides themselves. Why these Things should be done in a Corner, is not easily to be accounted for. The utmost Attestation that could be given, was that of one Ascetick in Favour of another; and
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this will admit of many Exceptions, all Things considered, even tho' we should suppose them all very ingenuous and veracious Men. Those excessive Austerities of Life, attended with that continual State of Recess and Obscurity which they generally imposed upon themselves, might give a strong Turn and Bias to their Imaginations. This has been the Case of some great and good Men, who have lived many Centuries after those ancient Recluses. But at the same Time, when we have thus far enter'd into the Merits of the Cause, we have sufficient Reason to believe, that these worthy Persons, who with a pious Intention had sequester'd themselves from the World, were, under the special Direction of Divine Providence, made Instruments of Counteracting the Projects and Designs of Hereticks, particularly those execrable Wretches, commonly known by the Name of Arians. A memorable Instance to this purpose the Reader has in the Macarii, Soz. l. 6. c. 20. not to mention more. I confess afterwards, in several Cases, these Anchorets did more harm than good, on the breaking out of other Disputes. And there we hear of very few Miracles in Church-History, that will bear any tolerable Report. But these will by no means afford any fair Objection against any miraculous Testimonies, by the Hands of Men of an indisputable Character in all Respects, as particularly the Macarii were. However, not to dwell any longer on this; I take the best Rule of Judging of the miraculous Narrations in our Historians, to consist in these two Enquiries. First, Whether the Facts were sufficiently Publick; and, secondly, Whether the Occasions on which these Miracles are said to have been wrought, were of such Importance, as should induce us to believe that the Facts were true. Upon this Foundation, some of the Miracles of our Historians are certainly very credible. Among
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others, perhaps, are those which we meet with in Socr. L. 2. at the Sepulchres of Martyrius and Marcianus, and that most Publick Appearance of a Cross in the Heavens, first before Constantine the Great, and afterwards before Gallus; of which more may be seen in the Abridgment. But nothing is more memorable, than the Disappointment which befel the weak Emperor Julian, and his beloved Jews, in their Project of rebuilding Jerusalem. This was plainly a Matter of Fact so publick and notorious, that there can be no manner of Reason to question the Truth of it. For the History itself carries in it a Challenge to all the World to confute it. A great Difference is to be made in Ecclesiastical History, between the Miracles we read of before and after Judaism and Gentilism were upon the Point of expiring; so particularly in the very Instance last mention'd. As in general Miracles, whenever vouchsafed, are wrought for the Conversion of Unbelievers; so, in the Nature of the Thing, the longer they are continued, they are less and less necessary; till, within a reasonable Time, there is no further Occasion for them, or Expectation of them. In those Days commenc'd that Succession of Ages and Generations, in which our Blessed Saviour's Rebuke to his Holy Apostle St. Thomas became applicable; Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed: And the Reason is very plain; because tho' a Faith receiv'd upon the Footing of a clear Tradition and a full Attestation, is absolutely a Reasonable one; yet it has not the same immediate sensible Evidence and Force of Conviction, with that of Miracles wrought under the very Test and Cognizance of our Senses. Which therefore certainly renders our Assent and Acquiescence a higher Act of Faith. But this by the Way. Nor would
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*I be so understood as if I did not think it probable, that God would second the pious Endeavours of truly well-meaning and Orthodox Missionaries, to make Converts of those Barbarians that had never heard any thing of the Gospel before. This I conceive (as did a very Learned Man deceased *) to be probable, but I pronounce nothing positive; because, as I apprehend, if these People would make but a tolerable Use of their Understanding, they might naturally light upon such Principles and Consequences as would be sufficient to satisfy them, that there must be such an Oeconomy and Revelation, in general at least, as that of the Christian Religion, and that consequently it is altogether their Duty and their Interest also, in the very highest Degree, to endeavour to inform themselves where this is to be found or heard of. Upon this Head I conclude with observing, that my Friend the Abridger of Evagrius, has very judiciously left out what appear'd to him a Legendary Part in that Historian.*

Next, it may be worth our while to turn our Contemplation to the Monastick or Recluse Life; concerning which there are two Extrems in Opinion; one, that, notwithstanding all the Restraints and Severities that attend it, yet it is really idle and insignificant; and how much soever it may seem to promote Meditation and Devotion, yet that it renders Men useless to the World, and tends withal to tempt them into Spiritual Pride and Enthusiastick Ravings; that these Places of a strict Retirement are in Truth so many Schools and Nurseries of Ignorance; and that the Discipline and Mortification bears no Proportion to those Publick Duties of Life from which it withdraws and detains those that confine themselves to a Cloister. On the

* My Friend of honour'd Memory the Rev. Dr. Grabe, in Conversation.

other Hand ; some are so warm as to make this Way of Life an Anticipation or Antepast of Heaven itself ; they tell you much of the Temptations and Interruptions in the Course of a Religious Life, which, by this means, they are happily lock'd up from ; and that tho' their Conversation is out of the Hearing of the World, and only among themselves ; and tho' they do not administer to the Interests of Mankind in Secular Services and Employments ; yet their Devotions and Discourses, confin'd to so narrow Bounds and Societies, (like Air in a close Vessel attenuated by a strong Heat) act and operate with a much greater Power and Effect, than if they were to Disband, and pursue Religious Exercises in the Range of the open World ; and that there are enow of Mankind already abroad, to look after the Occasions and Interests both of Political and Private Life ; and that they are far from being unemploy'd, even in this too, if Prayers for Mens Welfare both Eternal and Temporal, and applying great Part of their Time to such Occupations as tend to general Benefit, especially Reading and Writing of profitable Books, may be look'd upon as Talents not laid up in a Napkin. Here then we see what is pleaded on both Sides. But, in my Opinion, it is easy to moderate the Pretensions on either. To chuse such Places of Privacy and Recess for a constant and continual Habitation, is a Resolution very liable to many Objections ; especially if there be any thing of a Religious Vow in the Case. For there's the Danger, that when in this Manner we separate ourselves from the Temptations of a sinful World here, we do not encourage our infernal Enemies to tempt us with the greater Art and Earnestness from another Quarter : Because Sin and Perjury together make the Prize Double, and consequently so much the more encourage the great Deceiver. The Medium then that I
would

would propose, is this, that there should be proper Houses of Retirement, some for the one Sex, and some for the other, married, or unmarried, to which good People should have the Liberty to resort, in convenient Vacations, from their worldly Affairs, for pursuing more closely and quietly their Exercises of Devotion, Meditation, and Religious Converse. For we must always make this remarkable Distinction, between the Primitive Christians and those of later Ages; that the former lived, for the most Part, in a State of Distress and Persecution, in which Circumstances Solitude not only shelter'd, but indeed refresh'd them; whereas that State of Affairs has now (blessed be God) been long over, in most Parts of the Christian World. And so much may suffice upon this Question.

By way of Prevention and Warning, let me, in the next Place, recommend it to the Reader's very serious Consideration, what a strange Perplexity and Confusion of Professions of Faith we meet with in our Historians after the Council of Nice; whose Term or Expression of Consubstantiality when they once deserted, they subdivided into a Hydra of Creeds, and most of them knew not what they would have the Church believe, or what they believ'd themselves. For fear I may have any where mistaken the Meaning of their Distinctions and Subdivisions, I shall only take Notice of Three of these Sectaries, as they are thus ranked by that Learned Ecclesiastical Historian, Natalis Alexander, Sæcul. 4. c. 3. art. 3. §. 5. The whole Chapter should appear, but we will content ourselves with a few Lines. The Acacians asserted, that the Son was neither Consubstantial with the Father, nor yet One of his Creatures; but however, that he was like him, but still not like him in Substance; [that is to say, at the same time that he is

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one of his Creatures]: The Semi-Arians, in Opposition to the Catholick Doctrine of the Consubstantiality, call'd him *δυσολόγος*, not willing to explain themselves to any purpose, because they could not but be conscious, that they were entangled in the same wild Absurdity, as we see the Acacians were. But they were Politicians, and propos'd to stand clear of the Doctrine of express Dissimilitude, asserted by the penetrating Tribe of the Aëtians, Eunomians, and Eudoxians. This is indeed Philosophy fit for a modern Professor of Mathematicks, and a Semi-Classical Doctor of Divinity. There are not a few under our Meridian so very much improv'd in Metaphysical Sublimation, that they have certainly exceeded the Originals they have copied after. They seem to have the Ambition of some of our modern Performers in Painting; that is to say, to steal from the Antients, but yet to be thought to exceed them. And all Men of good Sense and Principles think, that these Copiers have had a very remarkable Success. Constantius, as far as we find, was a good-natur'd Prince; but yet, unhappy Man, he found too late the Consequence of encouraging, or, perhaps, one may rather call it, conniving at Arianism; for there are Reasons to believe he had it not entirely at his Heart. But an Apoplexy put an End to his Life upon his March against Julian, who had been just before proclaim'd Emperor; as the Reader will find in the Second Book of Socrates.

Endless it would be to take Notice of much more of the Conduct and Management in the earlier Ages of the Church; their Celibacy, their eager Exposing and Surrendring of themselves to Martyrdom, &c. This would enlarge a Preface to a Volume; and much relating hereunto may be seen in that excellent Book of Dr. Cave,
his

his Primitive Christianity, and in Variety of other Learned Authors.

If it should be ask'd why Philostorgius and Theodorus the Reader are not admitted into this Edition as well as Evagrius; 'tis answer'd, that as for Theodorus, his History consists only of a few imperfect Fragments or Excerpts; and as we have it now, may be rather call'd a Common-Place Book than a History. The same is the Case of Philostorgius; but there is yet another much more considerable Reason, why what remains of him should have no Notice taken of it in this Collection; and that is, that he was an Arian of the ranker Sort, (if one Sort of them could be worse than another) an Eunomian, an Anomæan, and I know not what.

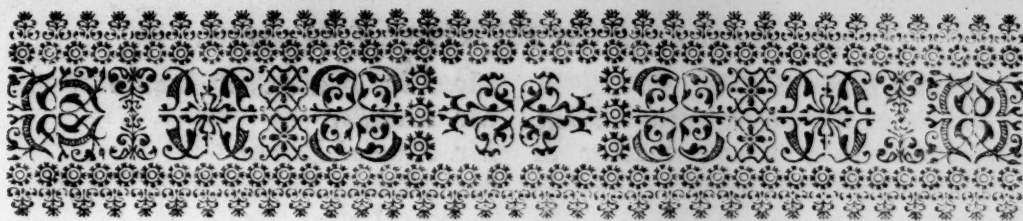
Upon revising this Work, in order to a New Edition of it, I had resolv'd with myself to insert several more Notes than had appear'd before in this Abridgment; and I had begun to do so, particularly out of those some time since publish'd in that Correct and Beautiful, and every way Excellent Edition of these Historians, for which the World is oblig'd to the great Learning, Judgment, and Labour of my Friend the Reverend Mr. William Reading, Librarian of Sion College. But I found it would swell the Book to a much greater Bulk than was design'd; and therefore perceiv'd myself under a Necessity of adjourning that Affair, and leaving it some time or other to be separately perform'd by some better Hand.

I shall shut up this Preface with preventing an Objection that would probably otherwise be made; and it is this, that Part of the Story of Nestorius is told twice, viz.
at

at the End of Socrates and the Beginning of Evagrius. In Answer to which I shall only say this, that they corroborate and illustrate one another in a very nice Piece of History; and that the Case is more distinctly told in Evagrius than in the other; and lastly, that it comes into the World with the Advantage of an accurate and beautiful Translation from the Hand of the Epitomizer, my Learned Friend, whose Judgment and Application has reduc'd into Connexion and Order, what before, in the Original, was very disjointed and confus'd.

I most humbly pray G O D to accept of these and all other my Endeavours to promote the GLORY of his HOLY NAME, the Salvation of Christians, the Conversion of Infidels, and the Re-conversion and Reclaiming of Scepticks and Apostates.





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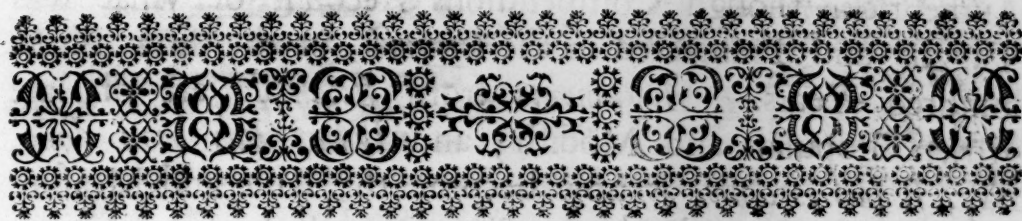
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S I R,



I V E me leave to recommend the following *Narrative* to your *Perusal* and *Patronage*. The *Original* is a Work you are well acquainted with, and justly value for the Account it gives of the first Ages of the Christian Church, and particularly for the undeniable Evidence it presents us with, of the Divine Apostolical Right of Episcopacy, and of its being universally receiv'd; wheresoever Christianity prevail'd. And I am sure, whatever Judgment, either *Equity* shall oblige you, or *Candour* incline you, to pass upon the *Performance*,

C

mance, you will approve my *Intention* in publishing this Authentick, though Compendious Account of what was Taught and Transacted in the *Church* for the first Three hundred Years. *Arguments* from *Example* are of late grown Popular and Modish; and *What has been done*, nay, *What is done*, is now become the Rule and Measure of *What ought to be done*. Since it must be so, 'tis time for all Parties to look back into the Manners and Practices of preceding Ages; and absolutely necessary, that the Ignorant should have the Means in their own Hands of knowing, at least, what was receiv'd and observ'd in the more Primitive Times: Which is indeed a very plain and safe *Direction*, and such a *Model*, as, it were to be wish'd, those People especially, that have insisted so much upon the Argument of *Fact*, would propose to themselves and others.

But upon this Head, Sir, you will meet with something much more to your Satisfaction than I am able to offer, in that admirable *Dissertation*, by the *Great* and *Excellent Author of the Snake in the Grass*, which stands as an Introduction to my Abridgment.

Upon the Perusal of which Discourse, you will find how very seasonably an Essay of this Nature may be presum'd to come abroad, when (to forbear enumerating all the reigning Errors and Irregularities, against which we can never provide too many Antidotes and Applications) Things are come to such a pass, that though the *Laity* are grown so ready and expert at justifying themselves upon all Occasions, by resolving the Merits of the Cause into the Carriage and Authority of their Spiritual Guides, they are as forward, at the same time, to expose the Failings,

Failings, and depreciate the Character of the *Clergy*, whose Male-Administration (where-ever it may be charg'd) all good and understanding Men will then confess to be a Forfeiture of that Reverence which belongs to them, as the Ambassadors of the *King of Heaven*, when the Sons of *Korah* shall make it appear, that *to despise those whom Christ has sent, is not to despise him; and to despise him, is not to despise his Father.*

In this Regard 'tis a Blessing, for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful, that the *Church* has still among her *Laity*, those Pious and Affectionate Sons, that make it their Ambition strenuously to vindicate the Honour of the *Clergy*, and support the Dignity of the *Priesthood*. In which Service no body has more zealously labour'd, or more eminently signaliz'd himself than Mr. *Nelson*; and that not only in the Course of your Conversation and your private Endeavours, but by the Credit and Advantage which the *Sacred Order* has reap'd from the Just and Lively Representation we owe to your Pen, of the *Piety*, *Modesty*, and all those other *Graces*, *good Qualities*, and *Accomplishments*, that adorn'd a *Presbyter of the Church of England*, in your *Account of the Life of Mr. Kettlewell*, publish'd before his *Five Discourses*.

May *God*, in his Infinite Goodness, give as sure and propitious a Blessing, as he will a liberal Reward, to the generous Efforts of all worthy Persons in the Behalf of *Piety* and *Religion*, particularly to yours, the good Effects of which we have so much Reason to depend upon, as well from the Success that has attended them hitherto, as from those Abilities and Endowments that qualify

you for a happy Prosecution of the most Useful and Commendable Purposes: And that the Divine Providence may Protect and Bless you in all your Interests, whether Present or Future, is, and shall ever be, the Prayer of,

Honour'd SIR,

Your most Faithful,

Humble Servant,

S. PARKER.



P R E F A C E.



HERE have been always Two Parties differently perswaded upon the Point, of the Value and Use of Abridgments; the Learned and the Lazy. The latter encourage Attempts of this kind for their own Ease, and therefore no body ought to thank them, though every body has Cause to reprove them. The Learned, on the other Hand, seldom speak well of an Epitome; and that for two very substantial Reasons: First, Because either the Original is read as well as the Abridgment, or not: If it is, then the latter is Useless; and if it is not, Insufficient. Secondly, Because there are very few good Authors that are capable of being well Abridg'd.

The first of these undoubtedly holds, unless where the latter cannot take place: For there must be no trusting to an Abridgment of any Author which we have Reason to believe will not bear it; but else, when done with Sincerity, Judgment, and Care, it may be serviceable, if the Original has been read, to renew the Remembrance; or, if it has not, to give us a View of all that's material in it.

No Historian, that I know of, will admit of Epitomizing better than Eusebius. The Narrations in him are frequently long and circumstantial: The same Particulars are sometimes told again: Then he has thrown in an infinite Number of Epiphonema's, and Doctrinal Applications; many of which, tho' very excellent and venerable in themselves, are far from being essential to the Historical Part, and because of the Length of his Expression take up a great deal of Room; which gave Occasion for that Censure of St. Jerom, (Comment. in Esai. Lib. 5.) Eusebius Cæsariensis historicam interpretationem titulo repromittens, diversis sensibus evagatur: cujus cum libros legerem, aliud multò reperi quàm indice promittebat, &c. Besides, the greater Part of Eusebius's History consists of Passages taken entire from other Authors, so that their occasional Forms of Transition, Introduction, or Address, are inserted, though they do not enter into the Narration itself; and therefore, though these Citations, especially the Fragments he has preserv'd of Writers now lost, are most valuable Monuments, as well of my Author's Ingenuity, as of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, yet the Course of the History is little concern'd with them, consider'd only as Citations.

'Tis true, the Authorities he brings are so very Primitive and Weighty, that, with regard to Questions and Controversies, recourse must be had to the Original History, and the Words exactly scann'd. But the Matter and Importance of them, as they come into the Series of the History, may be set forth as fully and significantly without keeping to the Form, as any other Part of the Original.

In Reply to the Dilemma before offer'd, let me observe, that it will by no means affect an English Abridgment of a Greek Ecclesiastical History, which is not suppos'd to be intended so much for the Use of those that understand the Original, as of those that do not. For as it were an inexcusable Neglect in any Man, (whether Divine or Laick) if tolerably acquainted with the Greek Language, not to read so faithful and edifying an Account, as Eusebius has given of the earliest Ages of the Church, in the Original; so it has been hitherto a great Unhappinefs to the less Learned among us, that they have continu'd too much in Ignorance of what was transacted in the Primitive Church, for want of such a Compendious Representation of it, as is best extracted from that Original, and will neither try the Patience of some, nor the Purses of others.

While I make this Observation, let me not seem to insinuate any thing in Derogation of the Labours of many Learned Men among us, that have publish'd any Parts or Body of Ecclesiastical Antiquity in English. I am satisfy'd no Country (Reform'd or Popish) has produc'd such Diligent, Polite, and Critical Authors of this kind as our own. The Learned Dr. Cave's Lives of the Apostles and Primitive Fathers, is a Performance not to be rivall'd by any modern one in the same Way; and very lately Mr. Echard has oblig'd us with a most Elegant and Methodical History of the Three first Centuries. So that my Undertaking could scarce have been justify'd, if the Design of my Abbridgment had been the same with the Design of those Two Histories, which is to give a diffuse Account of Church Affairs collected from Variety of Authors; whereas my Abridgment is a Summary taken from one, (after the Evangelists, the most Antient

tient Ecclesiastical Historian of any remaining) intended as a Manual for the Information of the less Learned, and an Assistance to the Memory of others.

'Tis much to be wish'd we might also see a Manual of Divinity, collected out of the Fathers of the Three first Ages, digested and common-plac'd according to the Three several Titles of Faith, Discipline, and Practice, plainly and honestly Translated for the Benefit of the meaner Sort; a Task which, though it may seem easy, requires perhaps more than Two or Three Judicious Heads and Honest Hearts to bring it to Perfection. In the mean time, till such a System appears, if so Weak and Unworthy an Instrument as myself can contribute at all to the informing or disabusing of any unhappy Souls, that, in these our Days, have either forgot, or never learn'd the true Principles and Practice of Primitive Christianity, by setting before their Eyes a general Image of what was taught and done during the Three first Centuries, I heartily recommend to my Reader, not only the Perusing of the Story, but the Digesting and Applying of it; assuring him I have made it my Endeavour to represent Things as I found them, and that nothing of Moment in the Original should be omitted in the Abridgment.

As for the Chronology, I thought myself oblig'd, as an Abridger, to follow that of the History before me, especially since it every way Answers those Ends I propos'd to myself, (and have already acquainted the Reader with) in Publishing this Performance, as effectually as another could have done, more Elaborate and Correct.

A Short



A SHORT ACCOUNT of the
L I F E
 O F
E U S E B I U S;
 E X T R A C T E D
 From the best A U T H O R S that have written
 on that Subject.

With a Catalogue of his WRITINGS.

 *USEBIUS*, furnam'd *Pamphilus*, from the Martyr so call'd, his intimate and dearest Friend, (and, as some will have it, his near Relation) was a Native of *Palestine*, and born toward the latter End of the Reign of *Gallienus*, and the Third Century, about the Year 266, probably at *Cæsarea*, where he settled a famous Seminary for Learning. He was a compleat and universal Scholar, and some time a Disciple of the Great *Dorotheus* of *Antioch*. His principal Study, to which he directed his other Acquisitions and Labours, was *Ecclesiastical Learning*; and herein he was so very diligent and curious, as to gather and consult all the Monuments and Authorities, whether in Archives or Libraries, that *Antiquity* afforded. But how great a Zeal and Concern he had for the Promotion of this Sort of

D Knowledge,

Knowledge, himself sufficiently express'd, when, upon an Offer of the Emperor *Constantine*, to bestow any Donation *Eusebius* should think proper upon the Church at *Cæsarea*, he told him, That Church was as well endow'd already as he could desire; but that he should think himself a very happy Man, if his Imperial Majesty would, by his special Order, be pleas'd to procure for him all the several Acts and Records, from every Quarter of the Empire, relating to the Martyrs and their Sufferings. The Emperor accordingly gratify'd him, and out of these he compos'd his *Ecclesiastical History*, and his *Martyrology*.

In the Year 307, *Pamphilus* being confin'd for the Faith, *Eusebius* constantly attended him; and the Opportunity inviting, they united their Endeavours for the Propagation of sacred Learning; for which as *Pamphilus* was admirably qualify'd, especially having for some Time enjoy'd the Benefit of *Pierius's* Instructions, Regent of the Catechetick School at *Alexandria*, stil'd for the Severity of his Life, and the Excellency of his Learning, *The Second Origen*, and very intimate with *Eusebius*; so *Eusebius* was, no doubt, not a little animated and assisted in it by the Conversation and Familiarity he then contracted and cultivated with *Meletius*, then Bishop of *Sebastea* in *Pontus*, a Man of extraordinary Piety and Learning. After Two Years Imprisonment (a good Portion of which Time was employ'd between the two Friends upon their Apology for *Origen*) *Pamphilus* receiv'd his Crown, and *Eusebius* withdrew to *Tyre*, where, as he tells us in the Eighth Book of his History, himself was present at the Execution of several eminent Martyrs.

From thence he went into *Egypt*, and was laid in Chains; under which Trial he was afterwards accus'd in the Synod of *Tyre*, to have done Sacrifice to Idols; but without any better Proof or Pretence, than bare Conjecture from the Mouths of Men professedly prejudic'd against him, grounded only upon the favourable Usage he had met with at the Hands of the Infidels. And the Weakness of the Accusation is undeniably evinc'd from his retaining the Orders and Authority of a Presbyter; which, according to the Discipline current in that Age, he could no longer have kept after the Proof of such an Apostacy; much less have rose to the Episcopal Dignity, as he did after his Return into *Palestine*, where he was consecrated Successor, in the Bishoprick of *Cæsarea*, to *Agapius*, by whom he had been ordain'd Presbyter.

About

About the Year 316, (according to others 313, or 314.) at the Consecration of a magnificent Church, which *Paulinus*, the Bishop of the Place, a great Friend and Admirer of *Eusebius*, had erected at *Tyre*, our Author delivered that excellent Oration which he has inserted (concealing his Name) in the Tenth Book of his History, and which I have left out of the Abridgment, both because it would be an Injury to epitomize it, and because it is a wide Digression from the Course of the History.

In the Council of *Nice*, in the Year 325, he was a very significant Party from the Beginning to the End of it. He was appointed to welcome and harangue the Emperor upon his Entrance into the Council, and plac'd the next Person to himself at his Right Hand. After long convassing of *Arius's* Cause, *Eusebius* having drawn up a Confession of Faith, presented it to the Fathers, and they unanimously approv'd of it; but judging it not altogether so full and expressive as was requisite, they concluded upon another, or indeed rather the same, a little enlarg'd and improv'd, asserting the *Consubstantiality* of the SON with the FATHER, by the Word *ὁμοούσιον*, and annexing their *Anathema's* against the Adversaries of that Doctrine. At this Term *Eusebius* hesitated some Time, till upon maturer Thoughts, and a clearer Insight into the Meaning of the Fathers, he assented to the publick Use of it, (though, it must be confess'd, he was never a very cordial Friend to the Term itself) and sent an Account of the whole Matter to his Diocese. And here it may be expected I should purge my Author from the Imputation of *Arianism*, that has been charg'd upon him by several of the Antients, and very furiously by St. *Jerom*; but the Merits of the Cause requiring a larger Compass of Time and Paper, than can be conveniently allotted it at present, I refer the curious Reader to *Socrates's Ecclesiastical History*, l. 2. c. 21. *Gelasius Cyzicenus Hist. Concil. Nic.* l. 2. c. 1. *Vales. de Vita & Scriptis Euseb.* Dr. *Cave* in his *Life of Eusebius*, among the *Lives of the Primitive Fathers*, §. 22. and in his *Hist. Literaria*. And Bishop *Parker* in the First Part of *Religion and Loyalty*, p. 360.

Upon *Eusebius's* being depos'd from the Chair of *Antioch* about the Year 330, the *Antiochians* unanimously voted *Eusebius* his Successor, and apply'd themselves to the Emperor for his Approbation and Encouragement of the Choice. But *Eusebius*, being sensible

what Provisions the Church had made in her Canons, particularly in the 15th of the Council of *Nice*, against the Practice of *Translations*, very generously declin'd the Offer, though the Bishoprick of *Antioch* was much more considerable than his own of *Cæsarea*. This Refusal the good Emperor look'd upon as such a noble Instance of Ingenuity and Sincerity, that he highly applauded the Resolution, and congratulated the Happiness of *Eusebius*, that had receiv'd such a remarkable Testimony of a general Esteem and Love; as a Person whose Pastorship the Churches contended for, or rather seem'd all of them to wish themselves combin'd in. The Truth of it is, *Eusebius* was the Darling of this excellent Emperor, who maintain'd a Correspondence with him when absent by Letters, and bestow'd upon him all the Marks imaginable of his Favour, and was not very long surviv'd by him; for having reach'd a good old Age, and gain'd an universal Reputation, both for his Piety and Learning, our Author deceas'd about the Year 340, or, according to others, 338, a little before the Death of *Constantine the Younger*.

His WORKS which still remain, are,

HIS *Chronicon*. Translated into *Latin* and enlarg'd by *St. Jerom*.
 Fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*.
 Ten Books (the other Ten being lost) of *Evangelical Demonstration*.
 Ten Books of *Ecclesiastical History*; and at the End of the Eighth, his Book of *the Martyrs of Palestine*.
 Book against *Hierocles*, who had writ a Comparifon between the Miracles of *Christ* and the pretended ones of *Apollonius Tyaneus*.
 Two Books against *Marcellus the Sabellian*.
 Three Books of *Ecclesiastical Theology*, upon the same Points as the former.
 Epistle to the *Cæsareans*, concerning the *Nicene Faith*.
Onomasticon; or, *An Account of the Cities and Places mention'd in the Holy Scriptures*. Translated with Variations and Additions by *St. Jerom* into *Latin*; wherein mention is made of Two other of his Treatises since lost; the one of *The Signification of Names which the Jews give to other Nations*; the other, *A Description of the Holy Land and the Temple*.
Oration in Praise of Constantine.
 Four Books of *Constantine's Life*.
Exposition, or Collections, upon the Canticles; only Part of which is his own; the rest being taken from other Antient Writers.

Lives

Lives of the Prophets; perhaps not genuine.

Ten Canons or Rules of the Sacred Gospels.

The first Book of the Apology for Origen, in Rufinus's Version.

A Sermon upon the Words, Early in the Morning, and upon The Vision of Angels at the Sepulchre.

To these may be added, in this Edition of the Abridgment, the *Opuscula*, publish'd by *Sirmond*; tho' by some ascrib'd to *Euseb. Emisenus*. Besides Fragments publish'd in *Latin* by *Combesis* in his first *Vol.* of the *Bibliotheca Concionatoria*, p. 804; 805. which I do not remember to have found in his printed Works; but am not certain in this particular: The Reader will find also many more in *Corderius's Catena* on *St. Luke. V. Article 21.* in his Index of the Fathers prefix'd to the Book. There is also a little Treatise under his Name in *Valla's Collection*, printed in the Year 1498. The Title is *De quibusdam Theologicis Ambiguitatibus*. 'Tis a Translation in *Latin*, in bad *Latin*; so that it is difficult to make a Judgment, whether it be Genuine or not; but it seems to be spurious.

His Books not Extant, are,

Of Ecclesiastical Preparation, } the Number uncertain.
Of Ecclesiastical Demonstration, }

Against Porphyry, Thirty Books.

Of the Differences in the Gospels, together with a Letter to Carpianus.

Of the Incarnation, Five Books.

Comment upon the Psalms. This has been since publish'd by the Learned *Montfaucon*, in *Fol.* and so has that upon the *Psalms*, ending at *Psal. 118. (119) inclusively*; in *Folio* also, and by the same Editor.

Comment upon Isaiah, in Ten Books.

Comment upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Collections upon all the Holy Scripture.

Apology for Origen, in Six Books: The first Five compos'd in Concert with *Pamphilus*; the Sixth added afterwards by himself.

Three Books of the Life of Pamphilus.

Two Books of Confutation and Apology; perhaps that Defence of himself (mention'd by *Gelasius Cyzicenus*) against the Imputation of *Arianism*; tho' others, upon better Grounds and Authority, suppose it to have been a general Apology for the Christian Religion, and a Confutation of *Gentilism*.

A

A Martyrology, in Eleven Books; a Greek MS. of which, 'tis said, is still to be seen at Rome.

A Description of the Church of Jerusalem, built by Constantine.

A Paschal Cycle.

An Epistle to Constantia, concerning Christ's Picture, which is quoted in *Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI.* In this Quotation he reproves her Curiosity for sending to him for an artificial Representation of Christ's Human Form.

An Epistle to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, concerning Arius.

An Epistle to Euphration.

Archæologia, or Antient History, perhaps the same with his *Chronicon. Of the Polygamy of the Patriarchs*; probably a Part of the former.

Doubtful.

Lives of the Prophets.

Doubtful, or rather Supposititious.

Two Books of the Faith, against Sabellius.

Of the Resurrection.

Of the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord.

Of the Incorporeal and Invisible God.

Of that which is Incorporeal.

Of the Incorporeal Soul.

Of Cogitation in the Spirit of Man.

A Proof of the Incorporeality of God the Father.

Another Discourse upon the same Subject.

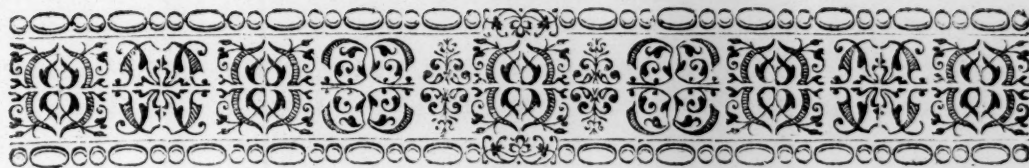
A Discourse upon that Text, I came not to send Peace, but a Sword.

A Discourse upon that Text, What ye hear in the Ear, that preach ye upon the House-tops.

Of Good and Evil Works.

Of Good Works, according to the Doctrine deliver'd in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

A DISSER-



A
 DISSERTATION
 Concerning the
 USE *and* AUTHORITY
 OF
Ecclesiastical History.

Dear SIR,



AM very glad you have employ'd those good Talents, God has given you, to the Study of *History*, especially the *Ecclesiastical*, which will serve best to the Ends you propose, of promoting the Interests of God's Church, in an Age where she is so far lost, as to be almost *Forgotten*: And though we keep her *Name*, she is yet unknown to most, what she truly is, or what it is that belongs to her. To retrieve which, the best Method will be, to shew her in her primitive Face; and then Men will see how she has *Improv'd* or *Degenerated*. A *Picture* allures more than *Description*; and *Matter of Fact* beyond many *Arguments*: Discourses *Tell* us of Things, but *History Shews* them to us.

But

But of all *History*, the *Ecclesiastical* is the most *Beneficial*; as much more as the Concerns of the *Church* are beyond that of the *State*; our *Souls* above that of our *Bodies*; and our *Eternal State* more than the *Moment* we have to stay in this *World*.

Secular *History* may make us *Statesmen* and *Politicians*; but the *Ecclesiastical* will make us *Wise* unto *Salvation*.

There we see the *Rise* and *Growth* of *Heresies* and *Schisms*. And how these *Tares* were *Sown*, while the *Husbandmen* Slept. How soon they were beat down while the *Watchmen* were *Vigilant* and *Zealous*. But when they put on a Sort of *Moderation*, and would *Compound*; how the *Weeds*, in a *Moment*, over-spread the Face of the *Vineyard*. That it requir'd even *Miracles* sometimes to *retrieve* it!

There we see the *Beginning* and *Encroachments* of *Eraastianisms*, more fatal to the *Church* than *Persecution*: When *Court-Bishops* gave up the Sacred *Depositum* committed to their Charge, into the Hands of *Kings* and *States*, for *worldly Considerations*.

And there, and there only, I may say, is the Decision of all controverted Points in *Divinity*, either as to *Doctrine* or *Discipline*. For every one of them must be determin'd by *Matter of Fact*. It is not *Refining*, and *Criticisms*, and our *Notions* of Things, but what that *Faith* was, which, at the first, was deliver'd to the *Saints*. This is *Matter of Fact*, and must be determin'd by *Evidence*. And where any *Text* of the *New Testament* is disputed, the best *Evidence* is from those *Fathers* of the *Church* who liv'd in the *Apostolical Age*, and learn'd the *Faith* from the Mouths of the *Apostles* themselves, such as *St. Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, &c. These must know best the *Sense* and *Meaning* of the *Words* deliver'd by the *Apostles*. And next to them, they to whom they did deliver the same, and so on through the several *Ages* of the *Church*, to this Day.

And those *Doctrines*, and that *Government* of the *Church* which has this *Evidence*, must be the *Truth*.

And they who refuse to be determin'd by this *Rule*, are justly to be *suspected*; nay, they give *Witness* against themselves, that they are departed from the *Truth*.

Thus

Thus the *Church of Rome* will not be concluded by the *Evidence*, but by what they call the *Authority* of the *Church*. Then they make this *Authority* the same in all *Ages*: And so settle all upon the *Authority* of the *Present Church*. Then they vainly supposing themselves to be the whole *World*, or the *Catholick Church*, and the *Pope* the *Head* of it; and consequently none to be true *Members* of it, who own not his *Universal Supremacy* (who always were, and are at this Day more than *Ten Parts to One* against those Churches which did, or do own it); they take upon them to impose *New Articles* of *Faith*, as at *Trent*; and *Assume* the *Authority* of the whole *Apostolical College* to themselves.

But, as the famous *Archbishop of Spalato*, *Marc. Anton. de Dominis*, said, The farther he travell'd upwards in *Antiquity*, he still found more of the *Episcopal*, and less of the *Papal* Authority; which he complain'd had, in his Time, quite *Swallow'd* up the *Episcopal* at *Rome*; and gives this as the Reason, in his *Consilium Profectionis*, for his quitting his *Archbishoprick*, and other *Preferments* in the *Church of Rome*, and his coming over to the *Church of England*, in the Reign of our King *James I.* to seek for a more *Pure* and *Primitive Episcopacy*. And this he did, as he tells himself, before he had ever read a *Protestant Book*, or convers'd with any *Protestants*; but merely by his searching into *Antiquity*.

The same Method would baffle and silence our vile *Sectaries*, of several Sorts. For Example, Who can read the *History* which you have *Epitomiz'd*, and doubt that *Episcopacy* was the *Government* of the *Church*, at that Time, and before, all over the *Christian World*? And as to that *Childish Rattle*, which the *Presbyterians* play with of going to the *Etymology* of the Words, *Ἐπίσκοπος*, *Πρεσβύτερος*, and *Διάκονος*; it can have no more Weight with any Man of Sense that reads *Eusebius*, than the Word *Imperator* being us'd sometimes for the *General* of any *Army*, could persuade any that read the *Roman History*, to believe that there never was an *Emperor* in *Rome*.

But as none can undertake this *Method* except Men of *Learning*; so where they have manag'd the *Controversial* Points of *Divinity* in this Manner, such *Works* have always been best receiv'd in the World, and have prov'd most *Effectual* and *Unanswerable*, as the celebrated *Forbes* of *Corse*, his *Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ*; the Learned

E

Cofin,

Cofin, Bishop of *Durham*, his *Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture*, and his *History of Transubstantiation*, which none of our Adversaries of the *Church of Rome* have attempted to Answer. For plain *Matter of Fact* will not *Bend*, or suffer us to *Dodge* and *Fence* with it, as we may do for ever about poor *Criticisms of Words*, and *Speculations* of our own *Inventing*.

They who read not *Ecclesiastical History*, and the *Primitive Fathers*, must take their Knowledge at *Second Hand* upon *Trust* from others : Which some think to supply with reading modern *Systems* and *Courses of Divinity*, whereby they may have all at once, and be thereby likewise better enabled to understand the *Controversies* of our own Age.

But as these are grafted upon the Ages foregoing ; so the best Method of seeing clearly into them, is to examine *Upwards*, and read *Downwards* from the *Beginning*. There we shall find many of those seemingly *Exalted* and *New Notions*, set up by the various *Sects* amongst us, to have been *Old* exploded *Heresies* condemn'd by the *Catholick Church*, and only *New Vamp'd* by subtle *Enemies* crept in among us, to divide and distract the *Ignorant* and *Unstable*.

It is a Thing much to be lamented, that so many of our Clergy, (though generally the most *Learned* of any in any Nation upon the Earth) some out of *Poverty*, having no *Money* to buy *Books*, no, nor to provide bare *Necessaries*, since the *Scandalous* and *Sacrilegious Impropriations* made of their *Tithes* ; first by the *Pope*, and then worse *Diverted* by those who should have *Restor'd* them ; and others out of *Laziness* and *Avocations* to *Secular Affairs*, content themselves with two or three *Dutch* or *German Systems of Divinity*, and some *Modern Books* upon the *Contests* now a-foot ; whereby they can bear up something of *Discourse* upon *General Topicks*, but know nothing to the Bottom.

This Disease had crept much even into the *Universities*, not only while they were *Oppress'd* and *Purg'd* during the *Usurpation of Forty-One*, by those who hated *Learning*, because it made against them : But before that Time, the modern *Polemicks* then bandy'd in *Holland* and here, of *Calvinists*, *Arminians*, *Remonstrants*, *Anti-Remonstrants*, &c. had taken up most of the Studies of the young *Genius's* at the *Universities*, to fit themselves for that *War* ; whereby the Learning
of

of *Antiquity*, of the early *Fathers*, and of *Ecclesiastical History*, was, in a great measure, laid aside, and much impair'd.

Which having been observ'd by that Great Archbishop *Laud*, he, when *Chancellor* of the *University* of *Oxford*, apply'd the proper Remedy, and order'd the *Heads* of the *Houses* to direct the young *Students* to the Reading of *Antiquity*, beginning at the *first Ages* of the *Church*, and so downwards. Which has exceedingly rais'd the Glory of that *University*, as of the other of *Cambridge*, who follow'd the same Example; whence so many *Learned Works* have been produc'd, in our *Kingdoms*, of the true and solid *Antiquity*, as have, in a manner, reviv'd the *first Ages* of the *Church*, and given us noble *Editions* of some of the Greatest of the *Fathers*; with Hopes to see the same Method gone through with the rest. The *Emulation* of this has likewise gone into other *Countries*, and improv'd *Learning* every where.

Nay, even some among the *Fanaticks* themselves, who, though they are fill'd with *Indignation* to see this Method pursu'd, and have wrote spiteful Books against the *Fathers*, to destroy their Authority, yet are forc'd to come into them, and have taken Pains to gather *Scraps* out of them, which they *Wrest* to favour their *New Opinions*. Fain would they have *Antiquity* on their Side, if they could get it. And when it will not do, they *Rail* at it, and run down *Fathers*, *Councils*, and *Ecclesiastical Histories*, all in a Lump: And would have us take their *Light within* for the only true *Interpreter* of *Scripture*! while, at the same time, they give us *Histories* of their vile *Sects*, their Beginnings, Progress, Success, Models, Discipline, Doctrine, &c. to preserve their Memories to future Ages, and to be a *Pattern* for them. Yet they will not allow this to the *Apostolical*, and next succeeding Ages; or that we can know them by the *Histories* and *Writings* of those Times.

In which we find nothing of the *Papal Supremacy*, or *Presbyterian Parity*; but flagrant *Episcopacy* every where in all *Churches*. Yet with this Difference, That whereas our *Dissenters* have this *Plea* only left, to *Bawl* and *Wrangle*, as if our *Bishops* took more upon them, and assum'd greater *Authority*, than those *Primitive Bishops* did pretend to over their *Presbyters* and *People*: the Case is so far otherwise, That if our *Bishops* should speak now in the Language us'd by, and of those early *Apostolical Bishops*, that *Rout* would

be ready to *Stone* them, and cry out *Blasphemy*! that is to say, they were told, That the *Bishop* does immediately represent the Person of *Christ*: That therefore as the *Apostles* and *Disciples* were *Obedient* to *Christ*, so ought the *Presbyters*, *Deacons*, and *Laity*, to be *Obedient* to their *Bishop*: That who kept not *Outward Communion* with his *Bishop*, did forfeit the *Inward Communion* with *Christ* the *Head*: That even *Prayers* and *Sacraments* out of the *Communion* of the *Bishop*, were, like the *Offerings* of *Korah*, *Rebellion* against the *Lord*: But my Soul for theirs who keep *Communion* with their *Bishop*; for that he is the *Principle* of *Unity* in his *Church*, and who is not in *Communion* with him, is out of the *Unity* of the *Catholick Church*. This would be call'd *High-flying* with a Witness! Yet this was the Language of the holy *Ignatius*, and those *Primitive*, and even *Apostolical* Times.

How far short of this is the *Stile* and the *Pretensions* of our *Present Bishops*? Yet we hear these *Sons* of *Korah*, in his very *Words*, (which they still retain, as well as his *Arguments*) telling their *Bishops*, *Ye take too much upon you*. And the Reason, *seeing all the Congregation are Holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them; wherefore then list ye up yourselves above the Congregation of the Lord?* They set up their own *Holiness* (*Humble Men of Heart*!) against those *Governors* set over them by *Christ*; and call their *Authority*, a *Lording it over the Heritage of the Lord*. Their *Authority*! which is dwindled almost to a *Shadow*, from that which was left by the *Apostles* to the *Bishops* whom they ordain'd; and exercised by them with the *Joy* and *Consent* of all good *Christians*, for many Ages. And all this upon the *Pretence* that our *Bishops* have enlarg'd their *Authority* above that of the *first Bishops*!

But all this is cur'd by consulting the *Original Records* and *Histories* of the *Church*, by which it will appear how *Groundless* and *Contemptible* the *Pretensions* are of both *Pope* and *Presbyter*, who are join'd like *Sampson's Foxes*, with *Fire-Brands*, though they look several Ways, to *Ruin* and *Depress* the *Primitive Episcopacy*. The one would have no *Bishop* but himself; the other would have none at all. Let either of them see what *Footsteps* they can find of either of these *Schemes*, in your *Eusebius*, or in any *Writer* before his Time.

The

The *Frame* of the *Church* was then in the full *Authority* of every *Bishop* over his own *Flock*, as well *Presbyters* as *People*, as he who must give an *Account* to *Christ*, the chief *Shepherd*: And in the mutual *Agreement* and *Correspondence* of the *Bishops* among themselves, for the joint *Regiment* of the whole *Body*, according to such *Canons* and *Rules* of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, as they settled among themselves. Which is exactly parallel to the *Government* in which *God* has dispos'd the *World*, the *Full* and *Independent Authority* of each particular *Government* in the several *Nations* of the *Earth*, over their own *Subjects*: And what we call the *Law of Nations*, as a *Rule* among the several *Kings* and *States*, for the *Preservation* of the *Whole*. And as *God*, in his infinite *Wisdom*, has not thought it best for the *World* to set one *Universal Monarch* over it all; but has consulted better for the *Peace* and *Security* of *Mankind*, in many *independent Kings*, who may *Ballance* one another, and be *Guarantees* in the *Treaties* of *Peace* among themselves: So, as *St. Cyprian* has observ'd, *Christ* did therefore make the *College* of *Bishops* numerous, that if one should prove *heretical*, or seek to devour the *Flock*, the rest might mercifully interpose for the saving of it. But if this Power were lodg'd in any one *Universal Bishop*, then, as *Gregory the Great* wisely argues, *If that universal Bishop should fall, the whole Universal Church may fall with him.*

On the other Hand, if every *Government* were not *Intire* and *Absolute* within itself, they could not *Rule* their own *Subjects*; and so could not contribute towards the *General Peace* of the *World*. So that the *Presbyterian Parity* would *Unhinge* all particular *Governments*, and render the *Government* of the *World* a mere *Chaos* and a *Mob*.

Now the *State* and *History* of the *Primitive Church* shews this by a stronger *Argument*, that is, of *Fact*, what was the *Government* of the *Church*, as *Establish'd* and *Left* by the *Apostles*. For that is it which must, after all our *Reasonings*, determine us. It is not what *Schemes* and *Contrivances* we may fancy, but what that *Government* was, which, *de Facto*, the *Apostles* left in the *Church*. And that must continue, till a *Greater*, at least as *Great* an *Authority* shall alter it.

But

But some think, that the *Apostles* left no *Standing Government* in the *Church*, but what might be alter'd by the *Church* in after Ages, according to *Occassions* and *Emergencies*. And so *Episcopacy*, *Presbytery*, or any thing else may come in — These make no great Matter of the *Government* of the *Church*, so as (they cry) the *Doctrine* be secur'd. But they consider not, that the *Government* was ordain'd to secure the *Doctrine*. And no Instance can be given from *Jereboam* downward, where the Change of the *Government* did not bring along with it a Change of *Doctrine*, as the *Apostle* argues, *Heb. vii. 12. For the Priesthood being changed, there is made of Necessity a Change also of the Law.* And as in temporal *Kingdoms*, there cannot be a Change of *Government*, without a Change also of the *Law*; so is it in the *Kingdom* of *God* upon *Earth*, which is the *Church*. Every small *Corporation* is jealous of their *Government*, and look upon any *Infraction* upon that, to be an *Invasion* of their *Rights* and *Liberties*. The *Church* alone, with us, is render'd *Precarious*, and her *Government* of no Consequence! What Strefs *God* laid upon it, may be seen in the *Business* of *Korah*. And how near to Heart it was laid in the *Primitive Church*, we see in the first *Invasions* were made upon the *Episcopal* Authority! How was all the *Church* in a Flame, and the *Bishops* every where concern'd themselves upon *Novatus* thrusting himself into the See of *Cornelius*, as being an *Infraction* upon the *Rules* and *Rights* of the *Episcopal College*! How did the great *St. Cyprian* cry out upon this Occasion, that whoever invaded the See of another *Bishop*, was not *Secundus*, sed *Nullus*! No *Second Bishop* while the *First* was *Alive*, and not *Synodically* depos'd by the *Episcopal College* for *Heresy*, or other *Crimes* deserving of it. For the *Right* of every *Bishop* in the *Earth* is herein concern'd, and consequently of the whole *Church*, of her whole *Constitution*, as a *Society*, that is, as a *Church*. And it was not then thought a Matter of so little Moment, to suffer the *Pillar* and *Ground* of the *Truth* to be *Shaken*: For if the *Church* goes, the *Truth*, which she *Supports*, goes with her, is *Impair'd* or *Improv'd* with her; for *Christ* has *Founded* it upon her, has built the *Faith* upon the *Foundation* of the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, himself the chief *Corner-Stone*; and has promis'd to be with the *Apostles* and their *Successors* to the *End of the World*. Is it then a Matter so indifferent who are their *Successors*? Who should be the *Center of Unity* in every *Church*? Who should represent the *Person of Christ* to us, and *Sign* and *Seal* his *Covenants* with us, in his *Name*, and by his *Commission*? Can any invested with such an

Authority

Authority be put in and out at Pleasure, at every Bodies Pleasure, of *Kings*, of *States*, nay, of the *Mob*, be *Voted* up and down by them?

While the *Church* retain'd her *Primitive Discipline*, and preserv'd the *Bounds* of the *Sanctuary* free from *Popular* and all *Lay Usurpations*, how was the *Faith* made *Glorious*, and the *Christian Zeal* shone far and wide, to the *Disarming* and *Conversion* of her *Adversaries*!

But in after Times, when her *Authority* was lessen'd, swallow'd up by the *Pope*, and put all into his Hands; *Prey'd* upon by the *Secular Powers*; *Divided* and *Torn asunder* by *Rebellious* and *Ambitious Presbyters*; and lastly, *Trod under Foot* by the *Beasts* of the *People*; how were the *Flood-gates* open'd of all vile *Errors* and *Heresses*, which over-spread the *Face* of the *Church*!

Let me name two *Examples* known to every body. The *first* is, When *Episcopacy* was totally subdu'd among us, in the successful *Rebellion* of *Forty-One*, what a prodigious *Swarm* of new-broach'd *Heresses* and *Seets* rose up all of a sudden, and overspread the *Face* of the *Land*! You will find the *Names* of most of them in *Herefography* and *Gangraena*, wrote in those Times; they were about the *Number* of those reckon'd by *Epiphanius*, that is, *Sixty*. No *Nation* upon the *Earth*, since *Christianity*, ever saw so dismal a *Sight* at any one *Time*!

But how soon *Episcopacy* was restor'd with the banish'd *King*, *Anno* 1660, these all (except three or four of chief Name) instantly disappear'd, as *Mists* before the *Sun*.

The *Second* Instance I shall give, is, the *State* of the *Church* since the *Revolution* in 1688, wherein *Episcopacy* was *Abolish'd* in *Scotland* —in ordine ad— And though the *Time* was not come for going so far in *England*, (by a seasonable *Interposition* of *Providence*) yet all *Preparations* were made for it: The *Power* and *Management* both in *Church* and *State*, were put into the Hands of the *Enemies* of *Episcopacy*: Its *Divine Rights*, or any *Right* at all, above the *Reach* of an *Act* of *Parliament*, was taken away, and effectually *Disown'd*, by the *Act* for *Lay Deprivations*: Hence a *Schism* arose in the *Church* of *England*, (the first since the *Reformation*) and *Bishops* and *Anti-Bishops* were set up.

Since

Since which Time, the *Flood-gates* of *Heresy* have been again set open. The *Socinians*, otherwise call'd *Unitarians*, so *Rampant*, that besides the Liberty of the *Press*, and free owning of themselves, even in *Coffee-Houses*, without the least *Restraint*, they proceeded so far, as to lay the *Scheme* for the open and *Publick Profession* of their *Religion*, to build and endow *Churches* for themselves, &c. as we are told in the *Life* of *Thomas Firmin*, their indefatigable *Agent*.

Sir *Robert Howard*, a Member of the *Privy-Council*, and of great Post in the *Government*, own'd in *Print* what he call'd his *History of Religion*; which is a rank *Satire* against all *Priesthood* and *Churches* whatsoever, and ridicules *Religion* itself.

The *Books* and *Pamphlets* of those Times, upon these Subjects, are very *Voluminous*. And from the Countenance they receiv'd (I wish I could not say, even from some then in *High Station* in the *Church*) they have fill'd this Land, especially the *Young Gentry*, with *Principles* of *Irreligion*, of *Deism*, (which is now the most *Prevalent*, as it is the most *Curst* of *Sects*) and even of downright *Atheism*.

And for the *Poorer* and more *Ignorant* Sort of *People*, they, seeing the *Foundations* thus *shaken*, have run over in *Shoals*, (taking Advantage of the *Plenitude* of the *Toleration*) to the Remainder of the *Sects* left amongst us since the *grand Rebellion*, (like so many of the *Canaanites*, to teach us the Use of *War*) besides *New Ones*, this *Rank Soil* has produc'd, as the *Philadelphians*, *Bourignonists*, *Davistites*, *Masonians*, (since extinguish'd) and others; the *Sweet-Singers*, *Antinomians*, and others of the old ones *Reviv'd*. As those much *Ancient*, which we find in your *Eusebius*, l. 3. c. 26. That the *Bodies* of the *Faithful* shall not *Die*. And l. 6. c. 37. That the *Soul* does *Die* with the *Body*. The former set up lately by *Asgil*; the latter by Dr. *Coward*, and several others, who have wrote on the same Side. And these old exploded *Heresses*, are now the *Chat* of *Coffee-Houses* and *Taverns*, as *New* and *Ingenious Discoveries*, and take with too many, in an *Age* prepar'd for such *Delusions*. And many more went over to *Popery* in the *last*, than in the *former* Reign.

From all this, that dreadful *Loose* has proceeded of *Prophaneness*, and open *Immoralities*, which we now see before our Eyes, in an *Excess*, would have been thought *Scandalous*, even in *Licentious* Times.

For

For what *Restraint* can there be, where there is no Sense of *Religion*? And what Sense of an *Instituted* and *Reveal'd* Religion, where its *Institutions* are *Despis'd*, and their *Authority* with whom *Christ* has left the *Administration* of them, and *Government* of his *Church*, is render'd *Precarious*, and *Voluble* with every *Turn* of *State*; nay, *Subject* to the *Caprice* of those who have *Itching Ears*, and heap up *Teachers* to themselves? When *Tender Conscience* and *Moderation* is pleaded on their *Behalf*, who *Tear* the *Body* of *Christ* in *Pieces* by various *Sects* and *Schisms*? When the *Spirit* of *Zeal*, the very *Life* and *Soul* of *Christianity*, the Παρρησία of the *Gospel*, is not only laid aside, but call'd *Violence* and *High-flying*? And, in the *Room* thereof, such a *Laodicean* and *Latitudinarian* Principle is set up, as knows not where it will stop, nor can indeed, till it has given up all *Reveal'd* Religion, which is inconsistent with it. Towards which, what Pains have we seen taken, by some whom it least became, to advance, in *Opposition* to it, what they call *Natural Religion*, (which will allow them *Latitude* enough) even to prefer a *Mother's* Obligation to *Suckle* her own *Child*, as being a *Natural Duty*, before any *Positive Precept* of *Reveal'd Religion*? Which includes the Belief of a *Christ*, or any *Faith* in *Him*; for that is nothing else but a *Positive Precept* of *Reveal'd Religion*. And then we cannot suppose, that any of his *Institutions*, *Prayers*, *Sacraments*, or any thing else should be much stood upon; especially such as concern the *Regiment* of his *Church*, as a *Society*, distinct from, and *Independent* of any other upon *Earth*. These must be easily *dispens'd* with, when the *Author* of what I have nam'd above, makes the *Command* of an *Husband*, (who, by the way, is no *Natural* Relation, but of *Positive Institution*) sufficient to discharge his *Wife* from that *Natural Duty* of giving *Suck* to her *Child*, which he makes of *more Necessary* and *Indispensable Obligation*, (these are his Words) *than any Positive Precept of Reveal'd Religion*. And directs *Parents* and *Masters* to take care, not to bring up their *Children* and *Servants* in what he calls the *Fargon*, that is, the *distinguishing Principles* of any *Party*. For these must give Place, at all Times, to *Politicks*, to keep up *Peace* and *Quietness*, though in the most manifest *Injustice*: Which any Sort of *Principles*, being stood to, might some time or other happen to *disturb*. And the *Quiet Possession*, though of *Wickedness*, he makes preferable to any *Religion* whatsoever; the *Consequences* of which he extends not beyond this *World*, (for he has publicly *Preach'd* and *Printed* the utter *Uncertainty*, at least, in his Opinion, whether there

be any *Hell*) therefore says, *And for God's Sake, what is Religion good for, but to Reform the Manners and Dispositions of Men, to Restrain Human Nature from Violence and Cruelty, from Falsehood and Treachery, from Sedition and Rebellion? Better it were, there were no Reveal'd Religion, (that is, no CHRIST) and that Human Nature were left to the Conduct of its own Principles and Inclinations, which are much more Mild and Merciful, much more for the Peace and Happiness of Human Society, than to be acted by a Religion that is continually Supplanting Government, and Undermining the Welfare of Mankind, &c.*

There is much more in the same *Author* of the like Sort. And I mention it here, to let our *Latitudinarians* see whither their *Principles* do tend: This *Author* being much *Admir'd* by them, and the very *Top* of them.

And I name this *Sect* of the *Latitudinarians*, the last that I shall now speak of, as including all the rest, and all that indeed can be: At least so far as to *give way* to them, and *live well* with them, for *Peace Sake*, though *Korakites* or *Mahumetans* !

And I have pitch'd upon this *Remarkable* Person for an Instance, he being the most concern'd of any Man in *England*, in the late *Lay Deprivations*, and *Breaches* upon the *Episcopal* Authority.

And to make good what I have observ'd before, that *Infractions* upon the *Government* of the *Church*, have always been attended with *Corruptions*, even in her *Doctrine*.

And thence to infer, how necessary it is to preserve the *Government* of the *Church*, as *Christ* and the *Apostles* left it.

Which what it is, and how *zealously* contended for in the *Primitive Ages*, the *History* you have *Abridg'd* does evidently shew.

I might add a third Instance, that of *Holland*, which, because it would not have *Episcopacy*, is render'd the *Sink* and *Asylum* of all vile *Errors* and *Heresies*; from whence most of ours were sent to us, in the *Rebellion* of 1641, as well as in the *Revolution* of 1688, which I have shew'd elsewhere. And thus it has been, is, and will be in all

all Places, more or less, as *Eraſtianism* prevails, and *Episcopacy* is depreſs'd.

I have now but one Word more, concerning the Method of *Abridgments* of *History*. They are of uſe to thoſe who have read the *Histories* at large, and to thoſe who have not. To the former they ſerve as *Indexes*, and *Revive* them in their *Memories* with little Pains: And they encourage the latter to peruſe the *Histories* themſelves: And to thoſe who have not *Leiſure* or *Application* to go through great *Works*, they afford that Knowledge which they would otherwiſe totally want.

As to your Performance, your Modeſty prevents my ſaying any thing of it to yourſelf: And it will recommend itſelf to others, nothing the more for an *Epistolary* Friend.

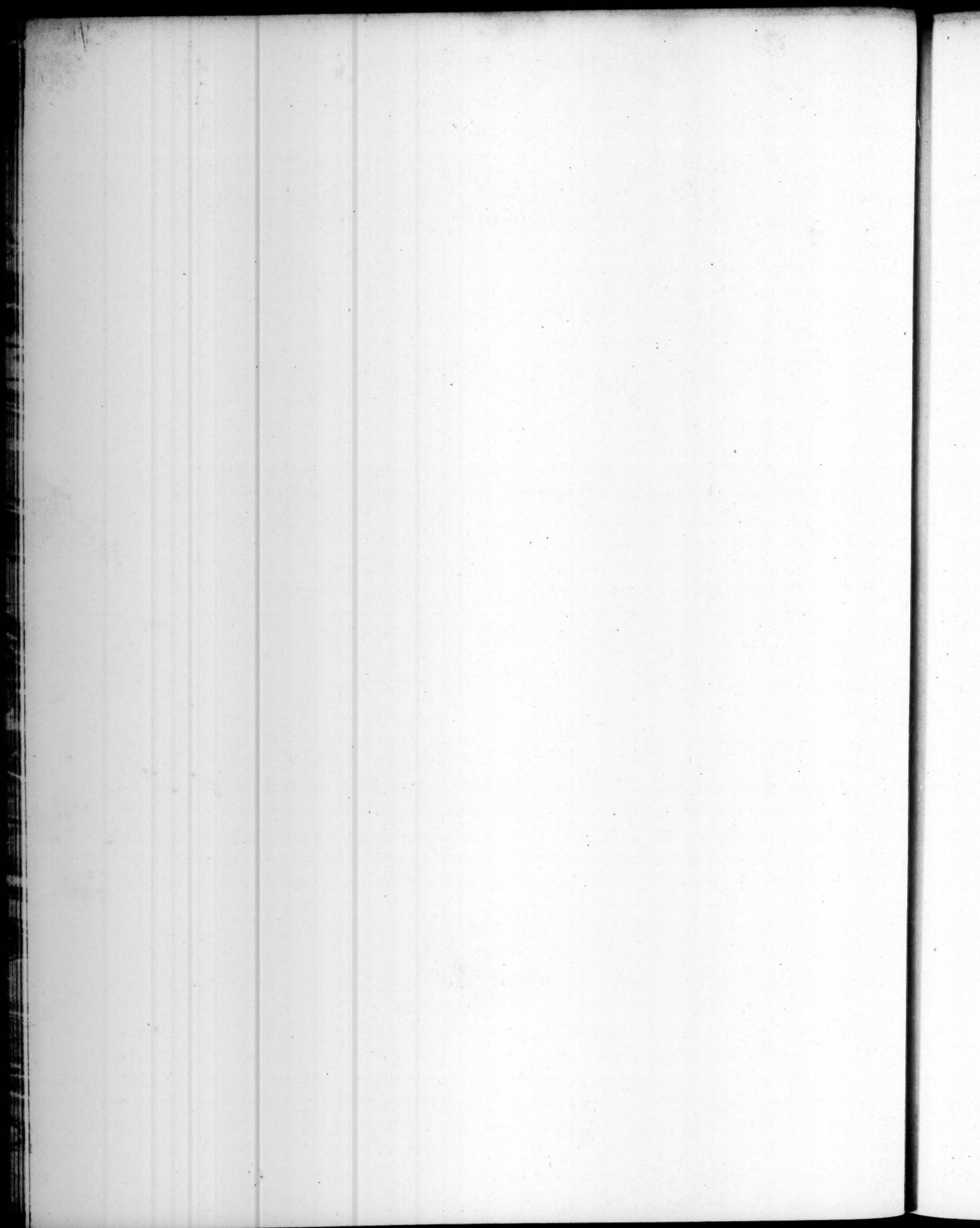
Inſtead of all which, I join heartily with you, in beſeeching God Almighty to give his Bleſſing to it: To direct and proſper this and all your other Labours, for his *Glory*, and the Good of his afflicted *Church*: And to ſend more *Labourers* into his *Harveſt* in this Time of Need: That he may not yet *Remove* our *Candleſtick*, for all that we have done: But to *Heal* the *Breaches* of our *Sion*, and to *Hasten* his *Kingdom*. AMEN!

The *Conversion* of
St. Paul, 1702-3.

CHARLES LESLIE.

N. B. In the laſt beautiful Edition of Mr. *Leſlie's* Theological Works, there happen'd a Miſtake in the Title of this Diſſertation; where inſtead of *Joſephus* read *Eusebius*.







The Ecclesiastical

History of

Eusebius
Pamphilus

Bishop
of Caesarea



T H E
 Ecclesiastical HISTORY
 O F
Eusebius Pamphilus.

B O O K I.



DESIGNING to compose an Historical Account of what pass'd in the Church, either as to its Government or Propagation, or the Oppositions it has sustain'd from Persecutors or Hereticks, together with a Narrative of the dreadful Recompences inflicted by *Christ* upon his Crucifiers, the mighty Supports afforded his Martyrs and Confessors, and the several Instances of his most auspicious Protection, down from his Incarnation to our own Times ; I do in the first Place implore the Divine Assistance, and in the next beg a favourable Construction from my Reader, which I may the rather expect, because I am going to tread an unbeaten Path, without any other Means of Direction or Materials, besides certain scatter'd Memoirs and Collections ; such, however, as amply suffice for demonstrating the Apostolick Succession in all the Churches of the World. And, indeed the Usefulness of such
 an

an History appear'd to me so considerable, that I was no longer able to forbear attempting it ; especially having formerly publish'd a Compendium of the Work. But before I launch into the Narration itself, it being necessary to premise a few Words concerning *Christ's Divinity and Humanity*, I shall now explain myself upon that Fundamental Point, so as to silence those Adversaries who call the Christian Religion a new and upstart Institution, but are desir'd to understand, that its Author's Nature and Substance is of an Existence ineffably Eternal ; for, *Who shall declare his Generation ? No one has known the Father but the Son, and no one the Son but the Father* ; with whom, and from whom he subsisted from everlasting, the glorious Minister of his Will ; by whom, as he created, so he governs all Things, his only begotten Son, truly God ; For *in the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made.* Accordingly *Moses* assures us, That the Father communicated with him his Counsel of creating Man, where he says, *Let us make Man after our Image.* To the same Effect the Psalmist, *He said, and they were made ; he commanded, and they were created.* The Father pronounc'd his Pleasure, which the Son administer'd. This is he whom the Patriarchs and Prophets, both before and after *Moses*, beheld frequently exhibited before their Eyes, and as frequently receiv'd with Adorations. This is the *Lord God* that appear'd to *Abraham* in a human Shape, before whom he kneel'd, and to whom he address'd himself in these Words, *Shall not the Lord of the whole Earth judge righteously ?* The Scripture cannot lye, nor the Godhead become a Human Body, so that unless by the *Lord of the whole Earth*, in this Place, is meant the first Unbegotten Cause of Things, which it cannot be, it must signify the *Logos* or Word, concerning whom the Psalmist, *He sent out his Word, and healed them, and they were saved from their Destruction.* This is that *Lord* that rain'd Fire upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, from the *Lord* out of Heaven ; that God who wrestled with *Jacob*, and from whom he call'd the Place where they strove, *the Vision of God, because he had seen him Face to Face.* Nor were these the *Appearances* of *Angels*, the Scripture ascribing them not, as at other Times, to *Angels*, but to God. Thus again, when he presented himself in the Form of a Man before *Joshua*, he tells him the Place is Sanctified by his Presence ; at which *Joshua* falls upon his Knees, and acknowledges him *Captain of the Host of the Lord.* So we find the Place where he talked with *Moses*, consecrated by his Presence ;

ſence ; for he was the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, the Wiſdom of God before the Foundation of the World, *that pitch'd his Tabernacle with Prudence*, and called to him *Knowledge and Underſtanding* ; by whom *Princes rule*, and *Nobles*, even all the *Judges of the Earth* ; whom the Lord created the Beginning of his Ways, before his Works of old, &c. Thus it pleas'd the Divine Goodneſs to manifeſt and declare itſelf, yet not indifferently, to all the Inhabitants of the World, the Generality being unworthy of ſo near a Commerce, partly on Account of their firſt Parents Tranſgreſſion, but more becauſe of their own Degeneracy, and the ſalvage and brutiſh Habits they had contracted, 'till by the Flagrancy of their Provocations, God was mov'd to exert himſelf in Variety of Judgments ; and at the ſame Time, that no means might be wanting to rouse them from their Intoxication, his Eternal Son, either by his Angels, or by himſelf, in a viſible Manner, often condeſcended to an Interview with thoſe few religious Perſons, who labour'd to inſtil good Principles into the Minds of Men, and particularly to thoſe among the Ancient *Hebrews*, for whoſe farther Edification that People receiv'd their Law by the Prophet *Moses* ; nor did the Benefits of this Diſpenſation extend only to the *Hebrews*, the Legislators and Philoſophers every where making uſe of it to cultivate and reform the reſt of Mankind. And the World being thus prepar'd for the Entertainment of his Divine Truths, the Son of God came Incarnate to perform, to teach, and to ſuffer whatever the Prophets had foretold concerning him ; and laſtly, to receive that Kingdom, that univerſal, everlaſting Dominion, which the Prophet *Daniel* repreſents him inveſted with, in the miſt of a *Thouſand thouſands and Ten thouſand times ten thouſands*. All theſe Characteriſticks are applicable only to the eternal Word Incarnate. But of this we have diſcourſ'd at large elſewhere.

Let us next obſerve, how peculiar a Regard the Holy Men of old had to the Words, *Jeſus* and *Chriſt*. *Moses* being commanded to make all Things according to the Pattern ſhew'd him in the Mount, aſſign'd the Title of *Chriſtos* or *Anointed* to the High-Prieſt, the Perſon inveſted with the next immediate Dignity to God himſelf ; as afterwards he expreſs'd his devout Eſteem for the Word *Jeſus*, unknown altogether before his Time, when, purſuant to the Analogy of its Importance, he aſſign'd it to his Succeſſor *Auſes*, as being that illuſtrious Name which was afterwards to belong to the great Captain of our Salvation. By the ſame Denominations have the reſt of the Prophets diſtinguiſh'd him. Thus *Jeremiah*, *The Anointed of the Lord*

Lord was taken in their Pits: Thus David, The Kings of the Earth stood up, and the Rulers took Counsel against the Lord, or against his Christ or Anointed. The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son, &c. And to typify the same, *Jesus Christ*, the Great Prophet, High-Priest, and King over all; as well the Kings as High-Priests among the *Hebrews*, and so some of the Prophets too, were anointed with Oil. Not that any of those who thus prefigur'd him, attain'd an Eminency equal to his, from whose Name they who were under his Subjection receiv'd the Denomination of *Christians*, paying him Divine Honours, and after his Departure laying down their Lives for his Sake; he having receiv'd his Sacerdotal, Regal, and Prophetical Unction from his Father, a Spiritual, Proper, and a Plenary Inauguration, whereby he was commission'd, according to *Isaiah*, *To preach the Gospel to the Poor, &c.* being that God, whose *Throne endures for ever, the Scepter of whose Kingdom is a Scepter of Righteousness, anointed with the Oil of Gladness above his Fellows; the Lord to whom his Father said, Sit thou on my Right Hand until I make thy Foes thy Footstool; the Eternal Priest after the Order of Melchisedech;* in regard *Melchisedech* deriv'd not his Priesthood from the ordinary Unction of the *Hebrews*, or according to their Succession; but *before the Beginning of the Day*, which implies, *from all Eternity*; as our Saviour was, the only One that was ever among all Nations acknowledg'd and ador'd as *Christ*, the great High-Priest of God, the supreme Prophet and King, the eternally begotten Word of God, truly and really God; whose Servants so sincerely and fervently worship him, that they had rather be made a Sacrifice themselves than renounce him.

HAVING vindicated the Person of *Christ* from the Imputation of Novelty, I must do the same Justice also to his Doctrine. No sooner had *Christ* made his publick Appearance in the World, but he gather'd to himself a very numerous Society from all Quarters, and arm'd them with the invincible Protection of God himself. 'Twas upon the Prospect of this that the Prophet expresses his Transport and Amazement, *Has the Earth brought forth in one Day? And is a whole Nation born at one Birth?* And these are those *Servants of God, who were to bear a new Name, which should be blessed in the Earth.* 'Tis true, the Name of *Christian* Professors is of a later Date, but the Precepts of *Christianity* are as old as the Laws of Nature, and have been perpetually inculcated by good Men, particularly of the *Hebrew* Nation, that ancient People, in whose Records are contain'd many Instances of Piety and Virtue, both before
and

and after the Flood ; and among the rest, *Abraham*, from whom the *Hebrews* are descended. Now all those were in *Fact* but so many *Christians*, both as to *Faith* and *Manners*, as exempt as we from the Burthen of the *Mosaical* Observances, and so far admitted to the Knowledge of *Christ*, that he visibly held Conferences with them, and calls them his *Christs*, *his anointed Servants*. Besides, *Abraham's* Justification preceding his Circumcision, and being accompany'd with the Benediction, that in him all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed, which Promise is fulfill'd in us *Christians*, whose Religion and Practice are so exactly conformable to *Abraham's* ; 'tis evident that *Christianity* is so little of an Innovation, that it was the Sole and Sovereign Rule to the pious People of the earliest Ages. But now, to begin our History under the benevolent Direction of the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and the only Son of that Almighty Father.

In the Forty-second Year of *Augustus's* Reign, and the Twenty-eighth from the Death of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, at the Time of *Quirinius's* Census, our Saviour *Jesus Christ* was born in *Bethlem* of *Judea*, as the Prophets had foretold. Of this Census, the celebrated *Flavius Josephus* has made mention ; and at the same Time of the first appearing of the Sect of the *Galileans*, mention'd *Acts* v. who relates, That this *Quirinius* was a well-experienc'd and dignify'd Senator, and that *Cæsar* sent him in the Quality of a Governor to make this Census, which one *Judas Gaulanites*, in Conjunction with *Sadducus*, a *Pharisee*, represented as an infallible Omen of approaching Slavery, and so made it a Pretence to incite the People to Rebellion. About the same Time, according to the Prediction of the Patriarch, ceas'd the Succession of the *Jewish* Political Governors, and the *Roman* Powers bestow'd the Scepter upon *Herod*, a Stranger ; by Birth, if *Josephus* rightly informs us, half an *Idumean*, and half an *Arabian* ; or, according to *Africanus* and others, the Son of *Antipater*, and Grandson of one *Herod* that belong'd to the Temple of *Apollo* at *Ascalon*, whose Son *Antipater*, during his Confinement in the Hands of certain *Idumean* Ravagers, that had made him their Prisoner in his Childhood, was educated as a *Jew*, and contracted an Intimacy with *Hyrchanus* the *Jewish* High-Priest. Thus by a particular Course of Providences were the Words of the Prophets verify'd, when the Accession of *Herod* to the Crown usher'd in the Expectation of the *Gentiles*, the Series of the *Jewish* Magistrates then failing, which had hitherto continu'd from the

Time of *Moses* and *Josbua* in the Persons of their Judges, Kings, and High-Priests, 'till *Jerusalem* was taken by *Pompey*, who made it tributary to *Rome*, and transferr'd the Sacerdotal Power from *Aristobulus* to his Brother *Hyrcaus*, and after that *Hyrcaus* fell into the Hands of the *Parthians*, *Augustus* and the Senate conferr'd it upon *Herod*: A Change which as it was ordain'd to accompany *Christ's* Incarnation, so it brought Confusion upon the Succession of the High-Priesthood, both *Herod* and his Son *Archelaus*, and the *Roman* Prefects after them, inflating Persons of ordinary Condition in that Dignity, and keeping the Priestly Vestments under Lock and Key; and thus becoming the Instruments of the Completion of *Daniel's* Prophecy, in relation to the Time when the *Uñction* of the *Jewish* Priests was to have its Period.

AND here it seems adviseable to reconcile the seemingly inconsistent Genealogies of *Christ* in *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*; and this we shall do after the Method of *Africanus*, who distinguishing between the *Natural Posterity*, those that were begotten in a right Line, and the *Legal* or *Collateral*, when the Brother rais'd up Seed unto his Brother, interprets one Evangelist according to the first Part of his Distinction, and the other according to the latter. Thus by *St. Matthew's* reckoning down from *Solomon*, *Matthan* comes in as the Father of *Jacob*, and the Grandfather of *Joseph*; by *St. Luke's*, from *Nathan* the Son of *David*, *Melchi* appears as the Father of *Heli*, and the Grandfather of *Joseph*. It remains to be enquir'd how *Jacob* and *Heli* came to be Brothers, and both of them to be call'd alike, the Father as *Matthan*, and *Melchi* the Grandfather of *Joseph*. Now the Mystery of it is this, that *Matthan* descended from *Solomon*, and *Melchi* descended from *Nathan*, had by the same Woman two Sons, the first *Jacob*, the latter (after *Matthan's* Decease) *Heli*, who therefore were Brothers by the Mother's Side; *Heli* dies, and by his Widow, *Jacob* has *Joseph*, his own *Natural* Off-spring, and *Heli's* *Legal*. This being observ'd, *St. Matthew's* descending Genealogy exactly agrees with *St. Luke's* ascending; and how it comes to pass that both are so accurately deliver'd, we learn from what our Saviour's Relations have imparted to Posterity, that *Herod*, 'till whose Time the *Hebrews* had preserv'd in their Archives the Genealogies, both of their own Families, and those of their Profelytes, looking upon such Monuments as a Reproach to the Meanness of his own Extraction, adjudg'd them to the Flames; yet it was not in his Power to erase them out of the Memory, or

the private Transcripts of some of the best Families, among whom were our Saviour's Relations, call'd from him *Desposunoi*, who, in their Dispersion, collected their Genealogy as aforesaid. And this is the best Account we can give of the Genealogies of the Evangelists, in which, by the way, it must not be forgotten, that the Blessed Virgin is *implicitly* concern'd; the *Mosaick* Institution requiring, that she should be of the same Tribe and Lineage with *Joseph*, in order to their Espousals.

No sooner *Christ* was born, but *Herod*, whom certain *Magi* had put into a Consternation by their Enquiries after a New-born King and God, examines the Doctors of the Law about the Place of his Nativity; and being inform'd that it must be *Bethlem*, to secure his Crown upon his Head, and prevent the Possibility of a Competition, he commands that all the Infants born there within the Space of two Years, from the Time that the *Magi* made their Enquiries, be put to the Sword, presuming *Jesus* would perish in the Number. But upon the Warning of an Angel *Jesus* was carried into *Egypt*; and soon after *Herod* receiv'd, in a very extraordinary Manner, the just Fruits of his Impiety and Inhumanity, not only in the many dismal Calamities which beset his Wife, and Children, and all his Family, for whose Interest and Splendor he propos'd to provide by such bloody Expedients; but in respect of those heavy Judgments, which, as an Anticipation of eternal Torments, the Justice of God inflicted on his Person, by Inflammations, both external and internal, complicated with insatiable Cravings, Ulcers, and Wringings of the Intestines, Dropsy, Asthma, Itch, Convulsions, and such a Putrefaction of the Genitals, as bred Swarms of Worms, in all which his own Diviners and Sages read the Vengeance of the offended Deity. However, he did not yet despair, but betook himself for Remedy to certain Medicinal Waters, on the other Side the River *Jordan*; where bathing, by the Advice of his Physicians, in Oil, he had died in a fainting Fit, but that the Shrieks and Outcries of his Attendants reviv'd him. And now being out of Hope, and return'd to *Jericho*, he calls to him *Salome*, his Sister, and her Husband *Alexander*; tells them he is sensible how much his Death will rejoice the *Jews*; and for a Legacy, orders, that immediately upon his expiring, all such *Jews* as were committed to Custody should be massacred, in order to a general Lamentation at his Decease. And not enduring the Extremity of his Pains, he attempted to dispatch himself, but lived long enough to send a third after two of

his Sons, whom he murder'd before, and then ended his Days in miserable Tortures. Whereupon *Joseph* with *Christ* and his Mother left *Egypt*, designing to return into *Judea*; but hearing that *Archelaus* succeeded *Herod*, he went aside into *Galilee*.

ARCHELAUS being depos'd, his Brothers *Philip*, *Herod*, and *Lyfanius*, presided still over their several Tetrarchies; and in the Twelfth Year of *Tiberius*, *Pontius Pilate* was made Procurator of *Judea*, and so continu'd ten Years, almost to the Death of *Tiberius*; whence appears the Spuriousness of the Acts pretended to be enter'd against our Saviour, they bearing Date in the seventh Year of *Tiberius*.

IN the Fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*, and the Fourth of *Pilate's* Procuratorship, *JESUS CHRIST*, being arriv'd at the Age of Thirty Years, or thereabouts, was baptiz'd, and began to preach, which he continu'd to do under *Annas* and *Caiphas*, says the Evangelist; that is, from the Time when *Annas* bore the Office of High-Priest, to the Time when it fell upon *Caiphas*, being not quite Four Years: For *Valerius Gratus* (as the *Romans* now modell'd the *Jewish* Rights and Sacerdotal Succession after their own Pleasure) having remov'd *Annas*, constituted *Ismael*, the Son of *Baphi*, in his Room; and soon after remov'd him, and put in *Eleazar*, the Son of *Annas*; a Year after displac'd *Eleazar*, and constituted *Simon*, the Son of *Camithus*; and in his Room, (after he had held it but a Year) put the Office into the Hands of *Joseph*, call'd also *Caiphas*, under whom *Christ* was crucify'd; having selected, when he was enter'd upon his Prophetick Office, Twelve of his Disciples, dignify'd with the Title of his *Apostles*, and Seventy to go before him, as his Harbingers, in his Progress.

Not long after, *Herod* the Younger beheaded *John*, a Person of singular Sanctity, (says *Josephus*) surnam'd *The Baptist*, from his instituting a certain *Baptism* or Washing, which he propos'd not merely for the cleansing of the Body, but requir'd that the Hearts and Minds of those who came to it, should be antecedently purify'd. A mighty Conflux of Profelytes came into *John's* Baptism, which begot a Jealousy in *Herod*; but what more exasperated that Prince, was *John's* rebuking him for putting away his lawful Wife, the Daughter of *Arethas*, King of *Arabia*, and forcibly taking his Brother's to his Bed; which occasion'd a War between *Arethas* and him, wherein *Herod* was totally routed; and afterwards, on *Herodias's*

dias's Account lost his Crown, and was banish'd with her to *Vienna*: The Justice of Heaven pouring down terrible Retributions upon him for the Blood of *John*, whom he had sent a Prisoner to the Castle of *Machærum*, and afterwards beheaded.

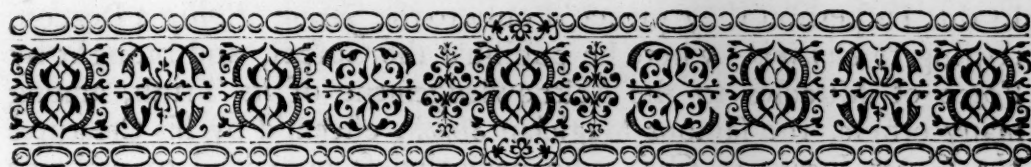
OF our Saviour the same *Josephus* attests, that he was a wise Man, if indeed he might be call'd a Man; that he wrought amazing Miracles, and taught excellent Doctrines; that he had many Followers, *Jews* and *Gentiles*; that he was *Christ*; that he was crucify'd under *Pilate*; that his Disciples notwithstanding adher'd firmly to him; that he rose the Third Day according to the Prophets, and left a Society afterwards call'd *Christians*, that had continu'd to his own Time. All which amounts to an abundant Disproof of the forg'd *Acts* against St. *John* the Baptist, and our Saviour.

OF the Seventy Disciples (for the Names of the Apostles are known) were *Barnabas*, *Softhenes*, as *Clemens* informs us in his *Hypotyposes*; *Cephas*, whom St. *Paul* withstood at *Antioch*, a Name-fake of St. *Peter's*; *Matthias* and his Fellow-Candidate; *Thaddæus*, of whom we shall say more presently, and *James* related to our Lord. But here it must be observ'd, that *Christ* had more than Seventy Disciples, as we learn from the Testimony of St. *Paul* speaking of *Christ's* appearing to Five hundred Brethren at once: As also, that others were call'd Apostles besides the Twelve, as when St. *Paul* immediately subjoins, *And then he was seen of all the Apostles*. What we have to relate concerning *Thaddæus*, is this:

AMONG the many Diseased, that apply'd themselves to *Christ* upon the Fame of his Miracles, was the good King *Agbarus* of *Edeffa*, labouring under a desperate Distemper, who sent a suppliant Letter to our Saviour, which imported, that having heard of the astonishing Cures he had wrought, the Demoniacks he had rescu'd, and the Dead he had rais'd, he address'd to him, as to God himself, or the Son of God, beseeching him to come and relieve him, and take up his Residence with him, where he should live out of the Reach of the *Jews*. To which *Christ* reply'd in a Letter, *Blessed art thou, Agbarus, that hast believed on me before thou hast seen me; for it is written of me, that they who have seen me should not believe on me, that they who have not seen me, believing, may inherit Life. As for thy Desire that I would come to thee, I must accomplish all Things for which I am sent, and when I have accomplish'd them, return to him*

him that sent me : But when I am departed, I will send one of my Disciples to thee, who shall cure thy Distemper, and bring Life both to thyself and thine. Accordingly after his Ascension, the Apostle Thomas, by an extraordinary Direction, sent *Thaddæus* for the Purposes mention'd, of which, and his Miracles in the Name of *Jesus* after his coming to *Edeffa*, *Agbarus* being advertis'd, sent for him ; and so soon as he saw him approaching, and observ'd in his Countenance something that, as he thought, spoke him no common Mortal, to the great Admiration of the By-standers, did him Obedience, and ask'd him, If he was a Disciple of *Jesus*, the Son of God ? *Thaddæus* made answer, That he was sent thither in that Name to assist him in Proportion to the Encrease of his Faith. My Faith (said *Agbarus*) is such, that but for fear of the *Romans*, I would have extirpated the Nation that crucify'd him. He has now (said *Thaddæus*) executed his Father's Commands, and is reascended to him. I believe (answer'd *Agbarus*) both in him and his Father. At which Profession, *Thaddæus*, by Imposition of Hands, in the Name of *Jesus*, restor'd him to perfect Health ; and, at the same Time, one *Abdus* who languish'd under the Gout, besides many others. These were such stupendous Arguments of a Divine Interposition, as made *Agbarus* very inquisitive concerning all Particulars that related to *Jesus*, and *Thaddæus* promis'd to satisfy him therein, but oblig'd him to summon his Subjects, that they might be present at the Narration. Accordingly *Agbarus* commanded them to attend the next Day. And when the Apostle had ended his Instructions, and all the Business of his Errand, the King would have made him rich Presents ; but he declar'd, that as he had voluntarily rid his Hands of those Incumbrances, so he would not receive them at another's. With this Account we are furnish'd from the publick Records of the City of *Edeffa*.





T H E
 Ecclesiastical HISTORY
 O F
Eusebius Pamphilus.

B O O K II.



FROM these Transactions during *Christ's* Residence on Earth, we come to a View of the Times after his Ascension, which were but just commenc'd, when *Matthias* was substituted an Apostle, in the Room of *Judas*; and Seven *Deacons* were ordain'd by the Apostles, of which Number was *Stephen*, the first that purchas'd with his Blood that glorious Crown which his Name imply'd; as *James* the Just, and Brother of our Lord, (being the Son of *Joseph*) had the Honour to be consecrated the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, without any Emulation (as *Clemens* observes in his *Institutions*) on the Part of *Peter* and *John*, tho' they had equally shar'd with him the especial Favour of our Lord, and receiv'd the *Gnosis*, or Gift of Knowledge, from him after his Resurrection, which the other Apostles and the Seventy Disciples deriv'd from those Three. This was that St. *James* mention'd *Gal. i. ver. 19.* not he that was beheaded. And now, upon the Martyrdom of *Stephen*, the first Persecution broke forth, wherein

wherein *Paul* was so furious an Instrument, and dispers'd the Apostles through *Judea* and *Samaria*, *Phœnice*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*. In this Dispersion they preach'd only to the *Jews*; *Philip* a Deacon, retiring to *Samaria*, where he publish'd the Gospel, and brought by Force of Miracles to the Acknowledgement of its Truth, among many others, the famous Magician *Simon*, esteem'd by his Creatures *the Great Power of God*, who nevertheless pretended to embrace *Christianity* with no other Design than his Imps have profess'd it after him, to wriggle himself into the Church, that he might the better undermine it; but being afterwards detected by *St. Peter*, he was made an Example of, as were they by the Sentence of the Church; which, in Spight of all Opposition and Artifices, encreas'd, so that *Ethiopia* soon after stretch'd out her Hands unto God, by the Means of a great *Ethiopian* Lord, who became the first Fruits of the *Gentile* Converts by the preaching of *Philip*, specially thereunto commission'd; while *Paul*, by an immediate Declaration from Heaven, was ordain'd an Apostle, (*the chosen Vessel*) neither from Men, nor by Men, but by the Revelation of *Jesus Christ*.

AND, as if it were not sufficient that the Church alone should be instrumental in promoting its own Glory; *Pilate*, according to a political Rule of communicating to the Emperor all remarkable Events and Occurrences, dispatch'd to *Tiberius* a Narrative of *Christ's* Resurrection, and other Miracles, and of his being believ'd on by many as God, which *Tiberius* signify'd to the Senate; but they rejected the Motion, and pretended that their Authority should in Point of Law have been first consulted; the Wisdom of God thus ordaining, lest the Concurrence of the Powers of this World should seem to have been necessary for the Establishment of the Gospel. However, *Tiberius* retain'd his first Sentiments, and not only forbore to molest the *Christians*, but moreover threaten'd those that should presume to inform against them.

IT cannot be conceiv'd within how short a Period the *Christian* Doctrine, under the glorious Conduct of its Author, diffus'd itself over the Face of the Earth by the Mouths of his Evangelists and Apostles: *Their Sound went forth into all Lands, and their Words into the Ends of the World*. Both in City and Country were Churches every where planted, and the *Gentiles* throwing off the Yoke of their Idolatry and Superstition, and bidding open Defiance to the *Demons* that had enslav'd them, resign'd themselves entirely to the Service

Service of their Creator, and the Religion which his Son had promulg'd. Among the earliest Converts of this Kind, was *Cornelius* of *Cæsarea*, initiated by *St. Peter*, and a large Number of the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, the City which gave Birth to the Name of *Christians*, and where *Agabus* then prophesy'd of an approaching Famine, the same that occasion'd the Journey of *St. Paul* and *Bar-nabas* to *Jerusalem*, to carry Relief to the Brethren.

TIBERIUS dy'd after a Reign of Twenty-two Years, and *Caius Caligula* succeeded; in whose Reign flourish'd *Philo*, the Darling as well of the *Gentiles*, as of his own Countrymen the *Jews*. He was a Nobleman of *Alexandria*, eminently skill'd in all Points of the *Jewish* Religion, and the leading *Platonist* and *Pythagorean* of his Time. This *Philo*, when the Heathens of *Alexandria* sent *Apion* and two others to incense the Emperor against the *Alexandrian Jews*, and remonstrate to him that they laugh'd at the Notion of his Divinity, was deputed along with two others, by the *Jews* his Countrymen, to make their Defence; but when the Emperor would not hear him, he told the *Jews*, perceiving how much they were terrify'd, That *the fiercer the Emperor's Rage was against them, the fiercer would be the Rage of God against him*, and therefore bad them take Courage. The History of his Negotiation he has drawn up himself, which contains, that *Sejanus* at *Rome* did all the ill Offices he could to the *Jews*, while *Pilate* gave them great Disturbance in *Judea*; and that afterwards *Caligula* took a singular Satisfaction in oppressing the *Jews*, commanding them to transfer their Adorations to him, and dedicating their Temple, 'till then unprophan'd, and an Asylum, to his own Divinity. Agreeable hereunto, *Josephus*, who makes the Calamities of the *Jews* take their Beginning from the Time of *Pilate*, tells us, that *Pilate* brought Images of *Cæsar* into *Jerusalem*, which was such a Pollution, as quite confounded the *Jews*, and prov'd to their Sorrow, that Heaven had ratify'd that Choice of theirs, *to have no other King but Cæsar*. Soon after they felt farther Effects of the same Recognition, when *Pilate* defray'd his Expences upon an *Aquæduct* out of their *Corban*. This Provocation made them mutiny, and oblig'd *Pilate* to give a Signal to some disguis'd Soldiers, whose Orders were, that they should only make use of Clubs to fall upon them, which they did, and put an End to their Clamours, and the Lives too of a great many of them. And thus they were all along tost and torn with perpetual Distractions, down to the Catastrophe of

their Tragedy, in the Time of *Vespasian*. Neither did the Equity of God forget the Sentence which *Pilate* had pronounc'd against his Son, but cast likewise upon him such a Load of Calamities, that in the Conclusion he became his own Executioner.

AFTER *Caligula*, *Claudius* obtain'd the Imperial Power, whose Government was attended with that universal Famine foretold by *Agabus*, mention'd also by prophane Historians, when (according to *Josephus*) *Helena*, Queen of the *Adiabeni*, reliev'd the Necessities of the Indigent with a mighty Stock of Corn she had bought up out of *Egypt*. In the same Reign, a Persecution was rais'd by *Herod*, wherein suffer'd *James*, the Brother of *John*, having, by the Boldness of his Confession, (as *Clemens* relates in his *Institutions*) prevail'd upon the Informer to declare himself a *Christian*. So that as they were going to Execution, he begg'd St. *James's* Pardon, which when he had seal'd to him with a Benediction and a Kiss, they were both beheaded. It was intended that *Peter* should follow him, but an Angel brought him timely Deliverance, and to *Herod* the unexpected Reward of his Cruelty; for upon the Celebration of a publick Festival in Honour of *Cæsar*, being adorn'd with very splendid Robes, he deliver'd himself in an Oration before a very numerous Audience, and was answer'd in loud Acclamations, that it must be a God, not a Man, that spoke to them. And in these blasphemous Flatteries he encourag'd them, 'till observing over his Head a menacing Angel, and perceiving the Approaches of Death by the Tortures he felt in his Bowels, he express'd a sudden Dejection, and told the Assembly, that their God must now bid adieu to all his Grandeur, and immediately under the Stroke of Heaven gave them a sad Proof of his Mortality. Then he was carried home, and five Days after, neither the publick Deprecations of all his Subjects, nor his own Tears availing, he died in the Seventh Year of his Reign. It is very observable, how nicely St. *Luke* and *Josephus* agree in all the Parts of this Story; the latter of whom has also furnish'd us with a Testimony to the Truth of what the former intimates in the *Acts* concerning *Theudas*, to this Effect, That in the Time of *Fadus's* Procuratorship, *Theudas* a Magician, perswaded a considerable Body of Men that he was a Prophet, and would divide the Waters of *Jordan* for their Passage, if they would follow him over, and carry their Wealth along with them. But *Fadus's* Troopers quickly spoil'd their Campaigning, and *Theudas* was taken, and his Head carry'd to *Jerusalem*.

WHILE

WHILE God was thus employing the Shafts of his Displeasure against the Crucifiers of *Christ*, the grand Adversary was plying his Engines at *Rome* against the *Christian* Religion. The principal of his Emiffaries was *Simon* the Magician, who so strangely amus'd and infatuated the People of *Rome* with his Necromancies and Legerdemain, that they declar'd him a God, and erected a Statue to him, which had this Infcription, *To Simon the Holy God*. As such did the *Samaritans* likewise honour him, together with his trusty Hand-maid *Helena*, whom he had taken to himself out of the Stews at the City *Tyre*; and recommended as the *πρῶτη ἐννοια*, *The first Conception of his own Divinity*, as himself was indeed the first Ringleader and Introducer of Heresies, the Parent of an accursed Sect, not even yet extinct, who assuming the Denomination of *Christians*, give themselves up to a new Species of Paganism by the Devotions they pay to the Pictures and Images of *Simon* and his *Helena*, not to mention, for the Sake of Modesty, the absurd and unparallel'd Obscenities of their *Mysteries*. But though *Simon* was permitted to gain so vast an Esteem, and possess the Souls of his Admirers to such a Degree, that he was list'd among the Deities of the *Romans*; yet it was only that his Defeat might so much the more signalize the Power and Greatness of the Divine Majesty, as it appear'd early when he came under the terrible Correction of that eminent Apostle *St. Peter*, who expos'd the Blackness of his hellish Arts, and made him glad to get away into the *Western* Parts of the World; whither the Apostle pursu'd him, and not only broke the Heart of all his Machinations, but prosperously display'd to those Regions the blessed Sunshine of the Evangelical Doctrines, which those of *Rome* entertain'd with such a zealous Chearfulness, that, not contented with what *Peter* inculcated by Word of Mouth, they importun'd *St. Mark*, (who attended him, and is the same whom he calls his Son, in his first Epistle dated from *Babylon*, suppos'd to be *Rome*) that he would commit to Paper a Narrative of the *Christian* Origin and Establishment, which he did; and *St. Peter*, by the Instruction of the Holy Ghost, consecrated the Work to the publick and perpetual Use of the Churches. This, as *Clemens* and *Papias* assure me, gave Occasion to the Writing of *St. Mark's* Gospel, which he afterwards preach'd in *Egypt*, at what Time he planted Churches in *Alexandria*, the Members whereof injoin'd themselves a Course of Life so very rigid and mortifying, that *Philo* has given us the Detail of their Character, in which is very obvious the Conformity

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between

between theirs and our present Ecclesiastical Discipline. The Name he calls them by is *Therapeutæ*, signifying them to be a *Sort of Spiritual Physicians*, and a *Society of vigilant Worshippers*. To exempt themselves from the Interruptions of worldly Concerns and Conversation; the first Thing they did, was to make over what Fortunes they had to their Kindred, and to court Retirement. This was certainly the Practice of those Disciples, who sold their Lands and Possessions, and laid the Prices of them at the Apostles Feet. Hardly any Countries of the World (continues my Author) are without some of them, tho' they are most numerous in *Egypt*, and about *Alexandria*.

ON the other Side the Lake *Maria*, upon a Hill, they have several Churches and Monasteries, whither the Worthiest of them travel from all Parts, without any other Furniture or *Viaticum*, than the Inspir'd, and other Books of Piety. Here in Privacy they perform religious Exercises, spending the Day in Philosophical Meditations, reading holy Books, and explaining Allegories, which they suppose their Authors to abound with, having Recourse to the Commentaries preserv'd by them, of the earliest of their Predecessors, by which *Commentaries* we may fairly understand the Writings of the *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, and their Expositions upon several Parts of the *Prophets*. Add to these, as another Argument of their being *Christians*, the Solemnity of their Musical Compositions in Honour of God. They neither eat nor drink 'till Sun-set, deferring the Relief of Nature's Necessities to the Obscurity of a small Part of the Night or Evening. Some of them fast three Days together; Temperance being, in their Opinion, the Basis of all other Virtues. Nay, some amongst them find Abstinence so delicious and sublime a Gratification, that they will fast five or Six Days together. To the same Societies belong Women that voluntarily abide in a State of perpetual Virginity, being ambitious of no other than Spiritual Pleasure and Spiritual Posterity. They expound their Sacred Volumes in an allegorical Way, comparing the Letter of them, with which they chiefly labour to acquaint themselves, to the Soul. But to put the Matter past Controversy, that his *Therapeutæ* were certainly *Christians*, it may suffice to refer the Reader to *Philo's* Treatise, where he will see how exactly the Parts and Circumstances of their whole Regulation answer to ours, their Assemblies, the separate Apartments and Exercises of their Men and Women, their Feasts, Fasts, Vigils, Reading of the Scriptures, Hymns,

Hymns, and the Manner of singing them, their lying upon the Ground, and subsisting upon only Water, Salt, and *Hyssop*, in the Passion Week, and the Division of their Superiors, according to the several Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

BESIDE *Philo's* Book of a contemplative Life, from whence we have extracted the foregoing Passage, he has wrote very lofty and elegant Commentaries upon several Books, and abstruse Texts of Scripture, and upon other miscellaneous Matters; two of Agriculture; two of Drunkenness; one upon the Question, What a well-dispos'd Soul desires and declines? one of the Confusion of Languages; one of avoiding and pursuing; one of conversing with human Literature; of Division into equal and unequal Parts; of the Virtues which *Moses* describes; of the Change of Names; of unwritten Laws; of God's Immutability; of Revelation by Dreams, five Books; of the Tabernacle; of the Decalogue, and the Species of Laws included in the Ten General Precepts, four Books; of Animals for Sacrifice, and the several Sorts of Sacrifices; of the Rewards, Punishments, and Imprecations, which are specify'd in the Law; of Providence; of the *Jews*; of a publick Station; of Reason in Brutes; of the wicked Man's Slavery, and the good Man's Privileges; Interpretations of the *Hebrew* Names in the Law and the Prophets; and his Invective against *Caligula*, entitled sarcastically *περί ἀρετῶν*, *Of Virtue*, which in *Claudius's* Time he spoke in the Senate-House, and so much to the Satisfaction of the Audience, that his Works had ever after a Place in the publick Libraries.

To return to the more publick Series of our History; upon *Claudius's* banishing the *Jews*, *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, with others, fled into *Asia*, and consoled with *St. Paul*; but the Terrors which occasion'd this Flight, were no more than prelusive to the Tempest which fell upon the *Jews*, when, in an Uproar at *Jerusalem*, at the Feast of the *Passover*, they trod one another to Death, even in and about the Gates of the Temple, to the Number of Thirty thousand, while their twofold Subjection is continu'd; to *Agrippa*, his Father's Successor in the Regal Authority, and to *Felix* exercising the *Procuratorial*; though both were not of Force enough to restrain them from the bloodiest Acts of Civil Violence. A Feud broke out between the High-Priests and the Priests, and their several Parties, which, by Impunity, grew into such a headstrong Combustion, that the High-Priests would seize of Course upon the
Tithes

Tithes of the Priests, and starve them, unless their Throats were first cut before-hand (as it was the Fate of the High-Priest *Jonathan*) by the Troops of Assassins arm'd secretly with *Stiletto's*, which as often as they made use of, their way was immediately to cry out Murder with the first Comers, and so to escape Discovery, though they murder'd at Mid-day. Yet this Destruction was tolerable in Comparison of that which the *Egyptian* Magician, taking upon him the Prophet, (mention'd *Acts* xxi. v. 38.) brought upon them, when he march'd out of the Wilderness, as far as to the Mount of *Olives*, with his Thirty thousand at his Heels, and was hastening to make himself Master of *Jerusalem*, and its Government; but that *Felix* came in his Way, gave him Battel, and kill'd or took Prisoners almost all the Rioters, excepting the *Egyptian* himself, who made his Escape.

AFTER *Felix* came *Festus*, the same that sent *St. Paul* to *Cæsar's* Tribunal at *Rome*; whence, after his two Years Restraint, he travell'd to spread the Gospel, then return'd to *Rome*, and there suffer'd Martyrdom, having wrote a little Time before, his Second Epistle to *Timothy*, wherein he speaks of his *first Defence*, and his being deliver'd out of the Mouth of the Lion, meaning *Nero*, and signifies the Nearness of the Time of his Departure and Dissolution; which makes it evident, that he did not suffer 'till after his second coming to *Rome*, when, as he says, *Luke* only was with him, who was not with him at his *first Defence*, and who therefore continues his Book of the *Acts of the Apostles*, to no longer a Period than while he constantly attended *St. Paul*.

IT has been already told how *St. James the Just* was consecrated Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and, from *Clement*, how he suffer'd Martyrdom; but we must by no means omit what so ancient an Historian, as *Hegesippus*, has left us upon Record relating to this Matter. He says, That *St. James*, as being sanctify'd from the Womb, abjur'd all the ordinary Satisfactions of Life, and was the only Person that had free Access into the Holy of Holies. So assiduouly did he offer up his Supplications in behalf of the People, that his Knees grew callous like a Camel's. He was also surnam'd *Oblias*, denoting him the Bulwark of the People, and a most eminent Example of Righteousness. He asserted so generously, and prov'd so clearly, the Truth of the *Christian* Religion, that the joint Endeavours of the Seven Sects of the *Jews*, prevented not his proselyting a great Number,
even

even of the *Sanhedrim*; which so disturb'd and exasperated the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, that they accosted St. *James* in a Body, requiring him, as he would answer his own Illustrious and Authoritative Character, he would publickly from the Top of the Temple, upon the next Passover, undeceive the People as to the general Mistake concerning *Jesus*. And the Day being come, and the holy Man plac'd aloft upon the Temple, the *Rabbi's*, after they had pass'd their Compliments of Derision upon him, and besought him that he would use his Authority to convince the Multitude of their Error, in their having embrac'd the *Christian* Belief; St. *James* reply'd aloud, *Why do you enquire concerning Jesus, the Son of Man? He is seated in Heaven at the Right Hand of Omnipotence, and shall come again in the Clouds of Heaven.* At this Profession, *Hosannas* were eccho'd below to *Jesus, the Son of David*; and the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, now more than ever enrag'd at so mischievous a Disappointment, run up to the Top of the Temple, in a strange tumultuous Manner, and threw him off; but Life remaining in him after the Fall, so that he was able to pray for his Persecutors in the Words of our Saviour; notwithstanding the Intercessions of one of the Priests of the Children of *Rechab*, they began to stone him, and at last his Brains were dash'd out with a Fuller's Club. So fell this blessed Martyr, and was bury'd upon the Place where his Column is still standing. For whose Memory the most sensible of the *Jews*, and particularly *Josephus*, had so serious a Veneration, that they imputed the final Vengeance which soon after overtook *Jerusalem*, to the crying of his righteous Blood; as they did likewise the Disgrace which befel *Ananus*, the High-Priest, a profligate, harden'd *Sadducee*, who had seiz'd the Advantage of a Vacancy in the Civil Prefecture by the Death of *Festus*, to have St. *James*, and some others, dispatch'd out of the Way. This the more considering Sort took so heinously, that Application was made not only to King *Agrippa*, but to *Albinus*, the succeeding Procurator, even before he could reach *Jerusalem*, pursuant whereunto *Albinus* sent Messages full of Terror to *Ananus*, and *Agrippa* divested him of the Pontificate, which he conferr'd upon *Jesus, the Son of Damnaeus*.

THERE is a Catholick Epistle written by St. *James*, which, as also that of St. *Jude*, tho' not mention'd by many of the Ancients, yet is certainly Canonical, as having been receiv'd by most Churches. In the eighth Year of *Nero* dy'd St. *Mark*, and left *Amianus*, an excellent Person, his Successor in the See of *Alexandria*.

AND

AND now was that Juncture of Time when *Nero*, grown up to an accomplish'd Prodigy of Inhumanity, having massacred for his Diversion an innumerable Multitude of his Subjects, and among the rest his Mother, Brothers, Wife, and almost all his Relations and Friends, to crown the Transports of his Violence and Impiety, commenc'd the first persecuting Emperor; indeed the worthiest in all respects to lead the Way. And *St. Paul* is beheaded, *St. Peter* crucify'd; both, according to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, at one Time, and in the City of *Rome*, where is to be seen the Inscription of their Monuments at this Day, says *Caius*, who flourish'd under *Zephyrinus*, Bishop of *Rome*, in his Book against *Proculus*, a Man of great Figure and Authority among the *Cataphrygians* or *Montanists*; where *Caius* boasts of the Monuments of those two eminent Apostles, the one fix'd in the *Vatican*, the other in the *Via Ostiensis*.

YET herein were the Wisdom and Justice of God most conspicuous, that as much as the *Christians* suffer'd by *Nero's* Persecution, the *Jews* still suffer'd much more in the miserable Effects of God's growing Indignation; for now Things were come to that pass, that *Florus*, the then Procurator, both scourg'd and crucify'd, as they had us'd their Lord, the *Jewish* Nobility in the Streets of *Jerusalem*; which provoked them to take up Arms, and the Consequence was, that they had their Brains beat out, as so many outlaw'd Men, where-ever they were found, and that the Cities of *Syria*, the Seat of the Commotion, were bestrew'd with stript and unbury'd Carcasses of their Infants, their Elders, and their Women. All which, with a thousand other dreadful Disasters and Devastations, were infinitely exceeded by the Prospect of far greater Evils gathering over their Heads.





THE
 Ecclesiastical HISTORY
 OF
Eusebius Pamphilus.

BOOK III.

IN the mean time the Apostles were publishing and spreading the Gospel through all Quarters of the World, as they severally dispers'd themselves; St. *Thomas* in *Parthia*, St. *Andrew* in *Scythia*, St. *John* in *Asia*, St. *Paul* from *Jerusalem* round about unto *Illyricum*, St. *Peter* to the *Jews* in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bythinia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Asia*. The last of these was succeeded in the Bishoprick of *Rome* by *Linus*, mention'd in the Second Epistle of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*; which Epistle, with the other Thirteen of the same Apostle, have been universally receiv'd for Canonical, though some have rejected the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, because it has been doubted in the Church of *Rome*, whether it was written by St. *Paul*. As for St. *Peter's* Epistles, the first is undoubted, and quoted by the Ancients as such; but the second was not heretofore counted Scripture, tho', for the Usefulness of it,

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read along with the inspir'd Books, as is at this Day the *Pastor* (a Book so entitled) of *Hermas*, mention'd in St. Paul's Epistle to the *Romans*, which is quoted by some of the most antient Authors, not on the Score of any Divine Authority, but for the Profitableness of its Matter. Nor is it by any means to be reckon'd equal, in Point of Authority, with the Second Epistle of St. Peter, which a very competent Number of Vouchers has declar'd to be of Divine Inspiration. Much weaker yet are the Pretensions of the Books, entitled, *The Acts, the Gospel, the Preaching and Revelation of St. Peter*; for these never pass'd with any-body for *Catholick*. The Divine Authority of the first Epistle of St. John, and also of his Revelation, has been, the first universally, the latter sufficiently acknowledg'd. The second and third Epistles which bear his Name, though possibly penn'd by another of that Name, have been doubted by some, but generally receiv'd; so have the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude. The *Acts of St. Paul, the Epistle of St. Barnabas, the Institutions of the Apostles, the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, (in great Esteem with the *Jewish Converts*) are all *Spurious*; and so are the Gospels of St. Peter, St. Thomas, St. Matthias, and others; and the Acts of St. Andrew, St. John, and the like; all the Issue of *Heretical Contrivance*, unmention'd by any of the Successors of the Apostle, utterly destitute of the Simplicity of the Apostolick Stile, and, as to the Matter of them, heterodox, absurd, and abominable.

IN the See of Rome, after Linus succeeded Clemens, call'd by the Apostle his *Fellow-Labourer* in the Epistle to the *Philippians*; and Timothy was the first Bishop of *Ephesus* after St. John; Titus presided over the Churches of *Crete*; Crescens, as himself tells us, St. Paul sent into *Gallia*; and, as we learn from *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Corinth*, *Dionysius*, surnam'd the *Areopagite*, converted by St. Paul's Sermon in the *Areopagus*, was the first Bishop of *Athens*.

IN the Place of Nero, when he had been Emperor thirteen Years, reign'd Galba and Otho (successively) during the Space of one Year and an half; after whom *Vespasian* was proclaim'd Emperor, a General that had commanded very successfully against the *Jews*, and was then in *Judea*, but upon this Elevation return'd to *Rome*, and left the Army to the Conduct of his Son Titus. The Nation of the *Jews* having first crucify'd the Lord of Glory, and afterwards put to Death some of his Disciples, and persecuted and dispers'd

dispers'd the rest; and all the Believers that were left in *Jerusalem*, upon an extraordinary Warning from God, having withdrawn themselves, before the Enemy had made any Assault upon the City, to a Town or City call'd *Pella*, on the other Side of *Jordan*; *Omnipotence* now manifested itself much more terribly, than it had hitherto done in the Execution of its Justice upon that irreclaimable People. For a more particular Account of the several Calamities and Judgments that beset them, the Reader is referr'd to the History of *Josephus*. Yet one or two of the most remarkable, it may be proper to cite from that Author, as particularly the Fate of the Three hundred thousand *Jews* gather'd together at *Jerusalem* from all Parts of *Judea*, upon Occasion of the *Paschal* Solemnity, at the very Time when they had crucify'd the *Messiah*. And again, the deplorable Effects of an extream and lasting Famine to compleat the Miseries of the Besieg'd. The wealthier Part were cut off upon pretended Suspicions of Treachery: And the *Seditious* broke into Houses, where, if they found any Corn, they beat and abus'd the Masters for hiding it; if none, they tortur'd them to make them produce; taking it for granted, that whosoever was not at the Point of expiring with Hunger, (and such they left to themselves) had Plenty of Provisions. Entire Patrimonies and Estates were secretly commuted for a few Handfuls of Corn, and as privately consum'd in an Instant. The Stronger forc'd from the Weaker the most loathsome Means of Refreshment, and the Wives and Children snatch'd the Morsels from out of the very Mouths of their Husbands and Parents. The Mothers reserv'd for themselves the Milk of the Breast, that should have nourish'd their Infants. The Women that had hoarded any thing that could be eaten, were dragg'd by the Hair along the Streets; and Children that were found with Meat in their Mouths, had their Brains dash'd out upon the Stones. If one Man was presum'd to be better provided with Necessaries than another, a Stake was run up his Fundament, or a Wire into his Yard, to make him confess; beside a thousand other Cruelties, and these practis'd generally by such People as were the least distress'd, to prevent their being so. And when in the Night-time any Person had ventur'd out of the Walls, and pick'd up a few Herbs or Roots, to be sure he was seiz'd upon his Return, and if he escap'd with Life, 'twas a Favour, while others, just perishing, begg'd in vain to be dispatch'd. All Parts of the City were bestrew'd with Carcasses; and when there could no longer be found Hands to bury them, they flung them over the Walls, having first

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barbarously

barbarously mangled them, and so fill'd up the very Fosses round the City; at which Sight *Titus* call'd Heaven to witness, *That he had not been the Cause*. No Filth or Carrion, though never so foul or putrid, came in their Way, but they greedily devour'd it, and eat up their Belts, their Shoes, the Leather of their Shields, or any Scatterings of musty Hay and Straw, which bore a mighty Price. A certain Woman, the Daughter of *Eleazer*, of a rich and noble Family, having been often despoil'd of whatever she collected to support Life, when she could not prevail upon the Plunderers to take that away too, nor longer resist the Violence of her Passion, and the Extremity of her Want, cut the Throat of her own sucking Infant, dress'd him, eat half of him, and hid the rest; which being found, she left it to the Choice of the Discoverers, either to eat it themselves, or leave it for her. In a Word, there were no Calamities that could possibly come upon so wicked a People, for so horrid a Fact, as the Crucifixion of the *Messiah*, but they felt it to the utmost. The Sword and the Famine together destroy'd to the Number of 1,100,000. Upon the taking of the City, the *Seditious* cut one another's Throats. Part of the Inhabitants were reserv'd for Triumph, others condemn'd to the Mines in *Egypt*, others to die in the Theatres, and 90,000 of them to perpetual Slavery. And all this exactly, and in every Circumstance, agreeable to what *Christ* had foretold; as whoever compares the Relation of *Josephus* with the Predictions of our Saviour, must immediately acknowledge with Astonishment.

OF this dreadful Desolation, the *Jews* had been premonish'd by a great many surprizing Signs and Prodigies; a Comet in the Form of a Flaming-Sword, which hung over the City for a Year together; a shining Expanse of Light about the Altar in the Night, at the Time of the Feast of Unleaven'd Bread; and a Heifer in the Temple, prepar'd for Sacrifice, brought forth a Lamb. The great Brass Door of the Inner-Temple, which the Strength of Twenty Men could hardly shut, though fasten'd with large Iron-Bars that went deep into the Ground, open'd of itself. Some Days after was seen an Apparition of an incredible Size; Chariots and Armies engag'd in the Air, and Cities besieg'd. An Earthquake was felt by the Priests in the Temple, accompany'd with terrible Noises and Voices. Four Years before the War, *Jesus*, the Son of *Ananias*, a *Plebeian*, at the Celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, went through all Parts of the City, crying aloud, *A Voice from the East; a Voice from*

from the West; a Voice from the Four Winds; a Voice against Jerusalem and the Temple; a Voice against the Bridegrooms and the Brides; a Voice against the Nation. And tho' miserably beaten and abus'd by Order of the Jewish Rulers, and afterwards flea'd with Scourges to the Bone, he receiv'd the Correction meekly, without desiring Favour, or shedding a Tear; at every Stroke mournfully repeating, *Wo, Wo to Jerusalem*. About the same Time there was found a Sacred Oracle, or Prophecy, of a certain Person that should then arise out of that Country, and become an universal King. This *Josephus* applies to *Vespasian*, whose Dominion only extended over the Roman Empire; whereas it is applicable to *Christ* alone, to whom said the Father, *Desire of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the utmost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession*; and whose Apostles were then fulfilling that Prophecy of the Psalmist, *Their Sound is gone forth into all Lands, and their Words unto the End of the World*.

THIS *Josephus*, from whom we take the foregoing Account, was born in *Jerusalem*, and a Jewish Priest. He was an active Person in the War; the greatest Man of his Time among the Jews, not only in theirs, but in the Judgment of the Romans themselves, who erected him a Statue in *Rome*, and plac'd his Works in the publick Library. He wrote the *Antiquities of the Jews*, and the History of the Jewish War, in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, and is a very faithful Historian. He wrote beside, two Books against *Appion* and others, in Defence of the Jews. In the first of these he asserts the Divine Authority of the Books of the *Old Testament*, and witnesses the profound and pious Veneration, which the Nation of the Jews ever had for them. He wrote several other excellent Pieces, particularly his *Maccabaicum*, and had laid the Design of many more; and tells us, for the Authority of his *History*, that Emperors, and other great Men, had given in their Testimony to it; that the Emperor *Titus* had subscrib'd it with his own Hand, and that King *Agrippa* had written Sixty-two Epistles to vouch for the Truth of it.

AFTER the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, the Apostles, Disciples, and Kindred of *Christ*, as many as were remaining, convened, (as 'tis affirm'd), and chose unanimously for Successor to *St. James*, *Simeon* the Son of *Cleopas*, and Nephew to *Christ*, according to *Hegesippus*, who makes *Cleopas* the Brother of *Joseph*. At the same Time

Time *Vespasian* molested the *Jews* afresh, upon a Resolution he had taken to extirpate the Posterity of *David*.

AFTER *Vespasian*, came into his Throne his Son *Titus*, in the Second Year of whose Reign *Linus* deceasing, when he had held the See of *Rome* Twelve Years, left it to *Anencletus* : And to *Titus* succeeded his Brother *Domitian*, in whose Fourth Year *Annianus*, the first Bishop of *Alexandria*, deceasing, *Avilius* receiv'd the Chair ; as *Clement* (mention'd in the Epistle to the *Philippians*) succeeded upon the Death of *Anencletus*, that had been Bishop Twelve Years. This *Clement* wrote a celebrated Epistle to the *Corinthians*, occasion'd by a Schism at *Corinth*, which is read publickly in the Churches at this Day.

THE Second Persecution was now set a-foot by *Domitian* ; and St *John the Evangelist* was banish'd into the Isle of *Patmos*, where (according to *Irenæus*) he receiv'd his *Revelation*. To this Persecution, and the Martyrdoms of it, as particularly that of *Flavia Domitilla*, the Consul's Niece, the Enemies of *Christianity* have born Witness upon Record. At the same Time *Domitian* being troubled with the Jealousy which *Herod* had formerly conceiv'd, order'd Search to be made after such Persons as were of Kin to *Christ* ; and the Grandsons of *Judas* (the Brother of *Christ*, according to the *Flesh*) were brought before him (says *Hegesippus*) ; but when he had examin'd them, and understood the Meanness of their Condition, and that the Kingdom of *Christ* was not of this World, but Future and Spiritual, he gave no farther Disturbance to them, or the Church ; and afterwards they held Episcopal Authority in it, down to the Time of *Trajan*.

NERVA succeeded *Domitian*, and St. *John*, among others, that had been banish'd by *Domitian*, was recall'd, resided at *Ephesus*, and govern'd the Churches of *Asia*.

IN the first Year of *Trajan*, who follow'd *Nerva*, *Avilius*, having been Bishop of *Alexandria* Thirteen Years, died, and *Cerdo* succeeded him ; the Third Bishop in Succession from *Ammianus Clement* was at that Time still Bishop of *Rome* ; the Third also from St. *Paul* and St. *Peter*, Bishops of that See ; and upon the Death of *Evo dius*, *Ignatius* was made Bishop of *Alexandria*.

AND

AND here we must not omit a remarkable Tradition which is left us by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*. *St. John*, when upon Occasion of ordaining Bishops, and settling Churches, he visited the Provinces adjoining, came into a certain City not far from *Ephesus*, and among the Converts there, observ'd a young Man, with a very comely Aspect, but of a florid and sanguine Temper. Him particularly the Apostle, before his departing, recommended to the Vigilance of the Bishop whom he had ordain'd in that Place. Whereupon the Bishop took special Charge of him 'till after he had baptiz'd him, and then he thought there was not so much Occasion to watch him as carefully as he had hitherto done. The young Man finding the Rein slacken'd, and falling into ill Company, gave himself up to a Libertine Life, grew desperate, committed all manner of Rapines and Violences, and was elected Captain of a Gang of *Banditti*. Some Time after, the Apostle visited the same City again, and demanding at the Bishop's Hands the Pledge which he had so strictly oblig'd him to secure; the Bishop with Sighs and Tears inform'd him of the wicked Courses which the Youth had taken to. *St. John* having blam'd the Pastor's Negligence, hasts to the Place where the Thieves were lodg'd; and being seiz'd by them, desires they would carry him to their Captain, who, upon Sight of the Apostle, presently speeded away; but being closely pursu'd by him, with the most patheticall Invitations to return and amend, and with a thousand Assurances of Reconciliation to God, stopp'd his Horse, came trembling and weeping, fell down and embrac'd the Apostle's Knees, was most heartily receiv'd by him, went through a Course of Penance, and was restor'd to the Communion of the Church, and stands recorded a most affecting and memorable Example of the Efficacy of a sincere Repentance.

THE Gospel of *St. John* has been at all Times, and in all Places, receiv'd for Canonical. It was writ, as it is plac'd, after the other Three, the Authority of which this Apostle confirm'd, and, in his own, supply'd that Part of the History which was wanting before the *Baptist's* Imprisonment, beginning his Relation with an Account of the Eternal Generation of the Son of God. The other three Gospels have also been ever universally acknowledg'd Canonical, together with *the Acts of the Apostles*, which was written by *St. Luke*, an *Antiochian* by Birth, and a Physician by Profession. He was conversant with the Apostles, and for many Years together attended

attended St. *Paul*, who is understood to mean St. *Luke's*, where he says, *According to my Gospel*.

IN Imitation of *Simon* the Sorcerer, *Menander*, his Countryman and Disciple, a Magician too, pretended himself to be the Saviour of the World, and that no body could hold those Angels in Subjection, which (he said) created the World, but by learning his Magick, and receiving his Baptism; in consequence whereof he promis'd his Followers a delightful Immortality upon Earth. There was also the Sect of the *Ebionæans*, who held that *Christ* was an ordinary Man, begotten by *Joseph* on *Mary*; though some of them deny'd only his Eternal Generation, and asserted that he was the just One, barely in respect of his extraordinary Virtue; they affirm'd that the Ceremonial Law still remains in force; and that St. *Paul* was therefore an Apostate, whose Epistles they rejected, and admitted no other Gospel but the spurious one, *according to the Hebrews*, and kept the *Jewish Sabbath*, not excluding the Observation of the *Lord's Day*. *Cerintus*, at the same Time, asserted, That Angels had reveal'd to him, that after the Resurrection, *Christ* should reign a thousand Years upon Earth, *Jerusalem* flourish again, and that those who were worthy should inhabit there, and have all their carnal Appetites indulg'd and gratify'd to the highest Degree. This is the Account which *Caius* and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* give of *Cerintus* and his Heresy. *Irenæus* relates, as by Tradition from *Polycarp*, that St. *John* being accidentally in a Bath where *Cerintus* was present, immediately left it, and desir'd his Followers to do the like, for fear the Building should fall upon their Heads. The *Nicolaitans* (mention'd in the Revelations) were Contemporaries with *Cerintus*. They boasted themselves to be Followers of *Nicolas* the Deacon, who (as these Hereticks would have it) when the Apostles reprov'd him for being jealous of his Wife, brought her forth, and offer'd her to any body that would accept of her, and taught, *That every Man ought to abuse his own Flesh*, which his pretended Followers foully misinterpreted and practis'd: Whereas *Nicolas*, 'tis certain, was constant to one Wife, his Daughters perpetual Virgins, and his Son never marry'd. 'Tis true, he declar'd himself ready to be separated from his Wife, but it was in Token of the Conquest he had obtain'd over his Appetites; and by *abusing the Flesh*, he meant nothing else but Mortification and Continence; as did likewise St. *Matthias*, when he us'd the same Expression.

OF the Apostles, three were marry'd, *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Philip*. *St. Philip* had Children, as had also *St. Peter*, who (as *Clement* relates) beholding his Wife carry'd to Martyrdom, exulted, and encourag'd her, and earnestly call'd to her, *O Woman, be mindful of the Lord*. *St. Philip* and his three Daughters, one of which was marry'd after the Time, when in the *Acts* they are all said to be Virgins, died at *Hierapolis* in *Asia*, and were there bury'd, (as we learn from *Polycrates*, who was Bishop of *Ephesus*, in his Epistle to *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, and also from *Caius* before cited) and *St. John*, who wore a Sacerdotal *Tiara* or *Mitre*, (ἱεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεπορεμένος, as *Polycrates* expresses it) dy'd and was bury'd at *Ephesus*, being not the same Person with *John* the Elder, who was also bury'd there.

UNDER *Trajan* came on the Third Persecution, in which suffer'd *Symeon*, the Second Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the Son of *Cleopas*, and who, in all Probability, had seen *Christ* in the Flesh. He was inform'd against as a *Christian*, and one of the Family of *David*, by certain Hereticks, who were found themselves to be of the same Descent. And though he was an hundred and twenty Years old, yet he endur'd the Torture so courageously and unconcernedly, that the Officers and Spectators at the Execution were strangely astonish'd; and when he had suffer'd those Cruelties, he was crucify'd. My Author is *Hegesippus*, who further adds, that 'till now, the Church had preserv'd herself pure and unspotted, and that hitherto Heresy had been modest, and manag'd in secret; but that so soon as the College of the Apostles, and those who had known *Christ* upon Earth, became extinct, Impiety and Heterodoxy appear'd barefac'd, and made a very bold and considerable Progress. This Persecution was abated, so soon as *Pliny* the Younger had represented to the Emperor, what Multitudes it destroy'd of innocent Persons that abhorr'd the Crimes alledg'd against them, of Adultery, Homicide, and the like; and were guilty of no other Misdemeanor but singing Anthems every Morning to *Christ* their God. Having receiv'd this Account of the Matter, the Emperor order'd that Informers should no longer be employ'd against them; but that nevertheless, as often as any voluntary Informations were exhibited, they should be prosecuted.

SYMEON was succeeded in the See of *Jerusalem* by *Iustus*, of *Jewish* Extraction; and *Clement* (who dy'd in the Third Year of *Trajan*, after he had been Bishop of *Rome* Nine Years) by *Evaristus*.

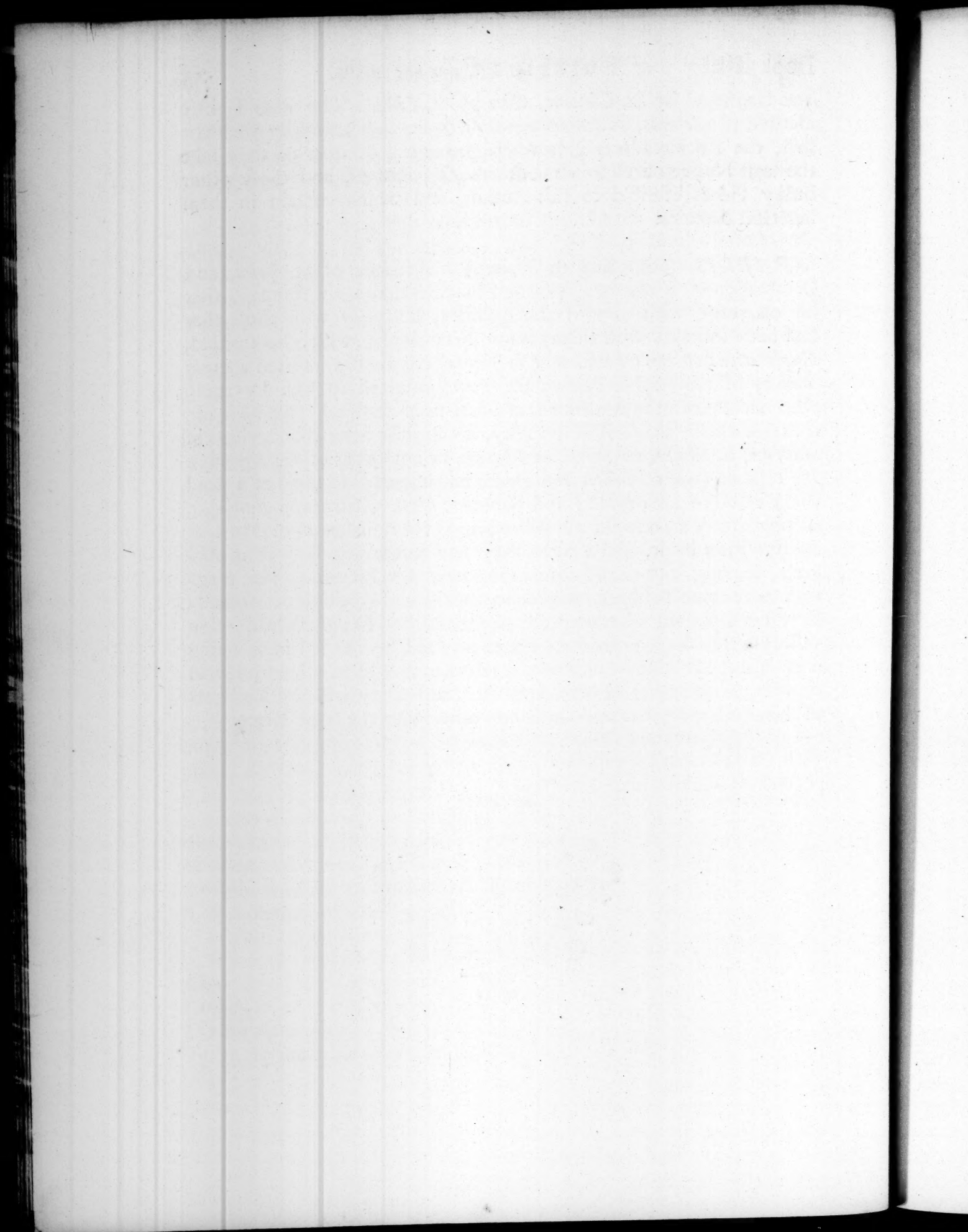
THERE were now also eminent in the Church *Polycarp*, an immediate Disciple of the Apostles, and by them made Bishop of *Smyrna*; *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*; the celebrated *Ignatius*, Successor to St. *Peter* in the See of *Antioch*, who, for the Profession of the Faith, was carry'd out of *Syria* to *Rome*, and expos'd to the wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre, encouraging and strengthening the Churches as he pass'd, and cautioning them strictly against the Poison of Heresy, or departing from the Doctrine of the Apostles. He has admirably express'd his vehement Desire of Martyrdom in that Epistle which he wrote to the *Romans*. He sent beside an Epistle to the Church at *Ephesus*, where he names *Onesimus* as their Bishop; another to the *Magnesians*, where he names *Damas* as Bishop of that Church; and *Polybius* as Bishop of the *Trallians*, in his Epistle to them. These were all written from *Smyrna*. From *Troas* afterwards he wrote to the *Philadelphians*, to the Church of *Smyrna*, and to *Polycarp*, commending his Flock at *Antioch* to his Care. Of these Epistles, and their Author, *Polycarp* speaks very honourably in his own Epistle to the *Philippians*, exhorting them to imitate the great Example of the latter, and admonishing them of the Edification and Benefit they might reap from the former. Add to the aforesaid Worthies, *Quadratus*, endu'd with the Gift of Prophecy. But I have not an adequate Opportunity to particularize that Cloud of Witnesses who surviv'd or succeeded the Apostles, and were left to plant, confirm, and govern Churches; in order whereunto they first made Sale of their Fortunes and Possessions, distributing the Money among the Indigent, and travell'd from Place to Place, distributing the Evangelical Doctrines and Writings, and confirming the Truth of their Assertions by the Miracles which they wrought. I confine myself therefore to those of the Number, who live still with us in their excellent Writings.

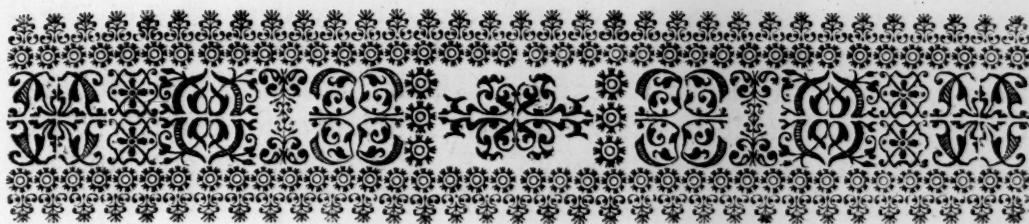
AMONG these Monuments has come down to us, the Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, which, by the frequent Quotations it fetches from the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, attests the Antiquity and Divine Authority of that Epistle; and by the Affinity of the Stile, 'tis more probable that that Epistle, written by St. *Paul* in *Hebrew*,
was

was translated by St. *Clement*, than by St. *Luke*. The other Epistle ascrib'd to *Clement*, is not of equal Weight and Authority with the first, the Ancients having never regarded it. Neither do they take the least Notice of *Peter* and *Apion's Disputations*, and those other bulky Pieces ascrib'd to this Author, and which contain in them heretical Notions.

PAPIAS, (according to *Irenæus*) a Disciple of St. *John*, and Companion of *Polycarp's*, (though himself does no where say, that he convers'd with any of the Apostles, but only with those that had been intimate with them) wrote Five Books, which he entitl'd, *Explications of the Oracles of Christ*; where he has insert'd a great Variety of remarkable Particulars, communicated to him by those who had known the Apostles; and lets us understand, that he made it his Business, as it fell in his Way, to enquire after the Sayings of *Andrew*, or *Philip*, or *Peter*, or *Thomas*, or any other of the Apostles. He tells us (what *Philip's* Daughters had imparted to him) of a dead Body rais'd to Life again; and how that *Justus*, surnam'd *Barsabas*, having drunk a Draught of Poison, receiv'd no Manner of Hurt or Indisposition by it, and that St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, leaving it to the Reader to interpret for himself. His Writings have some Passages in them legendary and groundless, particularly his Opinion, that after the Resurrection, *Christ* should reign visibly a thousand Years upon Earth; which he was led into, being a plain and illiterate Man, by misunderstanding some allegorical and mystick Expressions of the Apostles; and afterwards the Earliness of his Authority, drew *Irenæus* and others into the same Error.







T H E
 Ecclesiastical HISTORY
 O F
Eusebius Pamphilus.

B O O K IV.



ERDO dying about the Twelfth Year of *Trajan*, *Primus* succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*; and *Alexander* succeeded *Evarestus* when he had been Bishop of *Rome* Eight Years.

IN the Eighteenth Year of this Emperor, the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, and *Cyrenaica*, rais'd a Tumult, which ripen'd to a War, against the *Gentile* Inhabitants; who being defeated at first, retir'd to *Alexandria*, and there slaughter'd all the *Jews* they could find. The *Jews* of *Cyrene*, when they had thus lost their Associates, were contented to rob and plunder the *Egyptians*, 'till the Emperor sent *Marcus Turbo* to quell them, which he did after some Time, by cutting off very great Numbers of them. A like Blow they receiv'd from *Lucius Quietus*, who was order'd to drive them out of *Mesopotamia*; and his Victory gain'd him the Prefecture of *Judea*.

IN

IN the mean time *Christianity* spread apace ; but after *Trajan*, who was Emperor almost Twenty Years, in the Beginning of *Adrian's* Reign, great Severities were us'd through the Malice and Artifices of some ill-dispos'd People ; so that *Quadratus* and *Aristides* thought it reasonable to draw up their Apologies for the *Christians*, and present them to the Emperor. They are both extant, and express the cordial Sincerity and Zeal of a true *Christian* Spirit. That of *Quadratus* speaks of Persons then still living, of whom some had been miraculously cur'd, and others rais'd to Life, by our Saviour himself.

IN the third Year of *Adrian*, after *Alexander*, who had been Bishop Ten Years, *Xystus* succeeded in the See of *Rome*, and *Iustus* in that of *Alexandria* after *Primus*, who was Bishop about Twelve Years.

AFTER *Iustus*, in the See of *Jerusalem*, succeeded *Zachæus*, then *Tobias*, *Benjamin*, *John*, *Matthias*, *Philip*, *Seneca*, *Levi*, *Ephres*, *Ioseph*, *Judas*, all approv'd good Men, and of the Circumcision ; that Church having consisted of *Hebrew* Converts, down from the Time of the Apostles to the taking of *Jerusalem* under *Adrian*.

XYSTUS was Bishop of *Rome* Ten Years, and *Iustus* of *Alexandria* Twelve. The first was succeeded by *Telesphorus*, and the latter by *Eumenes*.

THE seditious *Jews* growing daily more and more insolent, *Rufus*, the Prefect of *Judæa*, destroy'd an innumerable Multitude of them, Men, Women, and Children, and made Seizure of their Territory. *Barchochebas*, a Savage Villain, was their Captain, and perswaded them, that (as his Name imported) he was a *Star* sent from Heaven to be their Deliverer. But the *Romans* beleager'd the Rebels so long, and so close, that they were almost famish'd, took *Bethera*, the City where they lay enscons'd, not far from *Jerusalem*, and *Barchochebas* receiv'd his Deserts ; from which Time the *Jews* were expell'd the Territory, and forbid to come within so many Miles of *Jerusalem*. A *Roman* Colony was sent to supply their Places, and the Name of *Jerusalem* chang'd to that of *Ælia*. By this means there came to be a Church of *Gentile* Converts there ; the first Bishop of which was *Mark*.

AND

AND now came forth the Twin-Hereticks, *Saturninus* and *Basilides*; the first an *Antiochian*, the second of *Alexandria*, educated in the School of *Menander*, as *Menander* crept out of the Nursery of *Simon* the Sorcerer. *Saturninus* poison'd *Syria*, and his Doctrines hardly differ'd from those of *Menander*. *Basilides's* Cure lay in *Egypt*, and his new Divinity was a Rhapsody of monstrous Notions and magical Schemes; as the great *Agrippa Castor*, whose Confutation of *Basilides* is extant, has inform'd us. This Heretick wrote Twenty-four Books (says the same Author) against the Gospel of *Christ*. He made it no Sin to do Sacrifice and renounce *Christianity* in Times of Persecution: He oblig'd his Followers to a Silence of Five Years, in Imitation of *Pythagoras*, and hatch'd of his own Brain a Couple of imaginary Prophets, with hard Names, to amuse his Fanaticks, *Barcabas* and *Barcoph*. Of the same Complexion was *Carpocrates*, the Founder of the Sect of the *Gnosticks*, who publickly us'd and practis'd the magical Incantations of *Simon* the Sorcerer, and held Familiarity with evil Spirits, enjoining all that would be initiated in his Mysteries, to live as wickedly as they could, that they might gain the Favour of those Angels, who (as they said) created and govern'd the World, and would otherwise be troublesome. Thus the Devil try'd all his Arts, and play'd all his Engines against the *Christian* Religion. Thus were some Believers caught in his Snares, while Infidels made an Occasion of it to blaspheme, and to load the Church with a Charge of the blackest Crimes, such as Incest and *Thyestean* Feasts, because of the open and horrid Abominations which were practis'd by these Apostates. But notwithstanding the utmost Efforts of him and his Agents, the CHRISTIAN RELIGION spread itself over all the Quarters of the World, and made its Way (under the Divine Protection and Patronage) by the Strength of its own Truth and Sanctity, not only through all the Provinces of *Greece*, but among those of the *Barbarians* too, even in Spite of the Treachery of Revolters, (who subdivided themselves quite away into little Sects and Parties) and of the Malice of Persecutors and Infidels (whose Calumnies were soon refuted and confounded by plain Matter of Fact) so that the Church Militant has ever since reign'd the *Church Triumphant* (as it were) upon *Earth*.

To this Felicity the several eminent Ecclesiastical Writers that then flourish'd, were not a little instrumental; in which Number was *Hegesippus*, who wrote *The History of the Preaching of the Apostles*,

Apostles, in Five Books, in a plain and easy Stile; and declares of himself, that as he had made it his Business to visit the Bishops of the Church, so he had found them all unanimous in their Doctrines; and that the same Books of the Law, the same Gospel and Faith, which God had reveal'd both before and by *Christ*, had been constantly preserv'd along with the Succession of the Bishops in all the Churches. He tells us, That the first Heretick was one *Thebuis*, being disappointed in his Expectations of the Episcopal Honour; next he mentions the *Simonians*, *Cleobians*, *Dositheans*, *Gorthens*, *Masbotheans*; and, as the Spawn of these, the *Menandrians*, *Marcionites*, *Carpocratians*, *Valentinians*, *Basilidians*, *Saturnilians*, and others; and again, as deriv'd from these, the *False* or *Pseudo-Christ*s, *Pseudo-Prophets*, *Pseudo-Apostles*. He speaks also of the *Jewish Sects*, the *Essens*, *Galileans*, *Hemerobaptists*, *Masbothæans*, *Samaritans*, *Sadducees*, and *Pharisees*. *Justin*, a Native of *Flavia Neapolis* in *Palestine*, was another *Christian* Writer of great Repute, who (as himself informs us) had examin'd and try'd all Sorts of Philosophy, but never could receive the Satisfaction he sought, until his Conversion to *Christianity*; the first Occasion whereof, he tells us, was his Disbelief of that improbable Character which the Heathens gave of the *Christians*; for that he could not understand, how 'twas possible that the *Christians* should be such Canibals and Libertines, as the Heathens represented them, and yet so chearfully and bravely expose themselves to the Fury of their Enemies, and even court the most formidable Deaths for the Sake of their Religion. From the same Author we learn, that *Serenius Granianus* having certify'd *Adrian* in how tumultuary and inhuman a Manner the *Christians* were proceeded against, the Emperor dispatch'd a Letter to *Minucius Fundanus*, Proconsul in *Asia*, commanding that none of them should be further prosecuted, except such as might be found to be Disturbers of the State, and that whosoever brought vexatious and invidious Informations against them, should be punish'd themselves.

ADRIAN reign'd One and twenty Years, and was succeeded by *Antoninus Pius*; in whose first Year *Telesphorus*, having been above Ten Years Bishop, suffer'd Martyrdom, and *Hyginus* succeeded in the See of *Rome*. Now it was, that *Valentinus*, *Cerdon*, *Marcion*, and *Marcus*, introduc'd their Heresies. Of *Valentinus* and his Blasphemies, *Irenæus* has left us an Account at large. *Cerdon*, he tells us, was of the Family of *Simon* the Sorcerer, and affirm'd, that God, or *Jehovah*, in the *Old Testament*, is not the same with the
 Father

Father of our *Lord Jesus Christ*, because that God is known, but the other unknown, and that is a God of *Justice*, but this is a God of *Mercy*. *Marcion* was a Native of *Pontus*, and maintain'd, that there was another God every way superior to him who made the World. This Heresy had a great many Followers. *Marcus's* Heresy consisted of magical Rites and Operations. *Irenæus* also mentions their diabolical Mysteries and initiating Ceremonies. 'Tis the Way with some of them (says he) to lay out a Marriage-Bed for their new Profelytes, and mutter their own mystical Forms over it, and this they call a spiritual Marriage. Others of them baptize in the Name of the unknown Father of all, unto Truth the Mother of all, unto him that descended into *Jesus*. Others deliver themselves in Hebrew Forms, as the more solemn and puzzling.

HYGINUS was Bishop of *Rome* Four Years, and succeeded by *Pius*; and after *Pius*, who dy'd in the Fifteenth Year of his Episcopate, came *Anicetus*. At *Alexandria* *Marcus* succeeded *Eumenes*, who had held that See Thirteen Years; and Ten Years after *Celadion* succeeded *Marcus*.

UNDER *Antoninus Pius*, the Infidels began again to vex the *Christians* in the several Provinces of the Empire; upon which *Justin Martyr* presenting an Apology, and others of the *Christians* in *Asia* appealing to the Emperor, he sent an Order in their Favour, to the same Effect with that of *Adrian*.

IN the Time of *Anicetus's* Episcopate, *Polycarp* came to *Rome*, and conferr'd with him upon a Question that had been started in the Church, concerning the Observation of *Easter*. This *Polycarp* was he, whom the Apostles had ordain'd Bishop of *Smyrna*; the genuine Orthodoxy of whose Preaching all the Churches in *Asia*, and all his Successors at *Smyrna* have attested. While he was at *Rome*, he converted a great Number of Hereticks. It happen'd once that *Marcion* meeting him, desir'd him only to take Notice who he was: *Yes*, reply'd *Polycarp*, *I know thee to be the first-born of Satan*. So strictly was that Rule of the Apostle observ'd in those Days, to avoid, and not so much as to eat with any Person that perverted the Word of God.

AFTER *Antoninus Pius*, who reign'd Twenty-two Years, his Sons *Marcus Aurelius Verus Antoninus* and *Lucius Verus* succeeded, and with them a bloody Persecution in *Asia*. The Constancy of the

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Christians

Christians that suffer'd in it, was as astonishing as the Tortures were terrible. They were scourg'd 'till their Veins and Arteries, and their very Intrails lay bare: Others were thrown upon rugged sharp Conchs and Iron Spikes, and when they had endur'd the utmost Misery their Persecutors could invent, they were flung to wild Beasts. Among others, *Germanicus*, a Youth, gave a most extraordinary Proof of *Christian* Courage. The Pro-Consul was earnest with him, to have some regard to the Bloom and Vigour of his Age; but instead of listening, the brave young Man urg'd and provok'd the wild Beast that was to devour him, and dragg'd him forward to his Prey. *Quintus*, a Native of *Phrygia*, who came from thence on purpose to offer himself to the Fury of the Adversaries, (with some others) being scar'd at the Sight of the Tortures and Death that were prepar'd for him, prostrated himself for Mercy before the Officers, but in vain; and his Example became a Warning to others, not rashly to throw themselves upon Trials of this Nature. *Germanicus* being destroy'd, the Multitude loudly demanded *Polycarp*. He had some Time before been persuaded, with much Difficulty, to retire to a neighbouring Village, where, with a few other *Christians*, he employ'd his Days and Nights (as he had always done) in Prayers for the Peace and Preservation of the Churches. Three Days before he was apprehended, he dreamt he saw his Pillow consum'd in Flames; whereupon waking, he told his Dream to the *Christians* that were with him, and that himself was shortly to be carry'd to the Stake for the Testimony of *Jesus*. Fresh Dangers approaching, and being much importun'd, he retir'd again to another Village. The Inquisitors coming thither, found two *Christian* Children, one of which they beat to Death because he would make no Discovery, but the other conducted them to *Polycarp*. He might have yet withdrawn, but staying 'till they came in, he chearfully receiv'd them, saying, *The Will of God be done*. Then he order'd a handsome Entertainment for them, and only desir'd an Hour's Time for his Devotions, in which he recommended to God the Holy Catholick Church, and particularly those Members of it with whom himself had been concern'd or acquainted. The Hour being expir'd, although his venerable Age, Gravity, Courage, and Resolution, had wrought Amazement and Compassion in the Breasts of the Messengers, he was convey'd upon an Ass towards the City, 'till being met upon the Road by *Herod the Irenarch*, and his Father *Nicetes*, he was taken up into their Chariot, and press'd by them over and over to do Sacrifice, and acknowledge

Cæsar's
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Cæsar's Divinity ; but the good Man persisting in the Negative, they loaded him with Contumelies, and thrust him out of the Chariot with such Violence, that his Leg was very much hurt in the Fall. However, he took not Notice of it, and mov'd on as fast as he was able, with all external Demonstrations of Composure and Satisfaction. As he came upon the Place of Execution, a Voice from Heaven encourag'd him, O Polycarp ! *be strong and undaunted.* And this the *Christians* that were near him heard ; though so loud was the Noise and Tumult, that it was lost to the Multitude. The Proconsul first demanded of him whether he was *Polycarp*. He answer'd, He was. Then the Proconsul wish'd him to take Pity on his own hoary Head ; Deny your *Christ*, said he, swear by the Genius of the Emperor ; Repent and say, *ἀγε τὰς ἀθέας* (*Let the Atheist die*). At this *Polycarp* look'd round, with a reverend Aspect, upon the Multitude, holding out his Hand towards them, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, said, with a deep Sigh, *Let the Atheist suffer.* Swear, said the Consul, *Reproach your Christ, and I will release you.* *Fourscore and six Years* (said *Polycarp*) *have I been his faithful Minister.* Never did he use me unkindly. How then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour ? Still the Proconsul press'd him to swear. If (said the Holy Man again) you will pretend yourself ignorant of my Character, and, under that Pretext, urge me to swear by what you call the Genius of the Emperor, know I am a Christian ; and if you desire to learn what Christianity is, allow me the Space of one Day, and I'll inform you. Come, (said the Proconsul) hold forth to the Multitude. I am ready (said *Polycarp*) to bring you to a right Sense of the Christian Faith ; for we are commanded to pay all Duty and Submission, so far as may consist with our eternal Salvation, to Magistrates and Powers as constituted by God himself. But (continu'd *Polycarp*) as for this Multitude, they are unworthy of such Instructions. Unless (said the Proconsul) you abjure, you must be thrown to the wild Beasts. Let them come on, (said *Polycarp*) we Christians are not us'd to change from better to worse, but from bad to better. You shall be burnt alive (said the Proconsul). Your Fire (said *Polycarp*) will be spent in an Hour, but that which is reserv'd for Sinners is eternal. Dispose of me as you please. The Proconsul was confounded at this Alacrity and Sprightliness ; but Proclamation being made, That *Polycarp* had profess'd himself a Christian, the Gentiles and Jews of *Smyrna* demanded a Lion should be set upon him, which the Governor denying upon a Point of Prescription, he was condemn'd to the Flames, and so he stripp'd himself to his very

Shoes, which were usually drawn off by others, that were ambitious to touch the Flesh of so venerable a Saint. Then they mov'd that he might be nail'd up to the Stake ; but he told them, *He that would support him under the Pain, would enable him to keep his Body quiet and steady* : So being only chain'd, he pray'd in these Words : *Blessed be thou, O Father of thy blessed and only begotten Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have receiv'd the Knowledge of Thee ; O God of Angels, and Powers, and every Creature, and of all the Just that live in thy Sight ; blessed be thou that hast made me worthy to see this Day and Hour ; that hast made me a Partaker among thy Holy Martyrs in the Cup of thy Christ, that my Soul and Body may be reunited unto Life Eternal, being sanctify'd by thy Holy Spirit. O grant, I beseech thee, that this Day I may be presented before thee among thy Saints, a rich and acceptable Sacrifice, according to thy heavenly Will, and as thou, O God of Truth, hast reveal'd unto me. Wherefore, O Lord, I adore thee for all thy Mercies, I bless thee, I glorify thee through thy only begotten Son, the eternal High-Priest, Christ Jesus, through whom, in the Unity of the Holy Spirit to thee, be Glory now and for evermore.* And when he had cry'd aloud *Amen*, the Fire was kindled, and the Flames waving in Sheets round his Body, (which did not seem to scorch, but appear'd like Gold in a Furnace, and exhal'd an Aromatick Odour) an Executioner was commanded to thrust him through with his Sword ; which was no sooner done, but such a Stream of Blood issued from him that it extinguish'd the Fire. Thus dy'd this truly Apostolical and Prophetick Bishop. Nor could the *Christians*, with all their Endeavours, procure his Body, which was afterwards burnt ; it being vainly and ignorantly suggested, that for the future, perhaps, they might transfer their Adorations from *Christ* to *Polycarp*. Yet they carry'd off his Bones, and repositied them honourably, as a most valuable Treasure, and annually celebrated his Martyrdom. Beside him suffer'd other illustrious Martyrs in the same Persecution ; particularly *Metrodorus* and *Pionius* were burnt ; the latter having first, with an extraordinary Courage and Vigour, profess'd and prov'd the Holy Truth in the Face of the Judicature, admonish'd those that had laps'd to return, encourag'd and comforted the Faithful, and endur'd the severest Methods of Torture. In *Pergamus*, among other noble Instances of *Christian* Bravery, suffer'd *Carpus*, *Papulus*, and a Woman, whose Name was *Agathonica*. About the same Time, *Justin* seal'd that Divine Philosophy with his Blood, which he had so vigorously defended with his Pen and his Tongue, being inform'd against by *Crescens*, a *Cynick*,

nick, a Man of a leud Life, illiterate and proud, whom *Justin* had publickly confuted. And this came to pass according to what *Justin* foresaw, as he declares in his first Apology, where he manifests the Ignorance, Disingenuity, and Malice of those pretended Philosophers that oppos'd *Christianity*; and has withal inserted this remarkable Relation. A certain marry'd Woman, who before had led an ill Life, being converted to the *Christian* Religion, did what she could to profelyte her Husband, a most immoral Man: When all her Endeavours to reform him prov'd ineffectual, fearing that otherwise she could not deliver her own Soul, she serv'd him with a Writ of Divorce, and left him; but instead of being affected with any generous Sense of her Intentions herein, the Husband brought an Information against her for being a *Christian*. Upon this she appeal'd to the Emperor for a Demur of the Prosecution, 'till she had settled her Affairs and Estate; which was granted. Then her Husband got a Centurion to apprehend and interrogate *Ptolemy*, the *Christian*, that had converted her. *Ptolemy* persisted in the Profession of his Faith, and suffer'd accordingly; as did also *Lucius* and another *Christian*, for expostulating with the Judge upon the Injustice of the Sentence against *Ptolemy*, and professing their *Christianity*. This *Justin*, besides his two Apologies, wrote a Treatise against the *Gentiles*; another, *Concerning the Monarchy of God*; another entitled *Psaltes*; another, *Of the Soul*; another against the *Jews*, in a Dialogue between him and *Trypho*, wherein he shews the great Inveteracy of the *Jews* against the *Christians*, and what Prophecies they had expung'd out of the Copies of the *Old Testament*; and moreover informs us, that there were then Gifts of Prophecy in the Church; and that St. *John* the Apostle wrote the *Revelation*. *Irenæus* quotes him with all Respect and Deference, whence we may compute how highly he was esteem'd by the Antients.

IN the Eighth Year of *Marcus Aurelius*, dy'd *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, after he had sat Eleven Years, and was succeeded by *Soter*. *Celadion* govern'd the Church of *Alexandria* Fourteen Years, and was succeeded by *Agrippinus*. In the See of *Alexandria* sat successively *Heron*, *Cornelius*, *Heros*, *Theophilus*.

AMONG the Ecclesiastical Writers that now flourish'd, was *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, who wrote several Epistles to several Churches; one to the *Lacedemonians*, exhorting them to Orthodoxy and Unity; another to the *Athenians*, upon occasion of some irregular Practices.

Practices and Principles, that obtain'd among them from the Time of the Martyrdom of *Publius*, their Bishop, 'till *Quadratus* (afterwards their Bishop) reform'd and settled them; another to the Church of *Nicomedia*, against the Heresy of *Marcion*; another to the *Cretan* Churches, to caution them against Hereticks; in which he gives a great Character of *Philip* their Bishop; another to the Church of the *Anastrians*, and the rest of the Churches in *Pontus*, where he mentions *Palma*, their Bishop; the Subject of it is concerning Marriage and Chastity, and the reconciling of Lapsers and Hereticks; another to the *Gnostians*, wherein he dissuades *Pinytus*, the Bishop, from Rigour in imposing Cœlibacy; in his elegant and pious Answer, to which *Pinytus* sets forth the great Deserts of *Dionysius*; another to the Church of *Rome*, inscrib'd to *Soter*, their Bishop, applauding them for the great Beneficence and Charity, which that Church had constantly shewn to the distress'd Members of *Christ*; beside one more that goes under his Name, directed to *Christophora*, a Sister in the Faith.

THEOPHILUS, Bishop of *Antioch*, was Author of Three Books to *Autolychnus*, concerning the *Principles of the Christian Religion*; one against *Hermogenes*, where he quotes Places out of *St. John's Revelation*; another against *Marcion*, *Theophilus* being one of the many judicious, learned, and good Men, who made use at that Time of all the Methods possible to exterminate Heresies, and preserve the Orthodox from Infection. Together with these, we have his *Catechetical Discourses*. He was succeeded in the See of *Antioch* by *Maximin*.

PHILIP, Bishop of *Gortyna*, was another of those who writ against the *Marcionites*; but no Body has dissected them so well as *Modestus*.

MELITO, Bishop of *Sardis*, compos'd two Books concerning Easter; one, *Of the Rule of Life and the Prophets*; one, *Concerning the Church*; one, *Concerning the Nature*, and another *Concerning the Formation of Man*; one, *Of the Obedience of Sense to Faith*; one, *Concerning the Spirit, Soul, and Body*; one, about *Baptism*; one, about *Truth*; one, *Concerning Faith, and of the Generation of Christ*; one, *Of Prophecy*; one, about *Hospitality*; one entitled, *The Key*; one, *Concerning the Incarnation of God*; there are also his Discourses concerning the Devil, and concerning the Revelation of *St. John*,

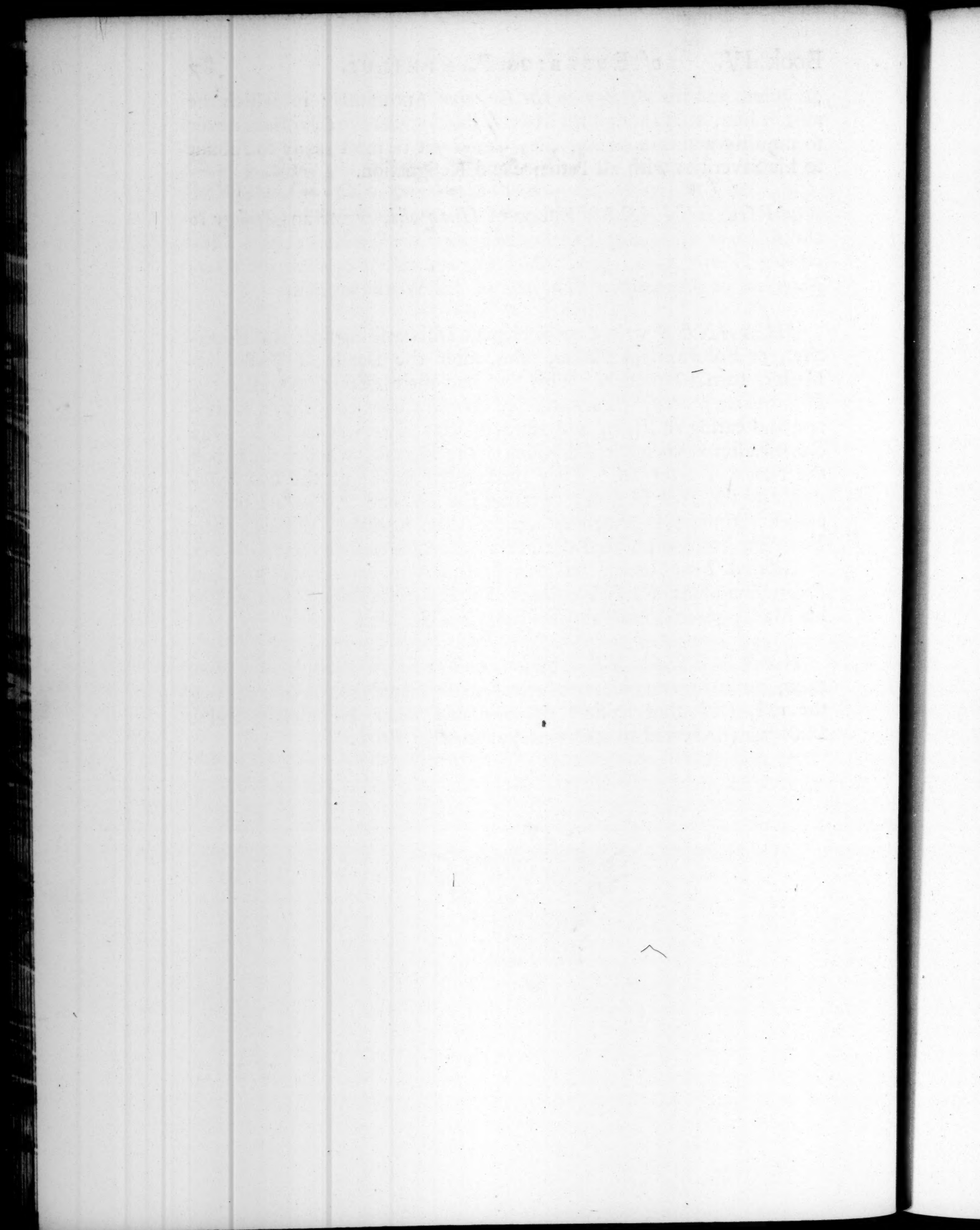
St. John, and his *Apology to the Emperor Antoninus*; in which he assures him, that though his Majesty should treat the *Christians* never so unjustly and inhumanly, they would yet be most ready to submit to his Severities with all Patience and Resignation.

A POLLINARIS, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, wrote an *Apology to the Emperor aforesaid*; five Books against the Gentiles; two, *Concerning Truth*; two, *against the Jews*, and others against the *Cataphrygians* or *Montanists*. The rest of his Works are lost.

MUSANUS writ a most elegant Discourse against the *Encratites*, or Followers of *Tatian*, who, after the Death of *Justin* his Master, turn'd Heretick. This Sect had their *Æones*, as well as the *Valentinians*. With *Saturninus* and *Marcion* they condemn'd Marriage and eating of Flesh, and affirm'd, that *Adam* was damn'd. One *Severus* afterwards made Additions to the Heresy, whence they took the Name of *Severiani*. They receive the Books of the *Old Testament* and the *Four Gospels*; rejecting the *Acts* and St. *Paul's* Epistles, and exclaiming vehemently against that Apostle. *Tatian*, their Founder, has complicated the Four Gospels into One, which Work is entitled *Diateffaron*; and has presum'd to correct the Stile and Expression of St. *Paul's* Epistles. He is a voluminous Writer, but his Master-piece is his Treatise against the Gentiles.

BARDESANES, a *Syrian*, and at first a Disciple of *Valentinus*, wrote several Pieces, which were translated into *Greek*; among the rest, Dialogues against *Marcion*, and other Hereticks; and a Dialogue (dedicated to *Antoninus*) concerning Faith.







T H E
 Ecclesiastical HISTORY
 O F
Eusebius Pamphilus.

B O O K V.

 O T H E R held the See of *Rome* Eight Years, and, upon his Death, *Eleutherus* was advanc'd to that Chair, in the Seventeenth Year of *Antoninus Verus*, when the Violence of the Persecution increasing, all the Provinces of the Empire were in a manner overflow'd with the Blood of the Holy Martyrs. And to what an Excess of Vehemence it raged elsewhere, may be conceiv'd from the Measures of Persecution which were taken at *Lyons* and *Vienne*, where the *Christians* were forbidden to shew their Heads, expos'd to all the Injuries and Indignities which Men could suffer from a licens'd Rabble ; and upon Presentment reserv'd in Custody by the Magistrates for the Fury of the *Prefect*, at that Time absent. *Vettius Epagathus* was the first Fruit of those that dy'd, having offer'd himself an Advocate for his Brethren, and made a bold Confession of his Faith. He was a Youth of singular Piety ; and extraordinary Influences of Divine

M Grace

Grace had elevated his Soul. With him several others signaliz'd themselves in a glorious Resistance unto Blood : However, there were Ten who fell away ; which might have prov'd a great Discouragement, had not the Sufferings of all the brightest Luminaries of both those Churches made amends for their Defection. The *Gentile* Servants of *Christians* were apprehended, and compell'd to alledge against their Masters the most scandalous and abominable Falsties, to alienate the Minds of those who retain'd any Degree of Compassion for them. *Sanctus*, a Deacon, was Proof against all the most exquisite Tortures the Persecutors could put him to ; and return'd them no other Answer to any of their Questions, but *that he was a Christian*. They clapp'd burning Wedges of Brass upon the tenderest Parts of his Body ; at which he never so much as shrunk, though he was at last so fear'd, and parch'd, and writhed, that he had nothing left about him of a human Shape. And yet, when within a little Time after the Tortures were to be repeated before his Flesh could heal, his Body had miraculously recover'd its pristine Form, Firmness, and Functions. *Maturus*, *Attalus*, and *Blandina*, a poor feeble Woman, were afterwards expos'd along with *Sanctus*, to the wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre, where *Maturus* (who had endur'd the Torture already) and *Sanctus* having been first scourg'd again, and lamentably torn by the Teeth of the Devourers, were laid to broil upon a Gridiron, and then had their Throats cut : *Sanctus* all the while reiterating his Professions of *Christianity*. *Attalus*, who had always been a noted Hero of the Faith, was first led about the Amphitheatre, with this Inscription before him, *This is Attalus the Christian* ; but when they found him to be a *Roman*, he was remanded to Prison, and afterwards brought again into the Amphitheatre, where all the other Methods of Torture being first apply'd, he was placed upon the Iron Grate, and as his Body was broiling, *It seems*, said he to the Spectators, *'tis not we Christians, but yourselves that make Thyestean Feasts, and commit those other Enormities you accuse us of*. And when they demanded of him what was the Name of God ? *God*, said he, *has not a proper Name, as if he were a Man*. In fine, he was dispatch'd by the Sword. This *Attalus*, during his Troubles, was, by an extraordinary Revelation, directed to reprove *Alcibiades*, one of his Fellow-Martyrs, for abstaining from the Use of every kind of Sustenance besides Bread and Water ; upon which *Alcibiades* forsook his Resolution. *Blandina*, when the Executioners had tortur'd, and torn, and butcher'd her Body from Morning to Night, 'till they confess'd themselves tir'd, still

still continu'd able with Courage and Chearfulness to affirm she was a *Christian*, and that the *Christians* were pious People. She was afterwards expos'd to the wild Beasts, being ty'd up to the Stake, in the Manner of a Person crucify'd; at the Sight of which her Fellow-Sufferers were greatly animated. But none of the Beasts would fasten upon her; so she was taken down again, and kept in a Dungeon 'till the last Day of the *Amphitheatral* Conflicts, when, with a Youth, named *Ponticus*, about fifteen Years of Age, (after they had both been for several Days together made Spectators of the Sufferings of their Fellow-Christians) again she underwent with Joy their utmost Barbarities, and at last was wrapt in a Sack, tost by a Bull, and then her Throat cut: The Infidels declaring, they knew no Instance among themselves of Fortitude in a Woman, comparable to *Blandina*. *Ponticus* was dead before her, having been wonderfully encourag'd under the Agony of his Tortures by her comfortable Exhortations. *Biblias*, another of the same Sex, at first renounc'd her Profession; but afterwards, when Tortures were apply'd to make her blaspheme, she repented, declar'd herself a *Christian*, vindicated the Name from the Calumnies of the Adversaries, and became enlisted among the noble Army of Martyrs. Others were thrown into dark and narrow Dungeons, and shut in the Stocks with their Legs distended as wide as they could be stretch'd. These, and the like Cruelties, releas'd, in a little Time, the Souls of a great many Confessors; though not a few endur'd them much longer than otherwise they could have done, being in a most surprizing Manner supported by God, that they might strengthen their Brethren. *Pothinus*, Bishop of *Lyons*, aged above Ninety, and very infirm, was hurry'd to the Tribunal, the Magistrates and the Rabble all the while exclaiming tumultuously against him, at which he express'd no manner of Concern: And being ask'd by the Prefect, *Who was the God of the Christians?* told him, *He should know when he was worthy to know.* Then immediately they fell to kicking, bruising, and wounding him; after which he was thrown into a Dungeon, where, within two Days, the blessed old Man expir'd. At the same Time, the Divine Justice and Wisdom manifested itself remarkably in the Punishment of the Lapsers; for they were treated as unmercifully as others who stood their Ground; while the latter discover'd in their Looks the unspeakable Comfort and Felicity they felt in the present Succour of the Holy Spirit, and the Certainty of the promis'd Reward; but the former groan'd under the sad additional Miseries of an accusing Conscience and a black Remorse,

which cast them into a low Dejection of Soul, and spread such Confusion in their Faces, as encourag'd their Enemies in their Insults and Abuses, 'till, through the Mercy of God, they were, by the Endeavours and Assistance of the Holy Martyrs, reconcil'd and reunited to the Church; and, upon a second examining, when they might have been acquitted, if they would have persever'd in their former Renunciation, declar'd themselves *Christians*, and accordingly were put to Death, some Children of Perdition excepted. One *Alexander*, a Native of *Phrygia*, and a Physician, a *Christian* devout and well fortify'd, having cited them before the Tribunal to assert their Faith with all Stedfastness, and thereby incens'd their Adversaries, who resented nothing so heinously as After-Confessions from the Mouths of Lapsers, was examin'd by the Prefect, and assuring him he was a *Christian*, suffer'd along with *Attalus* now mention'd. This invincible Constancy of the Martyrs exasperated the Unbelievers to such a Degree, that, not content with all the Inhumanities which the Servants of God, while alive, had suffer'd at their Hands, they flung the Carcasses of those that had dy'd in Prison to the Dogs, stamp'd upon them, offer'd them all manner of Indignities; and when they had watch'd them for several Days, that none of the surviving *Christians* might fetch them away and bury them, burnt them, and threw the Ashes into the River *Rhosne*. Thus triumph'd these Holy Martyrs, whose Humility, Meekness, and Charity exceeded, if possible, their Magnanimity and Patience; for they were so meek and modest, that they would by no means allow themselves worthy the Title of Martyrs; they offer'd up their Prayers for their Persecutors and Tormenters; they reliev'd the Necessities of those who had fallen away through Infirmary, and were most ready to palliate and put the kindest Construction upon the Matter, and to receive them again into Communion. This Account of Things the Churches of *Lyons* and *Vienne*, communicated in an Epistle to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*; and likewise to *Eleutherus*, Bishop of *Rome*, in a Letter, which they sent by *Irenæus*, then one of their Presbyters, with a special Recommendation of the Person that carry'd it.

HERE let us not leave that miraculous Interposition of Heaven unmention'd, which not only *Apollinaris*, *Tertullian*, and other *Christian* Writers, but the Heathens themselves have recorded. In the Time of the War against the *Germans* and *Sarmatians*, when the two Armies were now in a Readiness to engage, and that of the Emperor,

Emperor, *Marcus Aurelius*, was languishing, and in a manner dead with Drought, the *Melitine Legion*, consisting of *Christians*, prostrated themselves upon their Knees, and besought the great God of Heaven and Earth to send them some Relief. Immediately their Supplication was answer'd by a terrible Tempest of Thunder and Lightning, which fell upon the Enemy, put them to Flight, and laid many of them dead ; while a plentiful Rain descended upon the *Roman Army*, and afforded them a large Provision for their Refreshment, and the extinguishing of their Thirst.

AFTER the Death of *Pothinus*, *Irenæus*, who in his Youth had been instructed by *Polycarp*, was consecrated Bishop of *Lyons*. In his Third Book against Heresy, he has enumerated the Bishops of *Rome*, as they descended by Succession, down to *Eleutherus*, who held the Chair when he wrote. And in his Second Book he tells us of a great Variety of extraordinary Gifts and Powers that abounded, and were exercis'd in the Church in his Time ; that the Dead were rais'd by Fasting and Prayer, Devils cast out, and so the rescu'd Parties were converted to the Faith ; that the Sick were recover'd by Imposition of Hands ; that several of the *Christians* had Revelations imparted to them, and prophesy'd ; and that all manner of Miracles were wrought in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, who suffer'd under Pontius Pilate. In his Third Book he has asserted the Authority of the Four Gospels. In his Fifth, and elsewhere, the Authority of St. *John's* Revelation and First Epistle, and of the First Epistle of St. *Peter* ; as also that of the *Septuagint Translation*, in Opposition to *Theodotion's* and *Aquila's*, (two *Jewish* Converts) and tells us, that *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, desiring to have his Collection in his Library at *Alexandria*, as valuable and compleat as it could possibly be made, solicited the *Jews* to let him have a *Greek Translation* of the Books of the *Old Testament*, upon which they sent him Seventy of their most able Elders to translate them for him ; and when they had finish'd their several Versions, every one apart from all the rest, as he had order'd, they were compar'd together, and being found to agree Word for Word, the King and all the Gentiles present, ingenuously acknowledg'd, that both the Original and the Translation were Sacred, and deriv'd from God himself. Beside his Work against the Hereticks, and his Epistles, *Irenæus* writ a little Discourse against the *Gentiles*, concerning Science ; another giving an Account of the Preaching of the Apostles ; and a little Miscellany of Controversial Arguments.

ANTONINUS

ANTONINUS reign'd Nineteen Years, and *Commodus* was his Successor, in whose First Year *Agrippinus*, having been Bishop of *Alexandria* Twelve Years, was succeeded by *Julian*.

ABOUT the same Time, the great *Pantæus* presided in the *Christian* School at *Alexandria*, a most ancient and flourishing Academy of Divine Erudition. *Pantæus* had been educated in the Principles of the *Stoick* Philosophy ; but becoming a *Christian*, he thought it his Duty to endeavour the Conversion of others ; and so, transcribing from the Practice of the Apostles, he went diffusing the Gospel Eastward as far as to *India*, where he found in the Hands of certain *Christians*, the Gospel of St. *Matthew* in the original *Hebrew*, suppos'd to have been left by St. *Bartholomew* when he preach'd in those Parts. Among the Pupils of *Pantæus*, was *Clement* of *Alexandria*, as himself gives us to understand in his Book of Institutions. He trod in the same Tract of Divine Studies with his Master, whom he seems to mean in the First Book of his *Stromata*, where he speaks of a certain Person whom he had met with in *Egypt*, the best accomplish'd of any he had found in all Sacred Literature whatsoever.

IN the Church of *Jerusalem*, as the Order of their Succession stands register'd in their Archives, down to the Time we are here concern'd for ; after *Marc* succeeded *Cassianus*, then *Publius*, *Maximus*, *Julian* the First, *Caius* the First, *Symmachus*, *Caius* the Second, *Julian* the Second, *Capito*, *Valens*, *Dolichianus*, *Narcissus*.

RHODON, an *Asiatick*, was an eminent Writer of these Times. He had been the Scholar of *Tatian*, and employ'd his Pen against the Heresy of the *Marcionites*, who (says he) were divided among themselves, and distributed into several Sects. *Apelles*, a scrupulous Pretender to Sanctity, held no more than one Origin and Cause of all Things ; but, upon the Authority of *Philumena's* pretended Revelations, (a poor young Woman possess'd with an evil Spirit) asserted, that the Prophecies of the Scriptures were the Dictates of an opposite and malignant Power. Others, as *Marcion* himself, *Potitus*, *Basilicus*, and their Party, were for the Opinion of two contrary efficient first Principles. *Syneros* and his Followers contended for three ; but none of them, when they were put upon the Proof of their Hypotheses, had any thing like a plausible Argument

to offer; and *Apelles* particularly was able to give no other Reason to *Rhodon* for his Presumptions, than that he believ'd them, because he believ'd them, professing himself a true *Latitudinarian*; for the Wretch thought it hard that any Man's Faith should be examin'd, and was for leaving all People to follow their own Principles, whether good or bad, and in his wonderful Charity extended the ordinary Hopes and Means of Salvation to all Faiths, and to all Communions. This same *Rhodon* has left us a Commentary upon the *Hexameron*, or Mosaical Account of the Creation.

IN *Asia* and *Phrygia*, the Heresy of *Montanus* had now made a considerable Progress. This *Montanus*, (as we understand from *Apollinaris*, who, with divers other Associates, learned and eloquent, stemm'd the Tide of his Heresy) when, as yet, he was but a Novice in the *Christian* Faith, becoming a Dæmoniack, went about and publish'd his Divinations and Predictions, repugnant, as they were, in their Sense and Tendency to the original Rule of Faith, and the Doctrines of the Holy Catholick Church. And by all good *Christians* he was therefore sharply rebuk'd, convicted as a false and diabolical Prophet, and strictly commanded to desist from his execrable Pretences; while others, losing their Wits and themselves with a Calenture of Enthusiasm, took his Part, and gave him all Encouragement to spread the Pestilence, which he was the better enabled to do through the Assistance of a Couple of wicked Women, who being also under the Possession of evil Spirits, bellow'd about their Absurdities and Blasphemies, and gave their Admirers a full Assurance of the highest Privileges and Blessings; exercising withal, for the better Grace of the Management, a Discipline of Authority over them, and calumniating the Sound and Orthodox Members of *Christ*, who, forsooth! were no less than guilty of the Blood of the Prophets, because they shut their Ears upon the detestable Oracles and Effusions of the Sorceresses. But more especially did they malign those of the *Asiatick* Churches, who had often examin'd and condemn'd their Extravagances in Council, and excommunicated their Authors and Abettors. *Maximilla* prophecy'd of Wars and publick Distractions, immediately to break out; but (as it happen'd) very unluckily; for there was nothing like them, either in the Empire, or against the Church, during the Space of Thirteen Years after. *Zoticus* Bishop of *Comana*, and *Julian* Bishop of *Apamea*, desir'd to have brought her Familiar to a Trial, but her Complices did not think fit he should stand it. At last, as 'tis reported, at the

Instigation

Instigation of her Dæmon, she hang'd herself; (and so did *Montanus* too) and 'tis generally affirm'd, that *Theodotus*, one of their principal Engines, was carry'd up a great Height in the Air, and that his evil Spirit deceiving him, he fell, and so lost his Life. When all their other Arguments fail'd, their way was to boast of their Martyrs, whereas really none of them ever suffer'd; though if any of them had, they could have pretended no more to the Title of Martyrs than the *Marcionites*, or any other Hereticks; that is, not at all. For this Representation of *Montanus* and his Heresy, we stand oblig'd to *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, who in the Beginning of the Work which he compos'd against the *Cataphryges* or *Montanists*, informs us, that he had some time doubted with himself, whether he should write against them or not, lest his Book might be interpreted as an Addition or Supplement to the written Rule of the Gospel, to which nothing was to be added, and from which nothing was to be taken away. *

THE two Ringleaders of the *Montanist* Faction in *Rome*, were *Florinus* and *Blaſtus*, both degraded Presbyters, and a great many unhappy Souls were seduc'd by their Artifices.

BESIDE *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, there were also engag'd in Deſiance to the *Montanists*, *Miltiades*, *Apollonius*, and *Serapion*, Successor to *Maximin* in the Chair of *Antioch*. *Miltiades* moreover compos'd a Treatise against the *Gentiles*, and another against the *Jews*, and an Apology for the *Christian* Religion, inscrib'd to the Prefects of Provinces. *Apollonius* has animadverted upon *Montanus's* Prohibition of Marriage, and Imposition of new Fasts; his making a *Jerusalem* of two little Villages of *Phrygia*, for a Place of general Convention; the Mercenary Trade of his Preaching, and the Hire accepted by his Prophetesses; he accuses *Themison*, a fast Friend to the Sect, of Apostacy, of Hypocrisy, and of Blasphemy: And *Alexander*, another of them, (he tells us) though a common Highwayman, was an Object of their Adoration: And as for their Prophets, they were Beaus, Gamesters, and Usurers. All which he has offer'd to demonstrate if they would join Issue. He quotes Places out of *St. John's* Revelation, and makes mention of a dead Body rais'd to Life by that Apostle, and of a very ancient Tradition,

* So entire and adequate a Body of Directions, and so sufficient for the Ends of Salvation, did the earliest Christians esteem the Holy Scriptures.

That Christ forbade his Apostles to depart, 'till the End of Twelve Years, from Jerusalem. Serapion speaks of Apollinaris, and his Share in the Controversy, in his Epistle to Caricus and Ponticus, to which Epistle are annex'd the Subscriptions of several Bishops. About the same Time, Irenæus wrote an Epistle to Blastus concerning Schism, and another to Florinus, to convince him that God is not the Author of Sin. In this Epistle he insists much upon their former Familiarity with Polycarp, and that Polycarp would have abhor'd those Tenets which Florinus maintain'd, and express'd his Detestation of, in the Expression, which, it seems, he loved to use, *O good God ! that I should live to see such a prophane and incorrigible Generation !* Afterwards the same Serapion drew up a Tract against the Valentinian Heresy, which Florinus had imbib'd, entitled *περὶ ἑρδωδδ* &c. At the End of this Book we meet with a most illustrious Argument of the Integrity and Caution of those early Writers in the Church ; where he adjures the Transcribers, in the Name of Christ Jesus, the Judge of Quick and Dead, to copy precisely according to the Original, and that they shall in like manner adjure all future Transcribers from Time to Time.

UNDER Commodus the Church enjoy'd a Truce, and acquir'd a large Increase of Profelytes, whole Families coming in of the most eminent Condition in Rome ; where, nevertheless, the great and learned Apollonius receiv'd his Crown, having first in a most elegant Oration vindicated the Christian Religion before the Judge, who begg'd and entreated him to abjure. The Informer, a most profligate Fellow, had his Legs broke for bringing the Information contrary to the Tenor and Authority of the Imperial Edict before-mention'd.

IN the Tenth of Commodus dy'd Eleutherus, after he had been Bishop Thirteen Years, and Victor succeeded in the See of Rome. Demetrius succeeded Julian, who sat Bishop of Alexandria Ten Years. Contemporary with these, were Serapion Bishop of Antioch, Theophilus Bishop of Cæsarea, Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem, Bacchylus Bishop of Corinth, Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus, beside many others, whose Names we shall omit, because none of their Writings are now extant among us.

THE Question about the Time of the Observation of Easter, was at this Time very warmly debated. The Asiatick Churches celebrated

brated that great Festivity upon the Fourteenth Day of the Moon's Age, whatever Day of the Week it happen'd to be, as the *Jews* did the Passover, and pleaded the Authority of Their Tradition ; so particularly *Polycrates* in his Epistle to *Victor*, and the Church of *Rome*, instancing in the Practice of *St. John*, *St. Philip*, and his Daughters, *Polycarp*, *Thraseas* Bishop of *Eumenia*, *Sagaris* Bishop of *Laodicea* and Martyr, *Papirius*, *Melito*, and Seven Bishops that had been all of his own Family ; moreover, urging the Authority of a large Council of Bishops, which he had call'd and presided in, and lastly his own, with regard to the Number of Years he had liv'd in the World, and the general Conversation he had cultivated with his Brethren. On the contrary, all other Churches, down from the Times of the Apostles, had celebrated that Feast upon no other Day of the Week but the *Lord's-Day*, and the Practice was confirm'd by Synods and Councils that met upon this Occasion, particularly by a Council in *Palestine*, in which presided jointly *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Narcissus* of *Jerusalem* ; by a Synod at *Rome*, where *Victor* presided ; by another of the Bishops of *Pontus*, in which *Palma* presided ; by another of the *Gallican* Bishops, in which *Irenæus* presided ; by another of the Bishops of the Province of *Osroena*, all whose Synodical Epistles are still to be seen, together with the Epistles of *Bathyllus*, and of several other Bishops out of Council. And such a Zealot was *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, in Favour of this Decision, as to excommunicate all the *Asiatick* Churches, and all others that adher'd to them. For which Rigour several of his Brethren of the Episcopal College rebuk'd him, particularly *Irenæus*, in an Epistle which he wrote him in the Name of the Council he presided over ; and where he gives him to understand, that the first *Christians* did not make this Difference a sufficient Ground for Breach of Communion and Charity, and alledges to him the Example of his own Predecessors, *Xystus*, *Telesphorus*, *Hyginus*, *Pius*, *Anicetus*, between the last of whom and *Polycarp*, while he continu'd with him, this Diversity of Practice, he says, had not created the least Misunderstanding. The Synod of Bishops in *Palestine* took special Care in their Encyclical Epistle to clear their Tradition in this Point, and intimated the Concurrence of the Church of *Alexandria* with their own ; and at the Close gave Directions for Copies of it to be communicated to all the Churches.

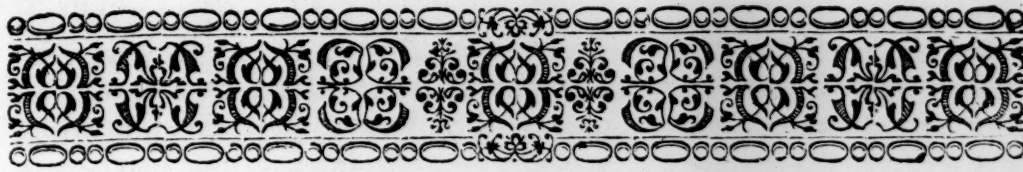
COMMODUS having reign'd Thirteen Years, and after him *Pertinax* about half a Year, *Severus* obtain'd the Imperial Diadem.

AMONG

AMONG the choicest Ecclesiastical Authors of this Time was *Heraclitus*, who commented upon St. *Paul's* Epistles; *Maximus* of the Origin of Evil, and the Non-eternity of Matter; *Candidus* and *Apion* upon the Six Days of the Creation; and *Sextus* concerning the *Revelation*; not to mention the rest.

By this Time *Artemon* had set abroad his Heresy, which was afterwards reviv'd by *Paul* of *Samosata*. The Hereticks of this Denomination affirm'd the Son of God to be no more than an ordinary Man, and that this had been ever the constant Doctrine of the Church, down to the Days of *Victor* and *Zephyrinus*, (who succeeded *Victor* in the See of *Rome* in the Ninth Year, or thereabouts, of *Severus*) although it was notorious that *Theodotus*, a Currier, excommunicated by *Victor*, was the first Broacher of this Blasphemy; and that all the Fathers and Writers of the Church, down to the Time of *Victor*, had asserted the Divinity of the Son agreeably to the plain Sense of the Holy Scriptures; which, because these Deceivers despair'd of misinterpreting, * they metamorphos'd and adulterated, some one Way, and some another; for no two of their Copies agreed together; nay, some of them wholly rejected the Books of the *Old Testament*, confining themselves, as they said, to the *New Covenant of Grace*. And more Account they made of *Euclid*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Galen*, and the like, than of the inspir'd Writings, or the Doctrine of them. *Theodotus*, the Currier, had a Disciple call'd *Asclepiodotus*, and another of his own Name, by Trade a Silversmith. These two bargain'd with one *Natalis*, a Confessor, to set up for Bishop of the Heresy, in consideration of which, a large Salary was to be paid him monthly. *Natalis* receiv'd by Dreams many disheartening Rebukes from *Christ* himself, as being griev'd that one who had been a Sufferer for his Name should perish; but neglecting these Reproofs Time after Time, at the last Angels were sent to beat and scourge him for a whole Night together; upon which he made a publick Confession of his Crime, laid himself at the Feet of *Zephyrinus*, the Clergy and Laity, and scarcely, even after a very rigid Process of Humiliation and Penance, obtain'd the Church's Absolution.

* A Master-piece of Impudence reserv'd for the *Arians*, and other more modern Hereticks, that have improv'd upon them, as the *Socinians*, &c.



T H E
Ecclesiastical HISTORY
O F
Eusebius Pamphilus.

B O O K VI.



OW again, at the Pleasure of *Severus*, broke out a new Persecution, which spread itself over the Face of the whole *Christian* World; yet *Alexandria* seem'd to be the Center of its Fury, where, among Multitudes of Martyrs, who by Faith and Patience defeated all the fiery Darts of the Adversary, suffer'd *Leonides*, the Father of *Origen*, in the Tenth Year of *Severus*, and under the Episcopate of *Demetrius*, Successor to *Julian* in the Throne of *Alexandria*, before *Origen* had yet attain'd the Seventeenth Year of his Age. He had been carefully instructed by his Father, as well in all the several Parts of prophane Literature, as, more especially, in the Province of Sacred Learning, and the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, in which, while a Child, he prov'd so forward and industrious a Proficient, and so full of weighty and subtle Enquiries, that his Father would ever and anon check his eager Curiosity, and the Boldness of his
early

early Speculations: At the same Time in private he continually offer'd up his Praises to God that had given him such a hopeful Son, and would often kiss the Breast of the Child as he lay asleep. When he understood his Father was in Chains, young *Origen*, who before had been so very ambitious of Martyrdom, that scarce all the Persuasions of his Mother had Power to restrain him from throwing himself directly into the Hands of the Torturers, was now so very impatient, and resolv'd to deliver himself up to them; that his Mother had no other way to keep him at home but hiding his Cloaths. Being thus hinder'd from putting his Design in Execution, he pleas'd himself, however, with writing a Letter to his Father, encouraging and exhorting him to embrace so blessed an Opportunity of dying for *Christ*, and entreating him not to be sway'd by any Considerations or Concern for his Family. After his Father's Martyrdom, who left behind him a Widow with Six Sons, all much younger than *Origen*, and the Patrimony of the Family confiscated to the Emperor, he was taken into the House of a certain rich Matron, where he continu'd but a little Time, because he refus'd to communicate with one *Paul*, a Heretick, whom the Lady much admir'd, and had adopted, and with whom, inveigled by his Eloquence, great Numbers of the Orthodox, as well as others, daily join'd in the publick Offices of Devotion. But *Origen*, though he submitted to converse with him, could by no means comply thus far, as being a severe Observer of the Canons and Discipline of the Catholick Church; and so taking Leave of his new Patroness, he betook himself to teaching *Grammar* for a Livelihood, having always, but more especially after the Death of his Father, apply'd himself diligently to the Business of human Learning. He had several eminent Scholars, Converts from Gentilism; among the rest *Plutarch*, afterwards a Martyr, and his Brother *Heraclas*, the same that succeeded *Demetrius* in the Chair of *Alexandria*. When *Origen* was Eighteen Years old, he was appointed *Director of the Catechumens*, and in the Days of Persecution so boldly and sedulously attended and assisted the Sufferers, as well after as before Sentence, that he came often in Danger of being stoned to Death, or torn to Pieces by the Rabble. Upon his receiving his *Directorship* from *Demetrius*, his Bishop, he quitted his Grammar-School, and sold his Books, a very choice Collection of Antiquities; in Value for which his Chapman was to allow him Two-pence a Day; and upon this little Pension he subsisted, being well trained and exercis'd in all the Duties of an Ascetick, infomuch,

infomuch that he slept upon the Floor, went without Shoes, and forbore the drinking of Wine so long together, that his Self-denial had well-nigh cost him his Life. Nor was he less charitable and open-handed, than temperate and mortify'd. This precise Conformity of his Life and Conversation, with the Scope and Elegance of his Doctrines, won over such considerable Numbers to embrace them, that the *Gentiles* in *Alexandria* associating against him, unlodg'd him from House to House, 'till, in the Conclusion, they forc'd him to leave the City. Some time after his Admission to the Employment of teaching the Catechumens, he castrated himself privately, being induc'd to do so by an erroneous Construction which he put upon those Words of our Saviour, (St. *Matth.* c. xix. v. 12.) *There be Eunuchs, which have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake*; and withal, to sow up the Mouths of the Infidels, who might otherwise, from the Bloom of his Age, have taken an Occasion of Calumny, because by his Office he was oblig'd to converse alike with both Sexes; which Fact of his coming to the Ears of *Demetrius*, his Bishop, *Demetrius* at first was pleas'd to applaud the Zeal of his Intention, 'till, grown envious at the Reputation and Esteem which the Merits of *Origen* had every where obtain'd; and the more, because the two illustrious Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem* had lately invested him with the Dignity and Character of a Presbyter: *Demetrius* was at last so uneasy, that he sent Circular Letters to all his Brethren of the Episcopal College, to fix some Mark of Reproach upon *Origen* for the Violence he had offer'd himself, and upon the two Prelates aforesaid, for ordaining him; and withal, dismiss'd Letters of Expostulation to the Ordainers, charging them over and above with an Innovation, for that before they had ordain'd *Origen*, they had set him to preach and read the Scriptures publicly in the Church; which Act the two Bishops, on t'other Hand, defended from several approv'd Precedents. Some Time before this Dispute happen'd, the Prefect of *Arabia*, having by Letters requested that *Origen* might come and instruct him, *Demetrius* gladly seiz'd so fair an Opportunity to remove *Origen* further off, and sent him to the Prefect, whom he soon proselyted. From thence he return'd to *Alexandria*; where publick Confusions and Tumults arising, he retir'd into *Egypt*, and again to *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, whence (*Demetrius* repenting, and solliciting him to return) he came back to *Alexandria*. As to the unhappy Consequences which these harsh Proceedings of *Demetrius* brought along with them, and the Diffensions and Feuds which

which this Affair occasion'd in the Church, I have given an Account of them in the Second Book of the *Apology for Origen*, compos'd by the joint Endeavours of the blessed Martyr *Pamphilus* and myself. But *Origen's* Authority in the World, notwithstanding all Opposition, grew greater and greater every Day; while the Course of his Time was happily employ'd in a careful and constant Attendance upon the Duties of his Function.

SEVERUS reign'd Eighteen Years, and was succeeded by his Son *Antoninus*, at what Time *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who had been a very eminent Confessor under the *Severian* Persecution, dy'd, and was succeeded by *Narcissus*.

ORIGEN being now more than ever determin'd to meditate and examine into the Sacred Text, made himself Master of the *Hebrew*; and having collected and well-acquainted himself with the vulgar *Hebrew* Copies, and, beside that of the *Septuagint*, with all the other Translations of the *Old Testament* which he could procure; as also the several Copies of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*; to these he added two Anonymous Versions, which had been long bury'd in Obscurity. The first of these, he tells us, was found at *Nicopolis* near *Actium*. Of the Book of *Psalms* he met with a Seventh Exemplar, and one of the three last of these Exemplars, he says, was found in an old Cask at *Jericho*, in the Reign of *Antoninus Caracalla*. These six Interpretations he laid into one Body, distributing them into Distinctions of Verses, and placing them in six several Columns, so as to answer and face one another; the *Hebrew* Text was added, but apart from the six Interpretations, and this is what we call the *Hexapla*. Afterwards he laid out the *Tetrapla*, consisting of the *Septuagint* Version, and the Versions of *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and *Symmachus*, but separately dispos'd. This *Symmachus* was an *Ebionæan*, and has left us an Exposition upon, but really design'd against, the Gospel of St. *Matthew*. Some time after, at the Sollicitation of *Ambrosius*, (converted by *Origen* from the Heresy of the *Valentinians*) *Origen* begun his Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures; *Ambrosius* having undertaken to furnish out all Instruments and Assistances, proper for the carrying on of so great a Work, and particularly to contribute his own Labour and Application.

IN the mean time dy'd *Urban* Bishop of *Rome*, Eight Years after his Consecration. *Pontianus* succeeded him; and *Zebinus* succeeded *Philetus* in the Chair of *Antioch*.

THE five first Books of *Origen's* Commentaries upon St. *John's* Gospel, he wrote (as he tells us in the sixth) at *Alexandria*. Of his Commentaries upon this Gospel, we have now no more than Twenty-two Books remaining. His eight first Books (there are twelve in all) of Commentaries upon *Genesis*, together with his Commentary upon the first Twenty-five *Psalms*, and upon the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*, whereof we have only five Tomes or Books at present, (which make mention of two Books compos'd by him concerning the Resurrection) were also compiled at *Alexandria*, and so were his Books entitl'd Στεφανιαῖς. In his Exposition upon the first *Psalms*, he gives us a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the *Old Testament*, which he affirms to be Two and twenty in Number *. In the first Book of his Comment upon St. *Matthew*, he asserts the Divine Authority of the Four Gospels, affirming, that that of St. *Mark* was dictat'd to the Evangelist from the Mouth of St. *Peter*. The Epistles of St. *Paul* he speaks of in general, in the fifth Book of his Comment upon St. *John's* Gospel, without enumerating their Titles. The Second Epistle of St. *Peter*, and the Second and Third of St. *John*, he allows as Canonical, though they were not universally receiv'd for such. In his Homilies upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, he supposes the Sense of all and every Part of that Epistle to have been immediately communicated by some one or other of the Apostles, most probably, and according to general Tradition, by St. *Paul*, but that the Stile and Elegance were the After-Imbellishments of some other Hand. In the Reign of the Emperor *Gordian*, *Origen* compil'd his Comments upon *Esaïas* and *Ezekiel*. The latter, of which none is lost, and also

* And the same as receiv'd for Canonical by the Reform'd Churches, though the Twelve Minor Prophets, which together should make the Twenty-second Number, as the Four Greater Prophets make the Twenty-first, are omitted, probably thro' the Carelessness of Transcribers; for *Eusebius* tells us afterwards of a large Comment which he wrote upon them; but besides,

in *Rufinus's* Version this Book has its Place, as it has also in St. *Hilary's* Prologue to his Commentary upon the *Psalms*, which Commentary is all borrow'd from *Origen's*; but as for the Two Books of *Maccabees*, which are the only Apochryphal Books he mentions, he says they must not be rang'd among the Canonical.

Part of his Comment upon the *Canticles*, he finish'd at *Athens*. What remains of the Comment upon the former, amounts to Thirty Volumes. The Comment upon the *Canticles* he made an End of at *Cæsarea*. When he was above Threescore Years old, he suffer'd *Notaries*, which he never would before, to take down his Sermons in Writing, and compos'd his Eight Books against *Celsus*, in Defence of the *Christian* Religion; a Comment in Twenty Volumes upon St. *Matthew*, and another upon the Twelve lesser Prophets, of which there now remain no more than Twenty-five Books. Add to these above an hundred of his Epistles, which I have formerly collected into a Volume. But for an entire Catalogue and Account of the Works of this great Man, which would take up too much Room in our History, I refer the Reader to my *Apology for Origen*, and my *Life of Pamphilus*, and recommend him farther to the Epistles of *Origen* himself, to be inform'd of the Miseries he sustain'd under the *Decian* Persecution; among the rest, how he was loaded with Chains and Bolts, and left for several Days together in the Stocks with his Legs distended as wide as they could be stretch'd, beside a thousand other Tortures, though his Life was spar'd at last upon the earnest Importunity of the Judge himself.

THE Scholars of this excellent Master prov'd extraordinary Instances of Piety, as well as of Learning and Understanding. *Plutarch* was the first of them; upon whose Account *Origen* had like to have been sacrific'd, for his close Attendance upon him, even to the last Minute of his Martyrdom. *Serenus* and *Herais*, a Woman, and a Catechumen, were burnt. *Heraclides*, another of his Catechumens, and *Heron*, a *Neophyte*, were beheaded, and so was another *Serenus*, after a Trial of Variety of Tortures. *Basilides*, the Martyr, was also a Disciple of *Origen's*. The Story of his Conversion is very singular and surprizing. When *Potamiana*, a *Christian* Virgin, adorn'd with all the Graces of a bright and lovely Form, as well as of a chaste and religious Soul, having undergone extream and inexpressible Cruelties, and provok'd *Aquila* the Judge, who threaten'd to expose her to the Lust of the Gladiators, by an Answer which cast a Reproach upon his Deities, was immediately condemn'd, along with her Mother *Marcella*, to the Flames; *Basilides* being one of the Officers appointed to attend the Execution, behav'd himself with great Decency and Civility, repressing the Rudeness, and stopping the obscene Mouths of the Multitude.

For

For this the Virgin told him, *She would petition earnestly to her God and Saviour to reward him, bidding him believe and take Courage;* and so, when she had thus acquitted herself, she was scalded to Death in Pitch. Some time after *Basilides* being call'd upon to take his Oath, as a Heathen, declar'd himself a *Christian*, and was laid in Chains. The *Christians*, who visited him, ask'd the Cause of so sudden a Conversion, and he told them, *That Potamiaena, three Nights after her Martyrdom, came to him, and put a Crown upon his Head, and assur'd him that God had heard her Prayers for him, and that within a very little Time he should have his Residence in Heaven.* After this he was baptiz'd into the Faith of *Christ*, and the Day following beheaded for the Profession of it. Nor did the Maiden Martyr appear only to *Basilides*, but to several others, who thereupon readily embrac'd *Christianity*. *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, was another of *Origen's* Pupils; and so was the celebrated *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, and his Brother *Athenodorus*, both afterwards, while they were yet very young, promoted to the Episcopal Dignity. *Mammæa*, Mother to the Emperor *Alexander*, a very pious Woman, when she was at *Antioch*, being acquainted with the Character of *Origen*, sent for him, and a splendid Retinue to attend him, and oblig'd him to stay with her for some Time together, that she might enjoy the Benefit of his most wholesome and admirable Instructions. But it is impossible to give a Catalogue of all the Prodigies of Piety and Learning, which came out of the School of *Origen*. Let the Reader be left to compute upon their Numbers, when he first understands that such Crowds of Scholars daily throng'd to his Lectures from Sun-rising to Sun-setting, that he was at last oblig'd to assign the Instruction of the Under-Proficients to *Heraclas*; to whom afterwards, when he left *Alexandria* and went to *Cæsarea*, he recommended the whole Burthen. *Firmilian*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, was a great Admirer and Friend of *Origen's*, would often send for him, and took Journeys as far as *Judæa*, to visit and consult him. *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theoctistus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, had so great a Veneration for him, that they submitted to him entirely, the Interpretation of Scripture, and the Direction of their Churches.

How much he was consider'd and esteem'd by the *Gentile* Philosophers, and learned Men of his Time, appears from the great Character they give of him in their Books, many of which they

have dedicated to him, and submitted many more to his Examination and Judgment. *Porphry*, the *Sicilian*, in his Invective against the Holy Scriptures, when he will deliver his Mind about *Origen*, is distracted and confounded between Calumny and Commendation. He tells us, *Origen* had been personally known to him; that indeed he was a Scholar of the first Magnitude, and admirably vers'd in the Writings and Opinions of all the Philosophers, particularly the *Platonists*, *Pythagoreans*, and *Stoicks*; but that being born a *Gentile*, and educated in the Principles of Heathenism, he became afterwards a Convert to those of *Christianity*; whereas the great *Ammonius*, his Master, though bred up a *Christian*, when he came to understand himself, went over to the Heathens: Than which two Allegations, nothing is more notoriously false; for *Origen*, as we have seen already, was bred up in the *Christian* Religion, and *Ammonius* continu'd a steady and zealous Professor of it to his dying Day, as his Book of the *Harmony between Moses and Jesus*, and several other excellent Pieces which he left behind him, sufficiently testify. Furthermore, *Origen* himself, in one of his Epistles, confesses with what Assiduity and Diligence he had both study'd and taught the *Greek* Philosophy and Liberal Sciences, and justifies it partly from the Usefulness of them, to confute and convince Hereticks and Unbelievers, (Multitudes of whom, as well as of the Orthodox, he says, frequented his Auditory) and partly from the Example and Practice of *Pantæus* and *Heraclas*.

CLEMENS, the Successor of *Pantæus*, in the *Christian* Academy at *Alexandria*, had been the Guide and Improver of *Origen's* tenderest Years. This *Clemens*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Severus*, wrote his Eight Books of *Stromata* or *Miscellanies*, consisting of a curious and copious Collection, as well of Matters Historical, Philosophical, and Philological, as Theological and Sacred; wherein, having Occasion to prove *Moses* more antient than any of the *Greek* Writers, he makes use of the Names and Authorities of the other *Jewish* Historians, (then extant) besides *Moses*, which, it seems, were five, *Philo*, *Aristobulus*, *Josephus*, *Demetrius*, *Eupolemus*. In the Beginning of this Work, he declares himself to have been an immediate Successor of those *Christians*, who lived the next to the very Times of the Apostles. With his *Stromata* we have his eight Books of *Institutions*, in which an Account is given us, not only of the Canonical and universally receiv'd Books of Scripture, but also of those Books whose Divine Authority was doubted.

doubted. He ascribes the Epistle to the *Hebrews* to St. *Paul*, which, he says, that Apostle wrote in *Hebrew*, and St. *Luke* translated into *Greek*, and that St. *Paul* omitted the mention of his Name, because the *Hebrews* were offended at him, and because he was properly the Apostle of the *Gentiles*. He affirms, upon the Authority of an old Tradition, that the Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, were penn'd before the other two, and that St. *John* added his in the last Place, to supply what concern'd our Saviour's Divinity, the former three having been particular in what related to his Humanity. *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, speaks very respectfully and honourably of this great and learned Father, in an Epistle of his to *Origen*.

AT the same Time flourish'd several other eminent Ecclesiastical Writers; among the rest, *Berillus*, Bishop of *Bosra*, whose Epistles, with a great many very elegant and curious Tracts of the same Author, are still abroad. In the Reign of *Gordian* he preach'd up a most blasphemous Heresy, asserting, That *Christ* was not a Person distinct from the Father, and that it was the Father's Divinity which was in him after his Incarnation; from which Error *Origen*, assisted by a good Number of Bishops, recover'd him, after many Disputations and Debates had pass'd, and a Synod call'd together upon that Account.

HYPPOLITUS was another of the Writers of that Time, and held in great Esteem. He perform'd upon the Six Days Creation, and upon Part of the Sacred History immediately following it, upon the *Canticles*, and upon Part of *Ezekiel*; against all the Heresies, and against that of *Marcion* distinctly; beside his Paschal Cycle, his Treatise concerning the *Passover*, and several other Pieces remaining still, and some lost.

THERE is also preserv'd to this Day, the Disputation of *Caius*, which pass'd between him and *Proclus*, when *Zephyrinus* held the Chair of *Rome*, against the Heresy of the *Cataphryges*. In this Discourse *Caius* ascribes no more than Thirteen Epistles to St. *Paul*, whom divers of the *Roman* Church now, as well as *Caius* then, do not believe to have been Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

IN the Time of *Severus*, one *Judas* wrote a Dissertation concerning the Seventy Weeks of *Daniel*, and was induc'd to believe that the Times of *Antichrist* were commenc'd by the Violence of the Persecution then raging.

SEVERUS reign'd Eighteen Years, after whom succeeded his Son *Antoninus Caracalla*. In his Time *Alexander* was advanc'd to the Episcopal Throne of *Jerusalem*, in the Place of *Narcissus* still living: The Occasion of it, as follows: *Narcissus*, a Man of a most exemplary Probity and Piety, and reported to have wrought many Miracles, (as particularly, that by his Prayers he made Water serve the Purposes of Oil upon an *Easter Vigil*, when the Sconces could not otherwise be supply'd) had a scandalous Accusation brought against him by a Knot of unsuspected Villains, that were under an Apprehension of being detected by him, and of receiving the Punishments their Practices had deserv'd. And to make sure Work, they clinch'd their Indictment with Sacramental Imprecations upon their own Heads; one wishing he might be burnt if he ly'd; a second, that the Plague might light on him; and a third, that he might lose the Blessing of his Eye-sight. *Narcissus* therefore, though his Adversaries gain'd Belief upon no Body, made this an Opportunity, however, of retiring from the World; and so quitting his Bishoprick, he sequester'd himself to a Life of Solitude and Meditation. Soon after, the first of the three Evidences was, as by Accident, burnt in his Bed, and his Family with him; the second dy'd of a Pestilence, which over-spread all Parts of his Body; and the third, repenting and confessing the whole Secret of their Combination, lost both his Eyes with continual Weeping.

NARCISSEUS being no where to be found or heard of, his Suffragans consecrated *Dius* in his Room; next whom succeeded *Germanius*, and after *Germanius*, *Gordius*; when *Narcissus* returning from his Privacy, could not be prevail'd upon to re-assume the Episcopal Authority, though he was earnestly press'd to it by his Fellow Bishops, making the Burthen of his great Age his Excuse; and so *Alexander*, who was before a Bishop in *Cappadocia*, being then at *Alexandria*, where, by an express Appointment from God, he had been detain'd for some Time, by the Body of the Bishops in that Province, succeeded to the Exercise of those Functions

Functions which *Narcissus* had profess'd himself no longer able to discharge. *Alexander*, in his Epistle to the *Antinoites*, tells us, that at the Time of his writing that Epistle, *Narcissus* was 116 Years old.

MUCH about this Time (as we learn from *Alexander's* Epistle to the Church of *Antioch*) *Serapion*, Bishop of *Antioch*, dy'd, and was succeeded by *Asclepiades*. The Works of *Serapion* which remain, are his Exhortation to *Domnius* (who in Time of Persecution had apostatiz'd to *Judaism*) his Epistles, and his Animadversions upon the pretended Gospel of St. *Peter*, which, he says, was recommended first by the Sect of the *Phantasts*.

AFTER the Death of *Antonine* (who presided Seven Years and Six Months) succeeded *Macrinus*; after *Macrinus* (who sat One Year) another *Antonine*, in whose first Year *Zephyrinus* dy'd, having fill'd the Chair of *Rome* Eighteen Years, and was succeeded by *Callistus*, who sat Five Years after; and to *Callistus* succeeded *Urban*. *Antonine* sat Four Years, and was succeeded by *Alexander*, about the same Time when *Asclepiades* dy'd; and was succeeded in the See of *Antioch* by *Philetus*. *Urban* govern'd the Church of *Rome* Eight Years, and his Successor was *Pontianus*; and after *Philetus*, *Zebinus* came to the See of *Antioch*. In the Tenth Year of the Emperor *Alexander* dy'd *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, Forty-three Years after his Consecration, and was succeeded by *Heraclas*. The Emperor *Alexander* reign'd Twelve Years, and was succeeded by *Maximin*, who, for the Hatred which he bore to his Predecessor's Family, of which the greater Part were *Christians*, rais'd a Persecution against the Clergy. In this Persecution suffer'd *Ambrosius* and *Protoctetus*, (to whom *Origen* dedicated his Book of *Martyrdom*) and behav'd themselves very bravely.

MAXIMIN reign'd Three Years, and *Gordian* was his Successor. In the Reign of *Gordian* dy'd *Pontianus*, after he had been Bishop six Years, and was succeeded in the See of *Rome* by *Anteros*, as *Anteros* ere long by *Fabian*, who being lately come out of the Country, and present as a Spectator, at the Time of Election upon the Death of *Anteros*, was distinguish'd (from Heaven) to be the Successor, by a Dove descending and seating herself upon his Head; and so presently the People bore him off to the Episcopal Throne.

GORDIAN

GORDIAN reign'd Six Years, and to him succeeded *Philip*, a *Christian*. 'Tis related, that *Babylas*, offended at certain evil Practices of this Emperor, refus'd to admit him to Communion, 'till he had undergone the same Penance which was enjoin'd the Lapsers; and that the Emperor most readily submitted to the Discipline, and reform'd his Irregularities.

IN the Third Year of *Philip* dy'd *Heracles*, the Successor of *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*. The latter held the Chair Forty-three Years; the former having heretofore consign'd the Care of his Academy to *Dionysius*, (a Pupil of *Origen's*) held it Sixteen Years, and was succeeded by *Dionysius*. Contemporary with these venerable Assertors and Guardians of the Truth, were two Heretical Pestilences; one in *Arabia*, (soon laid asleep by the Conduct of a Council and *Origen*) which affirm'd, that Soul and Body perish'd together, but that they should be reviv'd together at the last Day: The other, that of the *Helcesaites*, who rejected all the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and other Parts of Scripture; made the denying of the Faith a Matter indifferent, provided only *Man believ'd with the Heart*; and pretended to have receiv'd a Book from Heaven, affording all that would attend and rely upon it, a new Method of obtaining a Remission of Sins and Everlasting Life. But this Goblin disappear'd in an Instant.

PHILIP reign'd Seven Years, and his Successor *Decius*, in Despight to the Memory of him, kindled a new Persecution, in which was dignify'd with Martyrdom, *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, and succeeded by *Cornelius*; *Babylas*, the Successor of *Zebinus* in the See of *Antioch*, succeeded by *Fabius*; *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who had before been well acquainted with suffering for *Christ*, and was succeeded by *Mazabanes*. At *Alexandria*, *Dionysius*, their Bishop, (as he relates of himself) took up a Resolution to keep at home, and wait the worst; but after four Days, (during which Time the Messengers had search'd all Places for him but his own House, where they least expected to find him) being immediately commanded away by a Revelation from God, he, and several *Christians* along with him, quitted the Place, which prov'd of advantageous Consequence to some others of the distress'd *Christians*, whom he comforted and encourag'd, as it came in his Way. Soon after, *Dionysius* and his Company falling into the Hands of the

Inquisitors,

Inquisitors, were brought Prisoners to *Taposiris*, were a Band of *Rusticks*, without their Knowledge, (for they took them for House-breakers) and no less against their Inclinations, rescued them from their Keepers, and carry'd them off, reluctant and averse as they were to those Methods of Deliverance. One *Metra*, an ancient Man, when the Infidels had barbarously beat him with Clubs, and run Spikes into his Eyes and Face, was batter'd to Death with Stones. A Woman, whose Name was *Quinta*, was dragg'd by the Hair through the Streets, whipp'd, dash'd upon Milstones, and then ston'd to Death. The Houses of all *Christians* were plunder'd, the most valuable of their Effects brought away, and the rest thrown about the Streets and destroy'd, and themselves forc'd to fly to Desarts and Solitudes, and court all manner of Necessities, Miseries, and Dangers; many of them (particularly *Chæremón*, Bishop of *Nilus*, with his Family) being never heard of afterwards, and others made Slaves by the *Saracens*. *Apollonia* (she was a Virgin) had all her Teeth beat out, and was burnt. *Serapion* was most inhumanly tortur'd, and when his Bones had been broke, thrown headlong from an Upper Chamber. These horrid Severities, with many of the same Kind, were offer'd before the Publication of the Emperor's Edict for Persecution; but so soon as ever that came abroad, 'tis unconceivable with what Fury and Violence the Church was storm'd. The Terror of it scar'd not a few of the *Christians* into Apostacy and Idolatry, some sooner, some later, some after Imprisonment, and some even after they had stood out the Torture; which unhappy Defection, render'd the Constancy of those that embrac'd the Trial, much more conspicuous and affecting. Among these, one *Julian*, then visited with the Gout, was plac'd upon a Camel, scourg'd, and burnt. The same Treatment was the Lot of *Eunus*, that had kindly and boldly assisted in bringing him to take his Trial. *Besus*, one of the Guards that stood by, and shew'd them Favour, was thereupon brought by the People to the Tribunal, and, declaring himself a *Christian*, knock'd o'the Head with a Battle-Ax. *Macar* was burnt alive. *Epimachus* and *Alexander* having defeated all their other Cruelties, were consum'd in Quick Lime. *Ammonarium*, a Holy Virgin, had assur'd the Judge she would not be discompos'd by any of his Tortures; and when she had made good her Promise, was executed. *Mercuria*, an aged Woman; *Dionysia*, who had several Children, and another *Ammonarium*, were beheaded. *Heron*, *Ater*, *Isidore*, *Egyptians*, were sadly beaten and bruise'd with Clubs, and then burnt. *Dioscorus*, a

Youth of about Fifteen Years of Age, upon whom not all the Judge's Importunities nor Inhumanities could make the least Impression, was sent off, and a Time allotted him to recollect himself. *Nemesion* was first indicted as a Felon, but that Slander being easily refuted, for the Profession of *Christianity* he was burnt among the Malefactors, having first undergone a double Portion of the Tortures which were appointed the real Felons. *Ischyron* was impal'd. *Ammon*, *Zeno*, *Ptolemy*, *Ingenius*, *Theophilus*, and others, of the Soldiery, so boldly and openly incited and encourag'd the Confessors to assert their Faith, that perceiving they should be forthwith call'd to Examination, they run before-hand up to the very Face of the Judge, profess'd themselves *Christians*, and went from the Bar to their Execution, exulting and glorifying God, for that he had found them worthy to die for his Name; the Prefect and other Officers being as much astonish'd and frighted, as the Martyrs were transported.

THIS Relation we take from an *Epistle* of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*; beside which, he wrote several *Epistles* to several Bishops and Churches, relating to the Schism of *Novatus*, and particularly one to *Novatus* himself. *Dionysius* to *Novatus* our Brother, *Health*. You say you have made your Separation with great Reluctancy, but the only Way to make us believe it, is by returning and reconciling yourself to the Church. Assure yourself, 'tis equally our Duty to embrace Extremities, and the Trial of Martyrdom, for the Preservation of Unity in the Communion of the Church, as for the Testimony and Profession of the Christian Faith; and indeed rather more, seeing in the latter Case every Man only delivers his own Soul, but in the former, he suffers that he may deliver all the Souls in the Church. So that if you can persuade or oblige the Brethren that have deserted the Communion of the Church, to reconcile themselves to her, the Importance of so good a Work will more than cover the Blemish of your past Error; or, if they will not be prevail'd upon, deliver at least your own Soul. God grant you to consult the Church's Peace. This *Novatus* was a Presbyter in the Church of *Rome*, and would by no means allow that any Person, who had laps'd in the Persecution, should, upon Repentance, be re-admitted to Communion; upon that rigid Consideration, separating himself with his Followers, (who distinguish'd themselves by the Name of *Cathari*, or *The Saints*) from the Body of the Catholick Church. This occasion'd the convening of several Synods in *Italy*, *Africk*,
and

and elsewhere; and all of them condemn'd the Positions and Practices of *Novatus*, and excommunicated the Author of them and his Adherents; among whom, the well-meaning and more considerable, as *Maximus*, and *Urbanus*, and *Sidonius*, three very eminent Sufferers, being alarm'd by this authoritative Sentence, made a nicer Scrutiny into the Practices and Designs of the Seducer, and finding them very foul and flagitious, departed from his Cause, declar'd publicly how much they had been impos'd upon, bewail'd their own Unhappiness, and join'd themselves again to the Catholick Church. The Bottom of all this Mystery of Iniquity, was *Novatus's* aspiring to the Episcopal Dignity, though no Man pretended to be less ambitious of attaining it. And yet so much it was the dear Desire of his Soul, that he could not have an easy Minute, 'till having sent an Invitation to three weak and ignorant *Italian* Bishops, and taking an Opportunity to make them drunk, he got himself clandestinely consecrated by them, in Opposition to his Bishop, *Cornelius*. One of them afterwards confess'd the Crime, repented, and was restored, but only to Lay-Communion; the other two were depriv'd by the Church, and Successors substituted in their Room. *As if* *Novatus* could possibly be ignorant (says *Cornelius*) of the Rule of one Bishop, and one Altar. And it was yet more scandalous and abominable, that this vile Intruder should assume the Character of a Metropolitan, before he had, indeed, been baptiz'd, in the manner prescrib'd by the Church; for though in a Fit of Sickness he had receiv'd the Sacramental *Washing* at the Hands of the Priest, yet the Bishop had never seal'd the Baptism by signing him with the Sign of the Cross; and because he wanted this Canonical Seal of Confirmation, when the Time came that he was to be ordain'd Presbyter, the Proposal was look'd upon as contrary to Canon, and met with a general Opposition; beside, that himself had fail'd in the Time of Persecution; for, though call'd upon importunately, he was afraid to visit any suffering *Christians*, and in a Passion vow'd, *He'd be a Presbyter no longer*. Afterwards, however, when he had usurp'd a Title to the Episcopal Power, to prevent the returning of any of his Party to their Bishop, as often as he administer'd the Sacrament, he requir'd them to swear upon it, that they would never forsake him, and go over to *Cornelius*. But these Methods, instead of helping his Cause, serv'd only to ruin it; for it was not long before almost all his Friends and Followers forsook him; and among the rest, the illustrious *Moses*, since crown'd with Martyrdom.

DIONYSIUS, in his Letter to *Fabius*, by way of Reflection upon the uncharitable Determination of *Novatus*, tells a Story of *Serapion*, an old Man, that had apostatiz'd, and done Sacrifice, and therefore his Absolution had been from Time to Time deferr'd. This poor unhappy Wretch falling into a dangerous Illness, lost his Speech and his Senses for four Days together ; when, a little recovering both, he sent in all Haste for a Presbyter. The Presbyter was himself sick in Bed, and unable to visit him, but he sent him a consecrated *Viaticum*. So soon as his Child (that had been the Messenger) was approaching, before he had yet set Eyes on him, he recover'd his Speech again, which in the Interim had fail'd ; and directed him, since the Presbyter could not come in Person, to give him what he had order'd, and release him. Accordingly he receiv'd it, and immediately expir'd.



THE



T H E
Ecclesiastical HISTORY
O F
Eusebius Pamphilus.

B O O K VII.



AFTER *Decius*, whose Reign lasted not above Two Years, the Imperial Purple came to the Hands of *Gal-lus*, and he prov'd another Disturber and Persecutor of the Church.

TO *Cornelius* (Bishop of *Rome* for the Space of about Three Years) succeeded *Lucius*, and to *Lucius* (Eight Months after) *Stephen*, between whom, and St. *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, the Question was disputed, Whether 'twas necessary that Converts from Heresy should be re-baptiz'd, or only receive a new Confirmation by Imposition of Hands? *Stephen* pleaded ancient Usage for the latter, St. *Cyprian* urg'd his own Arguments for the former; which, by the Decision of several Councils, that assembled upon this Occasion in the *Western* Churches were over-rul'd; as the like Authority had by this Time vanquish'd all the dangerous wild Efforts of *Novatus*, and restor'd a perfect Union and Tranquillity among all the Parts of the Catho-
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lick Church; concerning which, *Dionysius* informs us in his Letters to *Stephen*: And in his Third Epistle to *Philemon*, a Roman Presbyter, to justify his curious and earnest Enquiries into the Writings and Traditions of Hereticks, declares he had receiv'd a Commission immediately from Heaven to examine and baffle them; and as to the Judgment of the Church upon the Topick of *Re-baptization*, he says he had always remember'd it her Practice, as often as any Persons that had follow'd the Interest or Communion of Hereticks, whether openly or secretly, and had therefore been excommunicated, became sensible of their Error, and submitted to the Penance impos'd, that they were admitted to Communion without the Repetition of Baptism, by Virtue of which 'twas allow'd, that they had been already made Partakers of the Influences of the Holy Spirit. And in his Fifth Epistle to *Xystus*, as a Specimen of his own Management in this Concern, speaking of a certain Brother, that had conceiv'd such a Dissatisfaction, such a Horror at the Form and Manner of that Heretical Baptism, wherewith he had formerly been initiated, as to forbear communicating with the Orthodox, even in the daily Offices of Devotion; he lets us understand that he gave him Comfort, and without any Scruple directed him not only to join in the daily Prayers, but also to receive the Holy Sacrament.

AFTER *Gallus*, who reign'd about as long Time as *Decius*, succeeded *Valerian* and his Son *Gallienus*. *Valerian*, at first, upon his Accession to the Imperial Authority, express'd a gracious Tenderneſs and Favour for the *Christians*; and many of them were very courteously entertain'd and promoted by him, 'till *Macrianus*, his Receiver-General, and President of the *Egyptian Magi*, who had always been an Enemy to the *Christian* Religion, and highly resent'd the Contempt which the *Christians* cast upon the Heathen Deities, and the Power of Expulsion that was exercis'd over them, insinuated into the Emperor a ridiculous Fondneſs for the initiatory Myſteries of the *Egyptian* Priests; and to wed him to their bloody Sacrifices and execrable Rites, alienated his Mind from the *Christians*, and from the Belief of that God and Providence, which himself had ever mock'd and oppos'd, inasmuch as he devoted all the Services of his Soul to his Interest and Ambition; for though he knew his own bodily Constitution was too feeble to support the Weight of the Imperial Diadem, yet he had two Sons to leave behind him, for whom he projected nothing less than Majesty, and Universal Dominion.

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Now, therefore, at the Instance of this *Macrianus*, the Emperor begins Hostilities against the *Christians*. *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, (and with him *Maximus* a Presbyter, and Successor afterwards to *Dionysius* in the Chair of *Alexandria*) three Deacons, *Faustus*, (afterwards a Martyr under *Dioclesian*) *Eusebius*, (afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*) *Chæremon*, and some others, are summon'd before *Æmilian* the Prefect, who very gravely admonish'd them, that both by Writing, and in Person, he had us'd all manner of Arguments to bring them to a fair Understanding of Things, and more especially of the Emperor's great Goodness and Clemency. *Dionysius* reply'd, *That as to worshipping the Divinities of the Heathens, he and his Fellow Christians knew no other Object to which their Adorations were due, but the only true God, Creator of all Things, from whom their Majesties, Valerian and Gallienus, receiv'd their Authority, and to whom the Christians offer'd up daily Prayers that the Reign of them might be long and prosperous. Well, but (says Æmilian) why cannot you adore an Emperor as well as pray for him? To whom again Dionysius, We Christians adore but One God.* Upon this, the Prefect having first reproach'd them, as those that had insulted the Lenity of their Prince, banish'd them to *Cephro* in *Libya*, forbidding them to assemble in the Places of Prayer, and commanding them (*Dionysius* then struggling with a Distemper) immediately to repair to their *Libyan* Quarters. *Dionysius* notwithstanding took as effectual Care that his Flock should have the Benefit of publick Communion, as if he had continu'd among them, while they at *Cephro* had not only the Comfort of a numerous Congregation, but an Opportunity likewise of converting the Natives, to whom as yet the Gospel had never been preach'd. And herein their Success was answerable to the Goodness of their Intentions, though the first Approaches they made had like to have cost them their Lives. From thence they were order'd towards the Province of *Mareotis*, into a more barren and barbarous Region, where again they propagated the Word of God, conceiving themselves specially appointed thereunto by these remarkable Methods of his Providence in removing them. *Colluthio* was the Name of the Place assign'd for the Residence of *Dionysius*, where, though a *Christian* was rarely seen before his Arrival, yet afterwards many came from a neighbouring City to converse with him, and join in his Prayers. But, alas! these were no more than an inconsiderable Portion of the Rigours and Distresses which the great Confessor underwent, as we learn from himself. All this while

while at *Alexandria*, the *Christians* of both Sexes, and of all Ages and Conditions, were rack'd and mangled with every kind of Torture, and sent out of a miserable World by a thousand Arts and Machines of Cruelty. And yet, as terrible as they were, these Proceedings could not discourage *Maximus*, *Dioscorus*, *Demetrius*, and *Lucius*, (Presbyters) and *Faustus*, *Eusebius*, *Chæremon*, (Deacons) from assisting and administering to the Confessors in Chains; and so fearless was *Eusebius*, as to take away the Bodies of Martyrs and bury them. At *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, *Priscus*, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*, were thrown to the wild Beasts, having left the Security of the Country where they had lain disguis'd for some Time, on purpose to present themselves before the Inquisitors. With these there suffer'd a Woman, reported to have been a *Marcionite*.

BUT within a little while the Storm blew over, when *Valerian* was taken and made a Slave by the *Barbarians*, and *Gallienus* held the Sovereignty: For it pleas'd *Gallienus* to put a Stop to these Prosecutions, to allow the *Christians* the free Exercise of their Religion, and to send out his Letters of Indulgence and Encouragement to the Bishops of the Church; in which Regard this Emperor is highly commended by *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and the Equity of that Divine Providence celebrated, which had blasted the touring Hopes and ambitious Advances of *Macrianus*, and propitiously instated *Gallienus* both in the Right and Exercise of the Imperial Power.

XYSTUS still held the Chair of *Rome*. *Demetrius* succeeded *Fabius* in that of *Antioch*. *Firmilian* was Bishop of the *Cappadocian Cæsarea*; and of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* successively, (after *Theoctistus*) *Domnus* and *Theotecnus*, a Disciple of *Origen's*. The two Brothers, *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* had their respective Sees in *Pontus*. And after *Mazabanes*, *Hymenæus* was advanc'd to that of *Jerusalem*.

YET the Favour and good Effects of *Gallienus's* Dispensation were not so universal, but that at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* one *Marinus*, a Soldier, a Gentleman of illustrious Birth and ample Fortune, was sacrific'd to the Dregs of *Valerian's* Frenzy. The Occasion this: *Marinus*, for his great Deserts and Services, was upon the Point of receiving a military Honour and Promotion, when a certain Competitor, finding no other Way nor Hopes to carry it from him, acquainted the Judge that *Marinus* was incapacitated, as being a *Christian*. And the Judge putting the Question to him, *Marinus*

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assur'd him that such he was. The Judge then gave him three Hours Time to weigh the Consequences, during which Reprieve, *Theotecnus*, the Bishop, led *Marinus* up to the Altar, and shewing him first his own Sword, and then the Books of the *New Testament*, recommended to his Choice which of the two he would accept. *Marinus* immediately laid his Hand upon the latter. So the Bishop bade him be resolute, and depart in Peace ; as he did soon after to eternal Glory, having again asserted his Faith before the Tribunal with greater Ardency than ever. *Asturius*, a *Christian* of singular Courage, and a Senator of *Rome*, a Darling of both Emperors, well born and wealthy, having been present at the Execution, laid the Body of the Martyr upon his own Shoulders, carry'd him off, and interr'd him magnificently. This *Asturius*, when a Spectator, once on a Time, at a certain annual Ceremony of the Heathens, (which was to throw the Carcass of a Victim into the Fountains that supply'd the River *Jordan*, the Devil having always gratify'd their Curiosity by causing it to disappear) stood forth in the Presence of them all, and by a Prayer to God, in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, brought back the Victim to the Top of the Water, and there it floated ; nor could the Devil repeat his Illusions in that Place any more.

AT *Cæsarea Philippi* (where these Fountains rise) is now to be seen a Statue (suppos'd to be) of the Woman cur'd by *Christ* of an Issue of Blood, and opposite to it another of *Christ* himself : At the Basis of the latter there grows a Plant (no where else to be found) reaching up to the Border of *Christ's* Garment. The Plant is a present Remedy against all Diseases ; and the Image, they say, an exact and genuine Resemblance of *Christ's* Humanity ; neither is this the only one still remaining ; besides the several Effigies that are left of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and the ancient Throne of *St. James*, the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

No sooner was a Period put to the Persecution of *Valerian*, but *Dionysius* return'd to *Alexandria*. Some time after intestine Wars and Tumults arising there, and his Friends being detain'd from him by the Violence of a publick Outrage, and quite confounded and distracted between opposite Interests, he took Occasion to write Epistles to them from his Residence in *Alexandria*, expressing himself as if he were at a long Distance off ; and soon after in an Epistle to *Hierax*, an *Egyptian* Bishop, he describes these Commotions at large,

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comparing them with the Plagues and Calamities which God sent upon the *Egyptians* by the Hand of *Moses*. Such Numbers of the Inhabitants, he says, were destroy'd, that all the Survivors put together, (and reckoning from the Age of Fourteen to Fourscore) did not equal the Number of as many as were formerly found from Forty to Threescore and ten. In the publick Uproar the *Christians* were not at all concern'd as Actors, but as Sufferers. Beside the hard Measure they met with from the contending Parties, they had, over and above, an equal Share in the common Destruction and Loss. And these Confusions were follow'd by as terrible a Pestilence, which, though chiefly fatal to the Infidels, yet swept away large Numbers of the *Christians* too, and the more by a great many, because the *latter* thought it their Duty to visit, attend on, and serve one another, and to look after and bury their Dead; and the Clergy and Laity, who, by discharging these Offices, caught the Infection and dy'd, were look'd upon as worthy the Name of *Martyrs*; while the *Infidels* had none of them the Heart to run the Risque of assisting or coming near one another.

IN the Reign of *Gallienus*, the Error of the Millenaries obtruded itself upon the Church, being reviv'd by *Nepos*, an *Egyptian* Bishop, affirming in his Book, (entitled, *A Confutation of the Allegorists*) That the Saints were certainly to have the Fruition of Corporal Pleasures at the End of the World, for the Length of a thousand Years. Against this Assertion, *Dionysius* compos'd his two Books *about the Promises*, and is so just and ingenuous to the Memory of *Nepos*, as to give him all the Advantages of his Character, as a sincere Believer, and an industrious Workman in the Vineyard, but highly resents the ill Use which the Advancers of that Opinion made of the Book, especially, because they had the Confidence to postpone even the Sacred Canon to its Authority. He tells us further, That in the Province of *Arſinoe*, (where his Doctrine had occasion'd lamentable Diffensions and Schisms) publick Disputations and Consults had been held upon it; and that after a fair Discussion of all Arguments urg'd on either Side, it was rejected and condemn'd, and even by *Coracius* himself, the Captain of the Faction.

IN this Treatise of *Dionysius*, *Concerning the Promises*, he has given us his Opinion about the Book of *Revelation*, of which, tho' some People, he says, did not stick to say, that it was the Work of *Cerintbus*, who made very great Account of the Pleasures of the Body,

Body, yet for his own Part he readily and sincerely acquiesc'd in that general Tradition and Esteem, with which the Book had been receiv'd in the Church, asserting and proving, that the Sense of it is altogether mystical and sublime, and professing that he dares not attempt an Interpretation of it, and therefore that he reads it with so much the greater Veneration, firmly believing the Author to have been divinely inspir'd, and his Name *John*, though he doubts whether he were St. *John* the Apostle, because St. *John* has no where mention'd his own Name, either in his Gospel or Epistles, as the Author of the *Revelation* has done. Beside, that there is all along an exact Affinity and Resemblance between the Gospel and the First Epistle of St. *John*, in the Argument, Matter, and Expression. Thus the first Lines of his Gospel are almost the same with those of his First Epistle: *In the Beginning was the Word, — and the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his Glory, &c. That which we have heard, which we have seen with our Eyes, which we have looked upon, and our Hands have handled of the Word of Life; for the Life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, &c.* Then as to the Substance of them, they run parallel to each other in the Doctrines and Topicks of *the Light, the Truth, Grace, Joy, the Body and Blood of Christ, Condemnation, Remission of Sins, the Love of God to Man, the Duty of Brotherly Love; the Distinction of the Persons in the Holy Trinity, &c.* And so likewise as to the Style and Manner of Expression. Whereas there is not the least Similitude or Coincidence of this kind between the Gospel or Epistle and the *Revelation*. Again, as the former make no mention of the latter, so neither does the latter of either of the former, though St. *Paul* in his Epistles makes mention of the Revelations, to which he had been admitted; not to mention the Difference between the one and other, in Point of Elegance and Argumentation. Nevertheless 'tis certain, the Author's Name was *John*, but whether that *John* (*Acts* xiii.) whose Surname was *Mark*, (and yet he did not go into *Asia*, but return'd to *Jerusalem*) or the other of the two *Johns*, whose Sepulchres were found at *Ephesus*, (which *Dionysius* thinks the most probable) tho' his Expression and Style were very different from that of the Apostle, or which of the many holy Persons bearing that Name, should be the Author, he does not pretend to determine.

BESIDE this Treatise, *Dionysius* wrote a great many other Epistolary Discourses, and particularly several against the *Sabellian* Heresy;

another Work concerning Nature, and a Book about Temptation ; and informs us in one of his Epistles to *Baslides*, Bishop of *Pentapolis*, that he had writ a Comment upon part of *Ecclesiastes*.

XYSTUS deceasing, who sat Eleven Years Bishop of *Rome*, the Chair was supply'd by *Dionysius*, Namesake to the Bishop of *Alexandria* ; and that of *Antioch*, after the Death of *Demetrianus*, by *Paul* of *Samosata*, a Wolf in a Covering of Wooll, as the Event made appear, when he came to assert his Heresy, that *Christ* was no more than another ordinary Man. This alarm'd all the Governors of the Church ; and a very numerous Council of Prelates, Presbyters, and Deacons met at *Antioch*, in which assisted the most illustrious Bishops, then flourishing ; only the great *Dionysius*, being detain'd by Infirmities and Age, sent his Opinion in Writing, and dy'd soon after, in the Twelfth Year of *Gallienus*, having been Bishop of *Alexandria* Seventeen Years. The Merits of the Cause were examin'd with great Accuracy and Application, and not a Session pass'd without Variety of Debates ; and *Paul* from Time to Time, still made use of all the Fallacies and Equivocations imaginable to render his Blasphemy plausible. But the last and deciding Council, (for many were held upon this Occasion) consisting of a very numerous Assembly of Bishops, condemn'd *Paul's* execrable and impious Positions ; and himself was excluded the Communion of all the Catholick Churches over the Face of the whole Earth. The Person more especially concern'd, and successful in unwinding and confuting the Subterfuges of *Paul*, was *Malchion*, (a Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*) a Man conspicuous for his Orthodoxy and Integrity, and who formerly had been chief Director in the *Schola Sophistica*, or *School of Disputation* there.

No sooner *Paul* receiv'd his Sentence, but the Council notify'd it by Synodical Epistles to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and to *Maximus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, (Successor to *Dionysius*) and to all the other Churches of the *Christian* World ; wherein they give them to understand, that for the Suppression of so black a Heresy, they had call'd together the Bishops, far and near, to Council ; that *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* had directed his Epistle relating to it to the Church of *Antioch*, and not so much as mention'd the Name of *Paul*, as their Bishop ; that *Firmilian* (who presided in two of the Councils) had twice condemn'd the Heresy, and that he was coming again to *Antioch* to pronounce Sentence against the Heretick, (having before
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deferr'd it upon the dissembled Assurances of *Paul* that he would recant) but dy'd by the Way; that as to the Morals and Practices of the Deceiver, it appear'd he had made all his Fortunes by Fraud, Oppression, Sacrilege, and Simony; that he had brought no little Scandal upon the Church by his pompous Affectation of Popularity, and his ambitious assuming of Secular Honours; preferring the Name of a *State-Pensioner* to that of a *Bishop*, and erecting himself a Civil Tribunal in the Place of his Episcopal Throne; that he malign'd the Memory of worthy Men departed, rioted in his own Commendations, concerted with some of his Presbyters that they should blazon his Character from the Pulpit; and instead of the Hymns appointed to be sung in Honour of *Christ*, order'd others to be sung in Honour of himself; that in these he suffer'd himself to be still'd an *Angel from Heaven*; that he had us'd a very suspicious (and by his Licence and Example, several of his Presbyters and Deacons a very foul) Familiarity with the *Sisters of a vow'd Virginity*: That he had reviv'd the Heresy of *Artemas*, and asserted, That *Jesus Christ descended not from Heaven, but had his Original upon Earth*; and that therefore they had thrust him out of the Communion of the Catholick Church, and constituted in his Place *Domnus*, the Son of *Demetrian*, *Paul's* Predecessor. *Paul* however kept the Keys and Possession of the Church, 'till such Time as the Emperor *Aurelian* being petition'd, was pleas'd to command and force him to retire. But though this Emperor, in this Instance, supported the Authority of the Church by exerting his own, yet soon after he was preparing to afflict and torture her with Persecution, when, by the Divine Providence, he was snatch'd out of the World, after a Reign of Six Years.

PROBUS was the next Emperor, and continu'd so as long; then *Carus*, with his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerian*; then *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, within less than Three Years; and some Time after the Death of *Dionysius*, who had held the Chair of *Rome* Nine Years, and was succeeded by *Felix*.

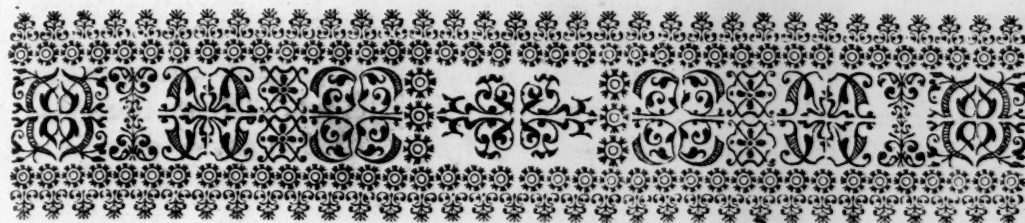
ABOUT the same Time started up the monstrous *Manichæan* Heresy, so call'd from its Author *Manes*, who gave himself out to be sometimes *Christ*; at other Times the *Holy Ghost*; and in Mockery of our Saviour, chose him Twelve Apostles. His Heresy, which was a Rhapsody of all the old extinguish'd Heresies, took its Birth
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in *Perſia*, made its way into the Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, and has a Multitude of Followers at this very Day.

FELIX ſat Five Years Biſhop of *Rome*, and was ſucceeded by *Eutychianus*, and (Ten Months after) *Eutychianus* by *Caius*, and he again Fifteen Years after by *Marcellinus*. At *Antioch*, to *Domnus*, *Timæus*, to *Timæus* ſucceeded *Cyril*; among whoſe Presbyters was one *Dorotheus*, a very learned Perſon, and critically verſ'd in the Holy Scriptures: This *Dorotheus* was an Eunuch born, which prov'd an Occaſion of his coming to the Emperor's Knowledge, and afterwards into his particular Eſteem and Favour. To *Cyril* ſucceeded *Tyrannus*. In the Church of *Laodicea*, *Socrates* was ſucceeded by *Eusebius*, and *Eusebius* by *Anatolius*, both *Alexandrians*, and the latter the moſt eminent Philoſopher and Mathematician of his Time. 'Tis reported of him, that when *Bruchium*, where he held the principal Poſt of Honour, was beſieg'd by the *Romans*, and reduc'd to the Extremities of Famine, he privately ſuggeſted to *Eusebius*, who had a mighty Intereſt in the *Roman General*, and belong'd to another Part of the Town, which was in League and Amity with the *Romans*, that, if poſſible, he ſhould prevail with the General to ſuffer all that deſerted from the Beſieg'd to be favourably entertain'd in that other Part of the Town. Accordingly *Eusebius* petition'd, and obtain'd his Requeſt; which ſo ſoon as *Anatolius* underſtood, with Conſent of the Senate of *Alexandria*, he cauſ'd all the Inhabitants, whom he judg'd unfit for Service, to retire thither; and under the Shelter of this Advantage, a great many others, more eſpecially conſulting the Safety of the *Chriſtians*; and *Eusebius* took as much Care to diſpoſe and relieve them as they arriv'd. *Anatolius* was no voluminous Writer; yet thoſe few Pieces of his which are left, afford us a very precious and noble Specimen of his Eloquence and great Learning, particularly his Book of *Paschal Canons*, where he ſets out a curious *Rationale* about the Time of celebrating *Eaſter*, according to the *Aſtronomical Rules* and Computations current among the *Egyptians*, the *Grecians*, the *Romans*, the *Jews*; beſides which, and ſeveral Books upon *Theological Arguments*, we have alſo his *Ten Books of Arithmetick*. Before his Election at *Laodicea*, this *Anatolius* had been ordain'd by *Theotecnus*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, his Collegue and Coadjutor in that See, and was once deſign'd his Succeſſor. After *Anatolius* follow'd *Stephanus*, an incomparable Philoſopher and Humanift, but a weak and half-ſpirited *Chriſtian*, as was too evident by his Behaviour in the Perſecution.

secution. To him, and very seasonably, succeeded *Theodotus*, a pious, benevolent, charitable Man, and an extraordinary *Physician* as well as *Divine*. After *Theotecnus*, *Agapius* was preferr'd to the Bishoprick of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, a very bountiful and vigilant Pastor. *Pamphilus*, the Martyr, was one of his Presbyters, of whose excellent Learning, exemplary Life, Variety of Sufferings, and final *Martyrdom*, I have given a distinct Account in a Work by itself. There were likewise then eminent, and have flourish'd to this Day, *Pierius*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, (a very mortify'd and contemplative Man, and an admirable Preacher) and *Meletius*, an extraordinary Scholar, no less religious and virtuous than learned, for his Eloquence furnam'd *The Attick Honey-Comb*. In the Chair of *Jerusalem*, *Hymenæus* was succeeded by *Zabdas*, and *Zabdas* by *Hermon*. In that of *Alexandria*, *Maximus*, when he had held it Eighteen Years, was succeeded by *Theonas*; under whom *Achillas*, a Presbyter of that Church, an accomplish'd and severe Practicer, as well as a Professor of the best Philosophy, exercis'd the Function of a publick Instructor and Catechist. *Theonas* govern'd his Church Nineteen Years, after whom *Peter* took the Charge on him, and held it Twelve Years. During the Nine last, because it was a Season of Persecution, he led a Life of Mortification and Ascetical Discipline, but not so as to render himself ere the less useful, and at last he dy'd a Martyr. Thus descends the Order of Episcopal Succession in the respective Churches above-mention'd, down to the Year of *Christ* 305.





T H E
 Ecclesiastical HISTORY
 O F
Eusebius Pamphilus.

B O O K VIII.

 HE general and happy Reception which *Christianity* by this Time had obtain'd in the World, among *Greeks, Barbarians*, and all the Nations under Heaven, cannot be represented, and is almost incredible. The Emperors themselves had not a little countenanc'd the Holy Profession, by frankly indulging their Relations and Dependents in it, by preferring *Christians* to some of the best Posts of Honour and Power, and by placing such Persons in several other Offices of Trust and Command, as behav'd themselves affectionately and respectfully to the *Christians*, more especially to the Bishops, whose Flocks were now become so considerable and numerous, that every City had many very magnificent and spacious Churches within it, crouded all with *Christians*. But

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the more their Numbers encreas'd, the more their Manners degenerated ; and warp'd from the first Simplicity and Purity, into fraudulent and malicious Practices, to supplant one another, Evil-furmizings, Animofities, Detraction, Ambition, Vehemence, and Outrage ; not to mention thofe Difputes and Emulations which arofe among the Church Governors themfelves. Now therefore, follicited by thefe Provocations, the Juftice of God was pleas'd to vifit a difobedient and ungrateful People, and to arm itfelf with the Weapons and Artillery of Blafphemers, who laid the Sacred Edifices level with the Ground, made publick Bonfires of all the Bibles they could feize upon, difpers'd, apprehended, abus'd, tortur'd, and put to Death many of the Holy Fathers of the Church ; destroy'd the Perfons and Eftates of Multitudes of *Chriftians*, and (which was yet worfe) the Faith, Integrity, and Confcienfes of not a few.

IN the Intervals between the Perfecutions of *Decius*, *Valerian*, and *Domitian*, had been taken away the Lives of, here and there, a *Chriftian*, particularly among the Soldiery, and the Honours and Commissions of all that were in the Army ; it being declar'd the Emperor's Pleafure, that, unlefs they would renounce *Chriftianity*, they fhould continue no longer in his Service. But in the Nineteenth Year of *Diocleſian*, in the Month of *March*, upon the Vigil of *Eaſter*, came abroad the Imperial Edicts for a general Persecution of the *Chriftians* ; commanding the Churches to be demolish'd, the Bibles burnt, all *Chriftians* in publick Offices disgrac'd, and thofe of a private Condition difenfranchiz'd ; and ſoon after, more Edicts were iſſu'd out, which order'd that the Bifhops fhould be laid in Chains, and all other *Chriftians* oblig'd to do Sacrifice at their utmoſt Peril.

A GREAT Number of our Bifhops perfever'd with all Bravery and Courage to the very laſt Moment, under the ſharpeſt Anguiſh of the Tortures ; while others came preſently to Terms. There was no Method, no Inſtrument of Death or Barbarity, as Scourges, Pincers, Drag-hooks, and the like, but what was employ'd againſt the Diſciples of the Bleſſed *Jeſus*. They were half kill'd, and then thrown to expire upon the Ground ; many of them among the Carcaſſes of thoſe whom the Heathens pretended to have facrific'd ; for their Policy had a double Edge, either to force the *Chriftians* to do

do Sacrifice, or, if they could not get the better, to set them out, at least, for Sacrificers.

AT *Nicomedia*, the Imperial Edict was no sooner stuck up, but a zealous *Christian* of that Place, and a Person of the best Condition and Quality, came and tore it down in the Face of the City, (where *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* then resided) and to the last Moment underwent, without the least Discomposure, the first Sallies of their Fury; which consequently were the fiercest. Even the Emperor's Court yielded a plenteous Harvest of Martyrs, particularly the noble *Dorotheus*, and several others, all *Gentlemen of the Bedchamber*. *Peter*, one of the Number, (for the present Opportunity will not suffice to give the History of them all) being requir'd, in the Presence of the Emperors now mention'd, to do sacrifice, and absolutely refusing, was strip'd, borne up on high, his Body flay'd with Scourges to the very Bone, and *Salt* and *Vinegar* pour'd and rubb'd into the Wounds; then he was laid out upon a Gridiron, and broil'd over a gentle Fire, and after some Time yielded up the Ghost, asserting resolutely his Faith in his Saviour to the last Moment of his Life. *Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, and several others, endur'd a Fight of Afflictions no less terrible; *Anthimus*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, was beheaded; at the same Time suffer'd a whole Army of Martyrs together, Men, Women, and Children, a Fire having accidentally broke out in the Palace Royal, which, 'twas ridiculously pretended, the *Christians* had kindled. Both Men and Women, in great Numbers at once, readily leap'd into the Flames, by whatever Hand or Accident kindled: Others in great Numbers were bound Hand and Foot, and flung into the Sea; as were also the Bodies of the Martyrs that had been Officers and Domesticks of the Court; the Persecutors imagining, that Divine Honours would be paid them by the very Heathens themselves for their amazing Fortitude, if they should suffer them to be bury'd. Some time after, when there came News of a Rebellion, (rais'd by the Heathens) in *Armenia* and *Syria*, Orders were issu'd out for the Imprisonment of all the Bishops; and the Gaols were so crouded with Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and inferior Church Officers, that no Room was to be found for the common Criminals and Malefactors. And (upon the Publication of *the Resolutions for torturing*) the Numbers of those who suffer'd to Death in *Africa*, *Mauritania*, *Thebais*, *Egypt*, and all the Provinces, were so great, that it requir'd some Skill in Arithmetick to compute

them. In *Palestine*, and in the City of *Tyre*, myself was a Spectator of the Tortures which my Blessed Brethren endur'd, of their impregnable Constancy and Patience, and of the mighty Supports which they receiv'd from the Divine Mercy ; while an extraordinary Presence of the Holy Spirit was manifested in them, and even the living Instruments of Execution, the Lions, the Leopards, the wild Boars, the Bulls, were so restrain'd and over-rul'd at the Pleasure of their Creator, that although they were goaded with red-hot Irons, and the Infidels forc'd the holy Confessors to provoke and urge them ; either they would not so much as make Approaches to their Bodies, or else they retreated as soon as they came on, sweating, trembling, and bellowing ; while several of the Heathens coming in their Way, were gored and tost by the Bulls, and carry'd off for dead. In the conclusion, when the Persecutors had often try'd in vain, and many of them to their great Disappointment, to set the wild Beasts upon the Martyrs, they put them to the Sword, and flung their Carcasses into the Sea. *Procopius*, upon his Examination, having with a ready Zeal asserted the Unity of God, and refus'd to pay Divine Honours to the Emperors, was immediately beheaded. So were *Alpheus* and *Zacchæus*, when, in Contempt of Scourging, Pincers, Racks, and every other Cruelty, they had stedfastly confess'd their Faith in one God, and in one Lord *Jesus Christ*. At the same Time *Romanus*, a Deacon and Exorcist of the Church of *Cæsarea*, being at *Antioch*, where he beheld the *Christians*, in whole Multitudes together, frequenting and performing the Rites of Heathen Sacrifice, rebuk'd and censur'd them aloud ; for which he was seiz'd, and sentenc'd to the Flames, but discovering an eager Satisfaction at the Stake, and in the Presence of the Emperor, the Sentence was alter'd to that of losing his Tongue ; so he presently thrust it out of his Mouth, for the Executioner to cut it off. Afterwards he was thrown into a Dungeon, and there emaciated, rack'd, and strangled. *Timotheus* of *Gaza*, having first disappointed all other Effays of their Fury, was parch'd over a glowing Fire ; and afterwards, with *Agapius* and *Thecla*, who had also given very signal Proofs of their Constancy, sentenc'd to the wild Beasts. Upon the publick Celebration of a popular Solemnity, *Timolaus* of *Pontus*, *Dionysius* of *Tripolis*, *Romulus* a Sub-Deacon of the Church of *Diospolis*, *Paufis* and *Alexander*, (*Egyptians*) and another *Alexander* from *Gaza*, of their own free Purpose, had their Hands bound behind them, and run up, in a Body, to *Urbanus* the Prefect,

fect, as he was going to the Amphitheatre, declaring themselves *Christians*, to the great Astonishment of the Prefect, who committed them to Prison ; and within a few Days after, their Number increasing to Eight by the Accession of another *Agapius*, who had formerly endur'd the Torture, and of another *Dionysius*, who had supply'd them with the Necessaries of Life, they were all on the same Day beheaded in *Cesarea*. *Apphianus*, born in *Lycia*, descended of a very rich Family, and train'd up to Philosophical Studies at *Berytus*, (where he led a Life of severe and strict Sobriety, and preserv'd his Virtue in Spight of all Sollicitations, either from his Fellow-Pupils, or his own Constitution) before he had yet attain'd to the Twentieth Year of his Age, clandestinely, and without making the least Provision for keeping Soul and Body together, left his Father and Relations ; their dissolute and irregular Way of Life giving great Disturbance and Scandal to his pious Disposition and religious Resolutions, and, as conducted by the Direction of the Holy Spirit, came directly to *Cesarea*. There it so fell out, that I had the Commission of instructing him in the Elements of the *Christian* Religion, and of expounding the Holy Scriptures to him ; and there, after he had pass'd some Time in the Exercise of Ascetical Duties, inflam'd with a Divine Ardour, and absolutely unaffected with the Terror and Consternation which the Proceedings of the Persecutors had occasion'd in that Place, he went up calmly and unconcernedly to the Prefect, who was then upon the Point of performing a Libation, and, interrupting the Ceremony, took him by the Hand, and soberly reason'd the Case with him, dissuading him from the Practice, and shewing him the Grossness of the Absurdity. Upon this he was violently seiz'd by the Soldiers, abus'd and beaten, and thrown into a Dungeon, where for Four and twenty Hours he was kept upon the Torture, and afterwards, when he protested over and over against the Proposal of doing Sacrifice, they slash'd and scarify'd his Body to the Bone, and batter'd his Face and Neck with Mallets of Lead. Then his Feet were wrapt with Flax soak'd in Oil, which being set on Fire, scorch'd him so deep, that his very Marrow came dripping out of his Legs. But the Martyr defy'd the Force of all these, or any other Torments they could expose him to ; so he was again laid in Chains, and three Days after, having just Life enough left to declare his Faith, he was thrown into the Sea, when presently both Sea and Sky were convuls'd with an Earthquake and Tempest, that rock'd all the Buildings

Buildings in *Cæsarea*, and the dead Body of the Martyr emerging back on a sudden to the Surface of the Waves, was floated ashore to the Place where he had suffer'd. Of this all the People of *Cæsarea* were Eye-witnesses. In the City of *Tyre*, *Ulpian*, a Youth, after he had been mangled and batter'd from Head to Foot, was sown up in a Leathern Bag with a Dog and an Adder, and thrown into the Sea. Soon after *Ædesius*, the Brother of *Apphian*, having often already sustain'd the Torture, and been condemn'd to the Slavery of the Mines, as he beheld at *Alexandria*, how the Judge insulted the *Christians* of the greatest Gravity and Merit, and deliver'd over the chaste and devoted Virgins to the common Bawds and Panders of the Place, conceiv'd such a Zeal and Indignation at it, as even to insult and affront the Judge, upon which he was tortur'd without Mercy, and then thrown into the Sea. At *Cæsarea*, when the Tyrant *Maximin* was present at the Theatrical Exercises, *Agapius*, who before had been sentenc'd to the wild Beasts, and brought out thrice with the common Malefactors to the Place of Execution, but as often order'd back again, was now presented upon the Spot, and a Ruffian that had murder'd his Master, led in with him. The Murderer prostrated himself for Mercy, and was immediately acquitted; the Multitude magnifying the Grace and Goodness of his Imperial Majesty with Shouts and Acclamations. Then the Tyrant call'd *Agapius* to him, and commanded him to renounce his Faith. *Agapius* told him aloud, *That he was no Criminal, but a Servant of the one True God, whom he would never deny; and that he was prepar'd to meet and embrace any the most exquisite Severities with Resolution and with Pleasure.* So a She-Bear being let loose upon him, *Agapius* run to receive her; and after she had done her Part in tearing him, he was carry'd off again to the Dungeon, and the next Day toss'd into the Sea. *Theodosia*, a *Christian* Virgin, about Eighteen Years of Age, addressing herself to the Confessors, as they stood before the Tribunal, and desiring their Prayers, was condemn'd by the Prefect to the Torture; and when the Flesh of her Sides and Breasts had been torne off with Pincers, she was sentenc'd to the Sea, having all the while preserv'd in her Looks a very visible Alacrity and Satisfaction. The rest of the Confessors were doom'd to the Mines; whither *Silvanus*, then a Presbyter and Confessor, but afterwards a Bishop and a Martyr, soon follow'd them, it being withal made a Part of the Sentence that they should be crippled with Searing-Irons. *Domnius*, an old and a noted Con-

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fessor, was condemn'd to the Faggot. *Auxentius*, a reverend old Man, was expos'd to the wild Beasts. Several of the younger Sort were castrated, and sent to the Mines: Others tortur'd and then imprison'd; among these my dear Friend *Pamphilus*, who chearfully underwent the Laceration of the Pincers, with several other Tortures; and was afterwards committed to Prison, so soon as he had baffled and confounded the Prefect *Urbanus*, whom the Justice of God did yet more effectually punish, when *Maximin*, whose Creature and Confident *Urbanus* had always been, most unexpectedly disgrac'd, cashier'd, and, in the conclusion, cut him off. Whereupon *Firmilian* succeeded in his barbarous Employment, and, it seems, was as well qualify'd as his Predecessor, for he crippled an hundred Families together with Searing-Irons, (Men, Women, and Children, unanimously retaining their Faith) and caus'd the right Eye of every one of them to be pull'd out, and the Wound to be cauteriz'd, and then sent them to labour in the Mines. The same Treatment, but with the Addition of emaciating and scourging, was the Lot of three Natives of *Palestine*, because they refus'd to play the Gladiator upon one another. With these there suffer'd certain Inhabitants of *Cæsarea*, and others of *Gaza*, who for assembling to hear the Holy Scriptures read, were either crippled, or else the Flesh cut from their Ribs. A Woman of this Company being threaten'd with a Rape, inveigh'd very loudly and gallantly against the Tyrant-Persecutor and his Officers, for which she was scourg'd, rack'd, and pincer'd. *Valentina*, a vow'd Virgin, as was also the former, could no longer restrain herself at the Sight of the other's Sufferings, but cry'd out, *How long will you torment my poor Sister?* So she was presently seiz'd, and commanded to Sacrifice; and away they dragg'd her to the Altar, against which she spurn'd and stamp'd, 'till she tumbled it down, and the Incense that was upon it. At this the Judge flew into a violent Rage, gave Order that she should be pincer'd worse than any body yet had been; which accordingly (Blessed Woman!) was done, and then her Sister and she were burnt together. One *Paul* was in the same Instant under the Hands of an Executioner, and desir'd only a Reprieve for a few Moments, which, when granted, he bestow'd in a publick Intercession for the Peace of the Holy Catholick Church, for the Conversion of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, for the Conversion of the *Gentiles*, more especially of all then present, for the Prosperity of their Imperial Majesties, and for the Mercy of God towards his Judge
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and Executioner. So soon as he had ended his Prayer, (which drew Plenty of Tears from the Eyes of the Spectators) he stretch'd out his Neck for the Blow, and his Head was sever'd from his Body. Some time after this, an hundred and thirty *Egyptian* Confessors were used in the same Manner as those from *Thebais* above-mention'd.

AND now, when we begun to have some little Appearance and Hope of a Truce and Relaxation, it seems it proved to be nothing but a Breathing-time for the Persecutors; the Edicts and Orders of the Usurper being on a sudden repeated and reinforc'd, and no Methods omitted either to trepan or compel us. But all the Power and Artifices of the Adversary were too weak to vie with those most comfortable and corroborating Influences, which the Blessed *Jesus* shed into the Hearts of his faithful Followers, whose Piety and Courage were so lively, that they had not the Patience to stay 'till the Inquisitors call'd them to Examination, but seiz'd the first publick Opportunity they could of declaring what they were. *Zebinas*, *Germanus*, and *Antoninus*, a Presbyter, press'd in upon the Prefect, as he was sacrificing, openly importuning him to renounce his Idols, and embrace the Belief of the one True God; for which Freedom, and the generous Professions they made of their Faith in their Saviour, they lost their Heads upon the Spot. The same Day *Ennathas*, a Virgin, (by Order of one *Maxys*, a Tribune, a Man of a scandalous Life, and unauthoriz'd to act as Judge) was most abusively and barbarously treated, whipt, led naked through the Streets of *Cæsarea*, and, by the Sentence of the Prefect, (before whom she stedfastly persisted in the Profession of her Faith) consum'd at a Stake. Nay, so savage was the Prefect, that he would not allow the Bodies to be put into the Ground, but they must be left expos'd for the Birds and Beasts of Prey, and Centinels plac'd to prevent the Removal of them. And as well within as without the City, Limbs, Bowels, Bones, lay scatter'd up and down, to the great Offence of the Heathen Inhabitants themselves, who many of them declar'd their Abhorrence of such surprizing and unparallell'd Inhumanity; while the very Stones and Walls of the publick Edifices express'd their Resentment by a most unaccountable and miraculous *Phænomenon*; for though the Season was remarkably calm, serene, and dry, yet Drops of Moisture, as it had been from weeping Eyes, run trickling down every where upon the Buildings; which the People themselves

themselves interpreted a Rebuke from Heaven to the Harden'd and Unrelenting Authors of our Calamity. Some of my Readers perhaps will imagine this an idle and superstitious Tale. But as many as are willing to be determin'd by Authority of Eye-witnesses, and other creditable Testimonies, will entertain better Thoughts of it.

SHORTLY after, certain *Egyptians*, that had ministred to the Occasions of the Confessors in *Cilicia*, receiv'd the same Sentence with those Confessors, which was Loss of Eyes and Crippling. Three of them (*Ares*, *Probus*, and *Elias*) were put to Death, the two last beheaded, the first burnt. *Petrus Apſelamus*, a Youth of an *Ascetick* Life, was also committed to the Flames; the Judge, and all the Court, having to no purpose earnestly besought him to consider how many happy Years such a vigorous young Man had to live in the World, if he pleas'd. At the same Stake dy'd *Asclepius*, a Bishop among the *Marcionites*, most unhappy in a Zeal not according to Knowledge.

WE now arrive at the History of *Pamphilus's* Martyrdom, whose Person I have always most entirely lov'd, and whose Memory I shall ever honour. He was the only one of Twelve Confessors, that had the Authority of a Presbyter; a strict Man in his Religion and Virtue, wean'd entirely from the Satisfaction and Grandeur of the World; happy and indefatigable in his Exercises of Learning, more especially in the Study of the Holy Scriptures; benevolent and charitable to the very utmost of his Power; not here to enlarge further upon a Character which I have already made the Subject of a separate Performance. *Valens*, another of the Twelve, was a Deacon, crown'd with grey Hairs, and so conversant in the Scriptures, that he could repeat them all without Book. *Paul* of *Jamna* was a third, act'd by a warm but holy Zeal, and had formerly suffer'd the Torture of the Searing-Irons. These three had already lain two Years in Prison; and there probably might have continu'd longer, but that a second Company of *Egyptian Christians* were apprehended upon their Return from *Cilicia*, whither they took a Journey to visit the Confessors. These, being five in Number, upon their Examination and Profession of their Faith, were committed to Prison; and the next Day, with *Pamphilus*, *Valens*, and *Paul*, were brought forth again before the

S Judge.

Judge. The five *Egyptians*, who call'd themselves each by a prophetick Name, *Elias*, *Jeremiah*, *Isaiah*, *Samuel*, and *Daniel*, were put to as many and as terrible Tortures, as the most industrious Wit of the Prefect could find for them. Then the first being ask'd his Name, answer'd him, he was *Elias*; which sounding new to the Prefect, he demanded his *Country*. *Elias* told him he was a Citizen of *Jerusalem*, meaning that which is above. At this the Prefect was again vex'd and bewilder'd, and so order'd him to the Rack, and during the Execution, inquir'd what and where this *Jerusalem* was. The Martyr told him, it lay toward the *East* and Sun-rising, and that none but the Servants of the True God belong'd to it. Now then the Prefect was more impatient than ever to learn the Situation of this *New Jerusalem*, fancying that the *Christians* had form'd a Design of erecting a Community and Fortifications in Defiance to the Power of his Master, and therefore he try'd him with a fresh Process of Torture. But still *Elias* abides by the Sacred Allegory, and at last is sentenc'd to lose his Head; as were likewise the other four, having endur'd the same Tortures as *Elias*. Then 'twas demanded of *Pamphilus*, *Valens*, and *Paul*, whether they would comply yet with his Majesty's Will; which refusing, they were deliver'd over to the Headsman without further Torture; the Prefect knowing them too well to suppose that Experiment would answer his Ends upon them. The next who gave him Disturbance was a Youth, nam'd *Porphyry*, educated under *Pamphilus*, and a Member of his Family. *Porphyry* requested that the Bodies might be bury'd, at which the Prefect falling into a Rage, examin'd him, and requir'd him to do Sacrifice. *Porphyry* declar'd himself a *Christian*, and that he would never pay Obedience to such a Command. So he was scoop'd to the very Bone, ript to the Bowels, and then sentenc'd to the Stake, to which he mov'd with a wonderful Satisfaction and Assurance, wrap'd in his Philosophick *Pallium*, and communicating his Directions and Counsels to his Friends that attended him. So soon as he was got near enough to the Flames, he suck'd them greedily into his Mouth, and while he was burning, invok'd the Name of his Saviour. *Seleucus* soon overtook him. He was a very robust and comely Person; and had formerly held an honourable Commission in the Army, but resign'd it upon taking a Resolution to employ the whole of his Time in serving and assisting the Poor and Helpless. At the Beginning of the Persecution he had undergone the Torture of the Scourge.

Scourge. The Occasion of his Martyrdom, was his carrying the News of *Porphyry's* Sufferings to *Pamphilus*, (not yet executed) and his saluting one of the Martyrs with a Kiss. Next, *Theodulus*, devout, and of a very great Age, a Domestick of the Prefect's, and highly esteem'd by him for the many faithful Services and good Offices he had done him, by his resolute Behaviour and Answers, put his Patron out of all Patience; and so in an Instant the Sentence of Crucifixion was pass'd upon him. *Julian* made the Twelfth of the Number, a Man of singular Piety, Probity, and Courage, and under extraordinary Influences of the Blessed Spirit. Before he was come up to the Stage of Examination, receiving Intelligence that the other Martyrs were in the midst of their Conflict, he sprung forward as fast as he could, and at his Arrival beholding their dead Bodies upon the Ground, eagerly and joyfully embrac'd them one after another; which he had no sooner done, but he was brought before the Prefect, and sentenc'd to be burnt. Four Days and Nights the Bodies lay uncover'd upon the Ground for the Birds and Beasts of Prey; but neither the one nor the other came near them; and Providence so order'd it, that they were all decently interr'd. Some Time after, *Adrianus* and *Eubulus* coming to *Cæsarea*, with the Purpose of visiting the Confessors, were apprehended and examin'd, and (having asserted their Faith, and undergone the Torture of the Pincers) were torne by wild Beasts, and then beheaded; as afterwards was the Prefect *Firmilian* himself, and some others his Accomplices; the Almighty giving full Evidence of his Justice in the Fall of his Enemies, as the Power of his Grace had shined forth in the Death of his Blessed Martyrs.

AND here I might set before my Reader, a View of those Corruptions and Schisms, which, at the same time that the Persecution was devouring the Church, she bred in her own Bowels, as if she could not suffer enough from the Tyranny and Madness of an Usurper, unless her Sorrows and Provocations were aggravated by the Animosities and Ambition of some of her own Governors, who rendring themselves unworthy of so sublime an Authority and Character, were many of them (as God permitted) brought under the Yoke of a miserable Bondage, and consign'd to the wretched Offices of Grooms and Camel-drivers. But this being a most unacceptable Subject; I shall leave to return to our Account of the

Martyrs, which tends much more to the Honour of our holy Profession, as well as to our own Improvement.

THE Persecution had now lasted near Seven Years, when a short Respite of Connivance interven'd, 'till the Prefect, a Libertine, and a very cruel Man, sent malicious Complaints of us, the Year following, to the Tyrant ; and then came down the *Procurator of the Mines*, who ranging the Confessors into separate Companies, order'd away some to *Cyprus*, and others to *Libanus* ; the rest were dispers'd in *Palestine*, and made Slaves. Only four, *Peleus*, *Nilus*, *Pater-muthius*, and a Presbyter, he sent to the General of the Forces that were in *Palestine*, by whose Order, upon refusing to abjure their *Christianity*, they were burnt. Those Confessors, who were not in a Condition to work by reason of their Age or Infirmities of Body, had a peculiar Place of Residence assign'd them : The Chief of them was *Silvanus*, (to be distinguish'd from him of *Gaza*) a most worthy Bishop, upon whom the Persecutors had taken all Opportunities of indulging their Malice from the very Beginning of the Persecution. He had a great many *Christians* of *Egypt* to bear him Company ; and, among the rest, one *John*, whose Eyes had been thrust out before, but yet (when himself and his Fellow-Sufferers were crippled with burning Irons) the Inquisitors were not satisfy'd 'till they had fear'd the very Cavities. This excellent Person had a prodigious Memory, and was able to repeat without Book all Parts of the Holy Scriptures, as I myself can attest ; for I have often been present, when he has pronounc'd the Lessons at Divine Service, as exactly and easily, as if he had read them. Beside these two, there were of the same Company thirty-seven more, who by constantly performing the publick Duties of Worship and Discipline, in a little Time so provok'd the Prefect, that he beheaded all the thirty-nine at one Execution. In *Egypt*, Men, Women, and Children innumerable, stedfastly professing their Faith and Trust in their Saviour, endur'd the Scourge, the Rack, the Pincers, and every other Torture ; were burnt, drown'd, beheaded, famish'd, crucify'd, some in the usual Manner, others with their Heads downwards, and left to hang in a miserable, destitute Condition upon the Cross. In *Thebais* ragged sharp Conchs or Shells were us'd instead of Pincers ; the Women were hung high with their Heads downward, and one Leg ty'd behind ; others were corded up fast to Trunks or Arms of Trees, and others torn asunder

der between the Boughs forc'd together, and then let loose again. Scarce a Day past, for several Years, but a Number of *Christians* were tortur'd and destroy'd; and as soon as one Company had receiv'd their Sentence, another crouded up to the Tribunal to declare themselves; and afterwards run exulting and rejoicing to their Execution; and under the very keenest Extremities of Torture, and the last Agonies of Death, sung Psalms and Songs of Praise to their Blessed Creator; insomuch, that there return'd a frequent Necessity for a fresh Supply, both of Executioners and their Weapons; to which I myself was Eye-witness. Among those, who counted as Dung all worldly Pre-eminences and Advantages, (whether of Power, as publick Officers, or of Esteem and Reputation, as learned Men and Philosophers) that they might gain *Christ* by asserting the Faith, was *Phyloromus*, the Emperor's Receiver and Treasurer at *Alexandria*; and *Phileas* Bishop of *Thumis*, who had formerly held the best Places, and born the prime Honours among his Countrymen, and had ever acquitted himself with great Applause. Their Relations, their Friends, and their Judge, begg'd of them to have a prudential Regard, if not to their own Persons, at least to their Wives and Children; but neither could Menaces, Persuasions, nor Contumelies, at all prevail upon them, and so they were both beheaded; the latter having left us a monitory Epistle, which he wrote to his Church immediately before his Martyrdom, and wherein he sets before them the Bravery and Constancy of their Brethren at *Alexandria*, and the barbarous Methods of Execution practis'd upon them; that they were bruised with Clubs, and scourg'd with Rods, Thongs, and Ropes; corded up by the Waste; rack'd and torne with Pincers from Head to Foot; some hung up by one Hand; some planted Face to Face with their Feet off the Ground, and their Bodies undertruss'd with Chains, in which manner they were lodg'd perhaps a whole Day before they dy'd, and then were rowl'd and dragg'd along the Streets; while others lay with their Bodies upon the Ground all wounded and raw, and their Legs bent backward, and distended as far as it was possible to stretch them; Others were, after Tortures, thrown aside, and left to make the best of a miserable, agonizing Carcass. Of these dy'd some under their immediate Agonies; Others not till they had lain in the Dungeon for several Days after; and Others again recovering, after their further Refusal to do Sacrifice, were dispatch'd out of the Way. In *Phrygia* the Soldiers set Fire to a whole City at once, all the Inhabitants professing

prefelling themselves *Christians*, from the meanest to the mightiest; in this Conflagration dy'd *Adauctus*, who had always approv'd himself a truly pious *Christian*, and a magnanimous Confessor. His Descent was from a very noble Family, and he was one of the Emperor's prime Ministers. In *Arabia*, they beat out the Brains of the *Christians*. In *Cappadocia*, their Legs were broke in Pieces. In *Mesopotamia*, they were hung with their Heads downward and suffocated over Charcoal. At *Alexandria*, there was nothing to be done without Mutilations and Mangling. At *Antioch*, they were broil'd over gentle Fires; Others thrust their Hands into the Flames, rather than they should touch the Libations; Others, when the Inquisitors came on to apprehend them, threw themselves down from the Tops of Houses. A certain Matron, a truly *Christian* Heroine, rich and honourable, and happy in two Maiden Daughters, young and beautiful, being seiz'd by the Soldiers, and concluding they would offer Violence to her Children's Chastity, and not omit any other abominable Methods, by which they might hope to force them and herself to do Sacrifice, took an Opportunity to drown herself in a River; as did also her Daughters with her *. Two other Virgin Sisters, of good Birth and Fortune, of a fervent Piety, a severe Virtue, and a lovely Form, at the Command of the Persecutors, jump'd into the Sea. In *Pontus*, sharp Spikes were run up under the Nails of the *Christians*, and along their Fingers: Scalding Lead was pour'd upon their Bodies, and horrid Applications were us'd to torment their Bowels and Privy-parts; 'till at last, when the Prefects and Judges, who all along emulated one another in the Contrivance of their Cruelties, had tir'd out their Inventions, and their Officers too, they promis'd us that now they would be more merciful; and we should find that neither the Emperors nor themselves bore us the least Ill-will, or meant us any Harm; of which Multitudes of the *Christians* were soon convinc'd, when they had their Eyes put out, or else were crippled, or sent Slaves to the Mines; not to mention a thousand other Tokens of their Tendernefs. But still the Vehemence of this Fiery Opposition serv'd only, more and

* *St. Austin* endeavours to acquit these Ladies and other Persons that made away with themselves when Persecution rag'd, of the Crime of Self-Murder, by supposing them to be directed in what they did by

an immediate Inspiration. Whether this may be a satisfactory Apology, or not, I leave to others to inquire. The Reader may turn to the whole Passage in *St. Austin, De Civit. Dei, l. 1. c. 26.*

more every Day, to confirm and propagate the Credit both of the *Christian* Religion, and of its invincible Votaries.

AMONG the Prelates and Pastors that suffer'd, were *Lucian*, a very learned and religious Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*; (that had pleaded the Cause of *Christianity* before the Emperor himself) *Tyrannio*, Bishop of *Tyre*, tortur'd first, and then drown'd; *Zenobius*, a Presbyter in *Sidon*, who dy'd under the Torture of the Pincers; *Silvanus*, Bishop of *Emisa*, was thrown to the wild Beasts; *Silvanus*, Bishop of *Gaza*, very old and decrepit, was beheaded in the Mines, and with him thirty-nine *Christians* more. At *Alexandria* suffer'd with *Peter*, the venerable Bishop of that City, *Faustus*, *Dius*, and *Ammonius*, his Presbyters. Add to these, *Hesychius*, *Pachumius*, *Theodorus*, with several other *Egyptian* Bishops, and a Multitude of Ecclesiasticks. But now to turn our Eyes back a little from this Tragical Scene of Persecution.

THE flourishing Estate of the Empire, and the Grandeur and Felicity of the Emperors, before these Counsels of Violence were taken, passes the Power of Description itself. But the Face of Affairs most remarkably vary'd for the worse, when the Emperor *Dioclesian*, falling under a judicial Indisposition of Body, resign'd, and with him his Colleague *Maximian*; and their Successors, *Constantius* and *Galerius*, agreed upon a Partition of the Empire. Not long after *Constantius* dy'd, a Prince honour'd both alive and dead for his extraordinary Clemency and fatherly Care of his Subjects, and withal a generous Patron and Protector of the *Christians*, recommending his Son *Constantine* for his Successor, who was accordingly, without any delay, proclaim'd Emperor and *Augustus* by the Army, and with his Father's Authority and Virtues inherited his Esteem and Affection for the *Christian* Religion and the Holy Catholick Church. Soon after, the two Emperors, *Constantine* and *Galerius* declar'd *Licinius* also Emperor and *Augustus*, which *Maximin* (who had no other Title than that of *Cæsar*) very much resenting, conferr'd upon himself the Imperial Stile and Character; and *Maximian* also reassum'd it, but hang'd himself before he had perfected his Treason, and all the Statues and Ensigns that had been erected to his Honour, were broke in Pieces.

MAXENTIUS,

MAXENTIUS, the Son of *Maximian*, was trying the same Methods of Usurpation and Tyranny at *Rome*, and in all the *Western* Provinces, as *Maximin* in those of the *East*; though, as for the Persecution in the *West*, it continu'd no longer than two Years. At first his Politicks prompted him to favour and caress the *Christians*, but afterwards he drew off the Mask; and there was no Wickedness so vile and brutish, which he did not commit; abusing the Wives and Daughters of the Citizens, as well Noble as Plebeian; making Sport of Massacres; murdering Senators to come to their Estates; and ripping up Women with Child to gratify his magical Curiosity and Superstition. In a Word, he ruin'd and impoverish'd the great City to that Degree, that at last the Necessaries of Life were hardly to be procur'd. Yet *Maximin* outwent him a long Length; for being entirely bigotted to the Pagan Worship, Incantations and Mysteries, he prosecuted the *Christians* with more Spleen and Severity than any of his Predecessors had done; he built and repair'd the Heathen Temples, and thought nothing too good or too much for the Priests and Augurs; besides, that for Oppression, Rapine, Luxury, and Lust, he scarce ever had his Equal. However, the *Christians* found it easy to defeat the worst of his Purposes. All the Miseries and Tortures which he could inflict upon them, had no effect, did not at all answer his Aim and Expectation; for even those of the weaker Sex, that were destin'd to be forc'd, laid violent Hands upon themselves. A *Christian* Lady at *Alexandria*, of the best Quality and Extraction, was sent into Banishment by him, after he had first taken every thing from her, but her Virtue and her Life; of which the former struck him with such an awful Regard, as became the Preservation of the latter. Another Lady at *Rome*, Wife to the Prefect of the City, being surpriz'd by *Maxentius's* Messengers, and knowing that her Virtue and Honour lay at Stake, begg'd leave to step into her Chamber for a Moment, and so soon as she was got out of Sight, struck a Dagger to her Heart. In a Word, these Usurpers turn'd the World upside-down, and for ten Years together (the publick Calamities beginning and ending with Persecution against the *Christians*) in all Places, and among all Sorts of People whatsoever, there was nothing to be seen but the Face of War, and the Consequences of Fury, beside a Famine and Pestilence, which, I may say, brought up the Rear.

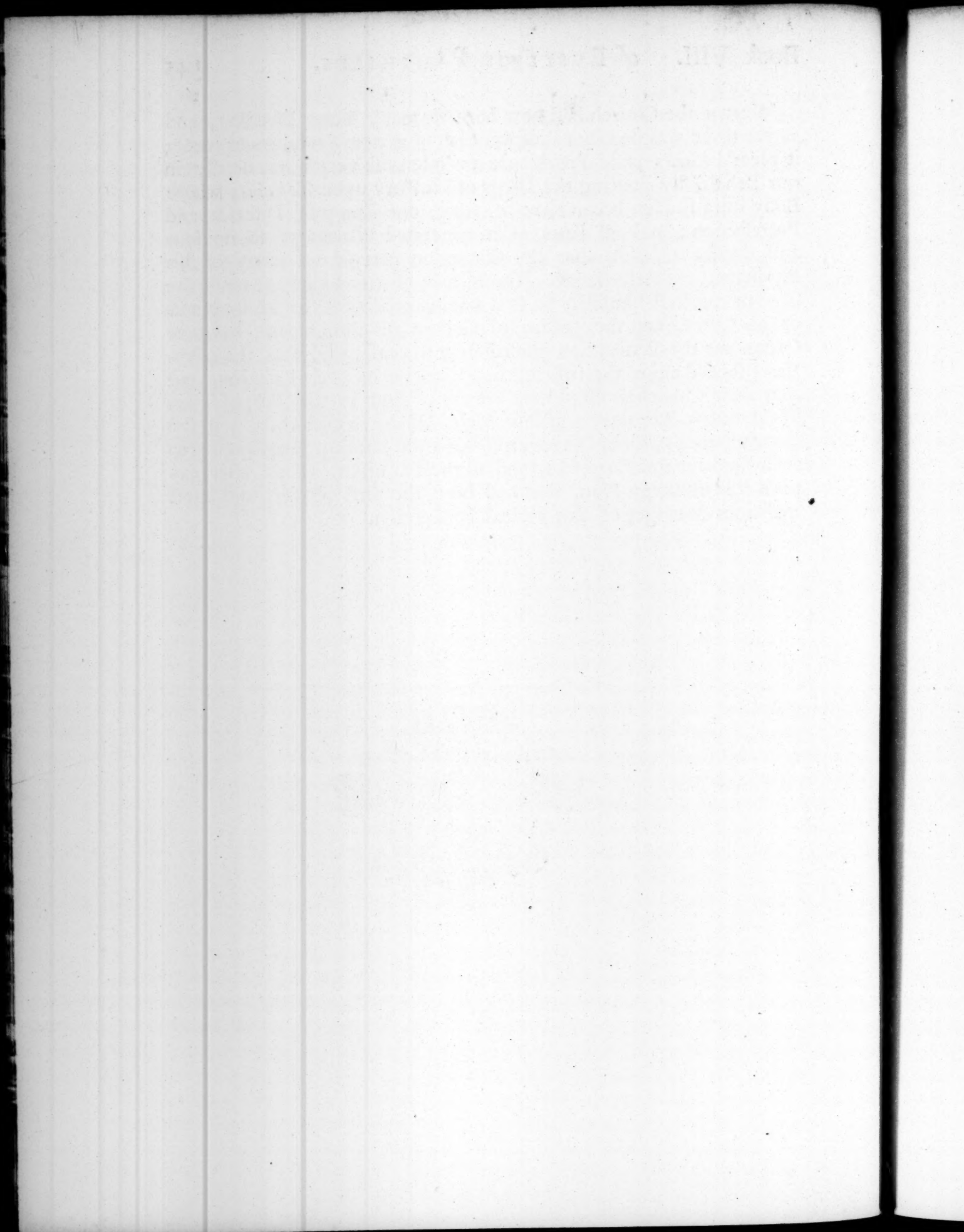
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WHEN the Church had now been so many Years Bleeding, and as yet there was no other Prospect than of greater Severities to come; it pleas'd God's good Providence to interpose very miraculously in our Behalf, by pouring the Dregs of his Fury upon *Galerius*; whose Body on a sudden became, as it were, one Lump of Diseases and Putrefaction; and all Parts of it generated Worms of so noxious and deadly a Scent, that the Contagion carry'd off many of his Physicians and Attendants. The Misery of this Judgment made the Tyrant recollect himself; so that having confess'd the Heinousness of his Crime, and the Justice of God in his Punishment, he gave Orders for the Persecution immediately to cease, and that the *Christians* should enjoy the full and free Exercise of their Religion, and that their Churches should be rebuilt. And to this Purpose was issu'd out a Revocation of his former Edicts against them; in the Conclusion of which, 'tis requir'd that they offer up Supplications to their God for the Emperors, and all their Subjects. Soon after expir'd this unhappy Man, that had been the first Mover, and most malicious Manager of this violent Persecution.



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THE
Ecclesiastical HISTORY

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Eusebius Pamphilus.

B O O K S IX, X.



Otwithstanding the Publication of *Galerius's* Rescript in all the Provinces and Dominions, which he had made himself Master of, the impious Usurper *Maximin*, obstructed the good Effects of it in those Parts, where he had made himself a *de Facto* Emperor, by communicating his Pleasure concerning a Mitigation, only in a private and occasional way to his Agents in Commission. But *Sabinus*, deputed *Præfectus-prætorio* in that Quarter of the World by *Galerius*, issued out his Orders in the Name of their Imperial Majesties to all Prefects of Provinces, importing, That whereas of a long Time the severest Methods had in vain been us'd to fright and force the *Christians* out of their Persuasion, 'twas the Resolution and Purpose of their Imperial Majesties, that all such rigorous Prosecutions should cease, and that Notice hereof be given to all Curators and Prefects of Provinces, and others their inferior Officers. Upon this the Con-

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feffors, whether in the Prisons, or in the Mines, were all releas'd, and return'd to their respective Abodes, singing Anthems and Songs of Thanksgiving in the Streets and Highways, as they pass'd ; and in every City large Congregations and Assemblies of the Faithful flock'd together, exercising the publick Duties of Religion, as formerly, so that the Infidels themselves openly acknowledg'd at length, that the God of the *Christians* was indeed the only true God. And those very Men, who a little before had been the most active against us, were now the forwardest of any to congratulate our Deliverance.

BUT the Tyrant having purely out of Fear, and for Reasons of State, acquiesced in this Indulgence about half a Year, could now dissemble no longer, but hinder'd us from frequenting our Places of publick Devotion, and contriv'd that his Agents and Creatures should petition him to molest the *Christians* ; as particularly from *Antioch*, where *Theotecnus*, his *Curator*, a malevolent and crafty Politician, erected an Image of *Jupiter Philus*, and to his execrable Form of Consecration, annex'd a Jargon of Oracles to flatter the Tyrant. The rest of his Deputies, when they saw 'twas an acceptable Piece of Service, did the like ; and *Maximin* ratify'd their Proceedings by an Edict, constituting withal, several new Orders of Priests, and giving all sorts of Persons the fullest Encouragement imaginable to vex, injure, and destroy the *Christians* : In a word, the Persecution upon the Revival was more violent than it had ever been before.

THE spurious and blasphemous Acts of *Pilate*, as they were pretended to be, were sent about, every way, with Instructions for making them as publick as they could be made ; and that even the School-Masters should oblige their Boys to get them without Book. At *Damascus*, one of these *Journeymen* of the Tyrant produc'd a Set of Strumpets, having threaten'd to put them to the Torture if they scrupled obeying his Command, which was, that they should swear they had formerly been *Christians*, and often concern'd in the Perpetration of those flagitious Practices and Mysteries which were charg'd upon the *Christians*. These Depositions were recorded, and by the Usurper's Order made as publick as the Acts of *Pilate* ; and within a little Time after the Projector of the Stratagem, prov'd his own Executioner.

THE Constitutions and Orders which every Corporation enacted against us, were engrav'd and promulg'd in Tables of Brass, and so likewise the Rescript of *Maximin* to encourage the Prosecution; in which Rescript he celebrates their Zeal for the Honour of their Gods, and declares, that as nothing could be more acceptable to himself than the Measures they took to chastise the Opposers of *Jupiter*, and his fellow Deities, so they could no way more significantly express their Gratitude to the Powers themselves for the many publick Evils diverted, and Benefits bestow'd by them, notwithstanding the Provocations and Perverseness of the *Christians*; and that therefore whatever Boon and Privileges such good Subjects can desire of him, they shall find him most ready to grant.

SUCH was the Folly and Insolence of this wild Blasphemer; but within a very little Time he was made to understand, that the Great Creator of Heaven and Earth is the only Fountain of all Felicity, whether publick or private, and that he never defers his Judgments, but when delaying the Execution may best answer the Ends of them; for so soon as the Tyrant's Edicts were effectually dispers'd, God was pleas'd to confute them by a depopulating Famine and Pestilence, accompany'd with the Miseries of an unsuccessful War, which the Usurper begun upon the *Armenian Christians*; and indeed it was reasonably to be expected, that so good a Cause as that of opposing a Rebel-Tyrant in Defence of their Religion, would not fail of a suitable Success. By the Famine, which usher'd in the Pestilence, perish'd chiefly the Plebeians and the Peasants, among whom the Necessity was so extremely Calamitous, that they devour'd Hay, or any Herbs they could lay their Hands on, wholesome or noxious; and dropp'd down in the Streets, begging for a Morsel with their departing Breath. Nor did the wealthier Sort decline to bring them Relief, till the dismal Prospect of their own Occasions discourag'd them. But though the Provisions they reserv'd might have been a Remedy against Famine, they were none against the Infection of a Pestilence, and those contagious Exulcerations and Inflammations, which swept away the People of Condition and Substance, and among these not a few of the Prefects of Provinces, at the same Time that the Famine thinn'd the Populace. Insomuch, that between the one and the other, you might have seen two or three Corpses brought at once out of the same House. All this while the *Christians* went about distributing their Bread indifferently
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to their poor Neighbours and Fellow-Citizens, and only they had the Courage to attend the Sick and bury the Dead ; by these hazardous Offices of Humanity and Tenderneſs towards their Enemies, gaining Glory to God, and good Reputè unto themſelves.

WHILE Devaſtation and Death were thus executing their Commiſſion, God was pleas'd to vouchſafe to his afflicted Church the ſure Tokens of Reconcilement, in the Victories which the two Emperors obtain'd, *Conſtantine* over *Maxentius* in the *West*, and *Licinius* over *Maximin* in the *East*. *Conſtantine*, the proper and ſovereign Emperor, having his Heart now fix'd upon endeavouring the Reſcue of his oppreſs'd Subjects in *Rome* and *Italy* ; in the firſt Place ſolemnly implor'd the Protection and Aſſiſtance of the HOLY TRINITY, and then march'd his whole Army againſt the Power of *Maxentius*, whoſe Forces, (and very numerous they were) lay encamp'd on every Side of *Rome*, beſides the Detachments and Garriſons he had plac'd in Poſſeſſion of all the conſiderable Holds and Fortreſſes in *Italy* ; though nevertheleſs the Uſurper rely'd upon the Efficacy of his Necromancy, and magical Operations, much more than upon the Strength of his martial Preparations, or the Fidelity of his Soldiers. The great and good Emperor conſiding in the Favour of his God, and the Juſtice of his Cauſe, gave Battle to the main Body of the Rebels, as he found them divided into three Bodies, defeated them in every Engagement, and push'd his Victory up to the Walls of *Rome*. *Maxentius*, and the Guards that were with him, being ſo cloſely purſu'd, came under a Neceſſity of taking to a Bridge of Boats, (artificially plac'd and contriv'd for a Snare to the *Conſtantinians*) which ſhattering under the Crowd and Tumult of thoſe who run aboard, funk down on a ſudden, and along with it the Tyrant and his Accomplices, to the Bottom of the *Tiber*. So *Conſtantine* enter'd *Rome* in Triumph, and was receiv'd by the Senate, the whole Order of the *Equites*, and all the Inhabitants, with Transports of Joy, and congratulated as the Deliverer of his People, with Shouts and Acclamations, while the pious Conqueror aſcrib'd unto God the whole Succeſs and Glory of his Expedition, and gave Directions that the triumphal Statue, which the Citizens erected to his Honour, ſhould hold a Croſs in the right Hand, and that the Inſcription upon the Peſtetal ſhould run in theſe Words, *Under the Auspices of this propitious Enſign of the only true and genuine Fortitude, I deliver'd your City from the Yolk of Uſurpation and Tyranny, and retriev'd the loſt Authority and Grandeur of the Senate and People*

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of Rome. In the next Place, the two Emperors (for the Frenzy of Atheism and Rebellion had not seiz'd *Licinius* yet) having publicly return'd their Thanks and Praises to God for the Mercies vouchsaf'd them, promulg'd their Edicts and Constitutions in favour of the *Christians*; the first of which declares it to be the Pleasure of the Emperors, that all Sects and Parties should enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, more especially the *Christians*; to whom all such Persons, as either by Grant or Purchase stand possess'd of such Grounds or Buildings, as the *Christians* had dedicated to religious Uses, are commanded to restore the same, and promis'd an Equivalent upon their Application to the Officers of the Exchequer. Of this Resolution, and the Success with which God had prosper'd their Arms, the Emperors inform the Tyrant in the *East*, very much to his Mortification; but he knew full well the only way to be secure, was to dissemble and comply, as he had hitherto done; and to keep up a Shew of Amity and Condescension; and so he presently repeals his last Edict of Persecution, endeavouring in the Preamble of his Revocation to give a plausible Turn and Colour to his late Proceedings, but then the Repeal was so worded, as only to stop the Prosecutions, without intimating any thing like a Liberty of rebuilding the Churches, or of assembling for the Discharge of religious Duties, and the Exercise of Church Discipline. But the Divine Majesty no longer suffer'd it self to be mock'd with this prevaricating Adversary, whose Pride and Vanity intoxicated so his Understanding, that he assum'd a Pre-eminence of Dignity above the two Emperors, placing his Name before theirs in all his Acts; and soon after violating those Engagements which had pass'd between *Licinius* and himself, he march'd against *Licinius* with all the Forces he could raise, reposing a firm Confidence in the Power of his Arms, and the Patronage of his Dæmons. But these were too weak to withstand the Purpose of God, who gave the Victory to *Licinius*; the Traitor-Tyrant being so deserted and distress'd at the End of the Day, that he was glad to throw off his Purple, and make the best of his way in the Garb of a common Soldier; under the Obscurity of which Disguise he narrowly escap'd, and was no sooner got home but he sacrific'd the diabolical Priests and Augurs, that had put him upon so fatal an Expedition, acknowledg'd the Justice and Omnipotence of the Great God of the *Christians*, and publish'd a Rescript in their Favour, granting to them the full and free Exercise of their Religion, with the Liberty also of rebuilding their Churches, and restoring all such Lands, Houses, and Endowments, as *Dioclesian*
and

and *Maximian* had confiscated. But then this forc'd and sudden Restitution avail'd him very little in the Sight of God, by whose Appointment he was seiz'd with a most malignant, painful, and terrible Distemper, which so strangely emaciated and consum'd his Body, that he became literally a living Skeleton; and his inward Inflammations increasing, his very Eye-balls started out of his Head, soon after which the poor comfortless Creature expir'd, vowing (too late) a Reformation, and freely confessing, that his Inveteracy and Violences against the *Christians*, deserv'd the Severity of the Punishments which God had inflicted.

MAXIMIN being thus remov'd, all the Churches of the *Christians* were without Delay rebuilt, and themselves instated in greater Privileges and Liberties than ever. *Manifestos* were issu'd out by the Emperors, declaring *Maximin* to have been an impious Usurper, a cruel Tyrant, and a common Enemy. The Statues and Images erected in Honour of him, or his Children, were defac'd, broke to pieces, and kick'd about the Streets. All his Rebel-Agents and Officers were disgrac'd and cashier'd, and such of them as had had a Hand in the Persecution, were put to Death; of which Number was *Picentius*, having been created a Prefect under *Maximin*, thrice Consul, and his Treasurer; *Culcianus*, who had spilt the Blood of thousands of *Christians*; and *Theotecnus*, the Contriver of the Idol at *Antioch*, upon whom, and upon the Priests and Augurs too, that belong'd to the Image, the Sentence of Torture was executed before that of Death. Also the Sons, and all the Relations of *Maximin*, receiv'd their Share in the Vengeance, as they had join'd in the Provocation. And thus, by the Divine Favour, their Imperial Majesties recover'd and establish'd their Government, put a Period to the Insults of our Enemies, and encourag'd, as well by their Example as Authority, the Profession and Practice of true Religion; and though this miraculous Deliverance was a Subject of Joy and Triumph to all Mankind, and imputed universally to the gracious Providence of our God; yet the *Christians* could not be sensible of less than Extasies and Raptures, when they beheld all the Churches and sacred Edifices rais'd much higher, and much more adorn'd than at any time before, and consecrated with all Solemnity; the Holy Fathers of the Church publicly celebrating the Divine Goodness in panegyrical Orations, and convening in Councils and Synods; the Regularity and Significancy of their Canons and Constitutions; the Decency of their Rites and Ceremonies; and

and their uniform Devotion in performing the Offices of Divine Service, administering the Sacraments, reading and expounding the Scriptures, and singing Psalms and Anthems; the People of all Ages and either Sex concurring joyfully and religiously in the Discharge of these Duties, and preserving an entire Unity among themselves in the Bond of Peace and Love, and in Righteousness of Life: Which prosperous, and indeed triumphant Estate of the Church Militant was every Day confirm'd and improv'd by the many Laws and Rescripts that were publish'd in our Favour, by those Honours and Donations with which his Imperial Majesty invested the Bishops, and by the epistolary Correspondence which he held with them; a Specimen of which we have in his Letter to *Miltiades*, Bishop of *Rome*, upon occasion of the Schism of the *Donatists* in *Africk*, requiring that the Cause of *Cæcilian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, be synodically examin'd and determin'd at *Rome*, and wholly submitting the Cognizance and Decision to the sacred Authority of the spiritual Judicature; as also in two Letters directed, the one to *Chrestus*, Bishop of *Syracuse*, requiring him to be present in the Council appointed to assemble at *Arles*, for a more effectual and satisfactory Decision of the *African* Cause, and ordering that he should be accommodated with a publick Carriage and a handsome Retinue; the other to *Cæcilian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, which empower'd him to receive out of the Crown-Revenues in *Africk*, such Sums of Money as should appear to him necessary for the Use of certain Ecclesiasticks, to defray the Expences of their Attendance upon this Council, and to distribute them according to the Directions sent him by *Hosius*, and to inform against all such Persons as in any sort seduc'd or impos'd upon well-meaning *Christians*; his Imperial Majesty having given his Officers Instructions for their Punishment. To these Favours and Benefactions conferr'd upon the *African* Clergy, the Emperor added another, by an Order directed to *Anulinus*, Proconsul of *Africk*, which exempted them from the Burthen of administering any secular Offices.

THUS under the Support and Encouragement of God and his Vice-gerent, the Church enjoy'd a settled Peace, and very large Immunities and Privileges, 'till the infernal Enemy had put into the Heart of *Licinius*, to betray and rebel against his and the sovereign Lord of the whole Empire, who had honour'd and oblig'd him with two of the greatest Benefactions, which a universal Monarch could bestow, the Government of half his Dominions, and the

Person of his Royal Sister ; but all the sacred Ties of natural Justice, Oaths, Leagues and Affinity, being too weak to restrain him, he begun with clandestine Artifices and insidious Practices. But the Divine Providence from Time to Time defeating those Measures, and so laying open the Villany of the Traytor's Intentions ; at length he proclaim'd open War at once against his God, and his Sovereign, by oppressing and banishing many of the *Christians*, that had always offer'd up their Prayers for him, and by breaking and cashiering all the military Men that refus'd to sacrifice to Devils, and by enacting (among a thousand other monstrous Instances of his Legislature) this inhuman Law for one, that no Man should relieve a *Christian* in Custody with any Necessaries of Life, under Pain of suffering the same Penalties as the Confessor ; not here to particularize all his illegal Impositions, and barbarous Innovations ; the Virgins, Wives, and Matrons, he forc'd himself, or deliver'd up to the Lust of those that were about him ; and how many Persons of eminent Condition and Repute he banish'd and imprison'd. Against the Bishops, whose Piety and Vigilance he knew would go a great way toward rend'ring his Designs abortive, he proceeded, though very secretly, for fear of the Emperor, yet with a most implacable and sanguinary Malice. In *Amasia*, and the other Cities of *Pontus*, he levell'd the Churches with the Ground, or else shut up the Doors of them, well knowing that the *Christians* † would use their insuperable Weapon of Prayer, as earnestly for the Success of their Sovereign against the Attempts of a Rebel, and a Persecutor, as they had ever done for himself before he became such, or as their Practice had always been in Opposition to the Madness of those Heathen Emperors that had formerly made Havock of the Church. This and other the like Considerations made him outrageous against the *Christians*, as well as angry with their Churches. The Bishops were condemn'd to the same Punishments as the common Cut-throats and Felons. The Bodies of others were chopt to pieces, Inch by Inch, and then thrown into the Sea for the Fish to feed upon. And the Prospect of a general Persecution seem'd so near and certain, that the *Christians* thought it high time to take Sanctuary in the Solitude of the Woods and Mountains.

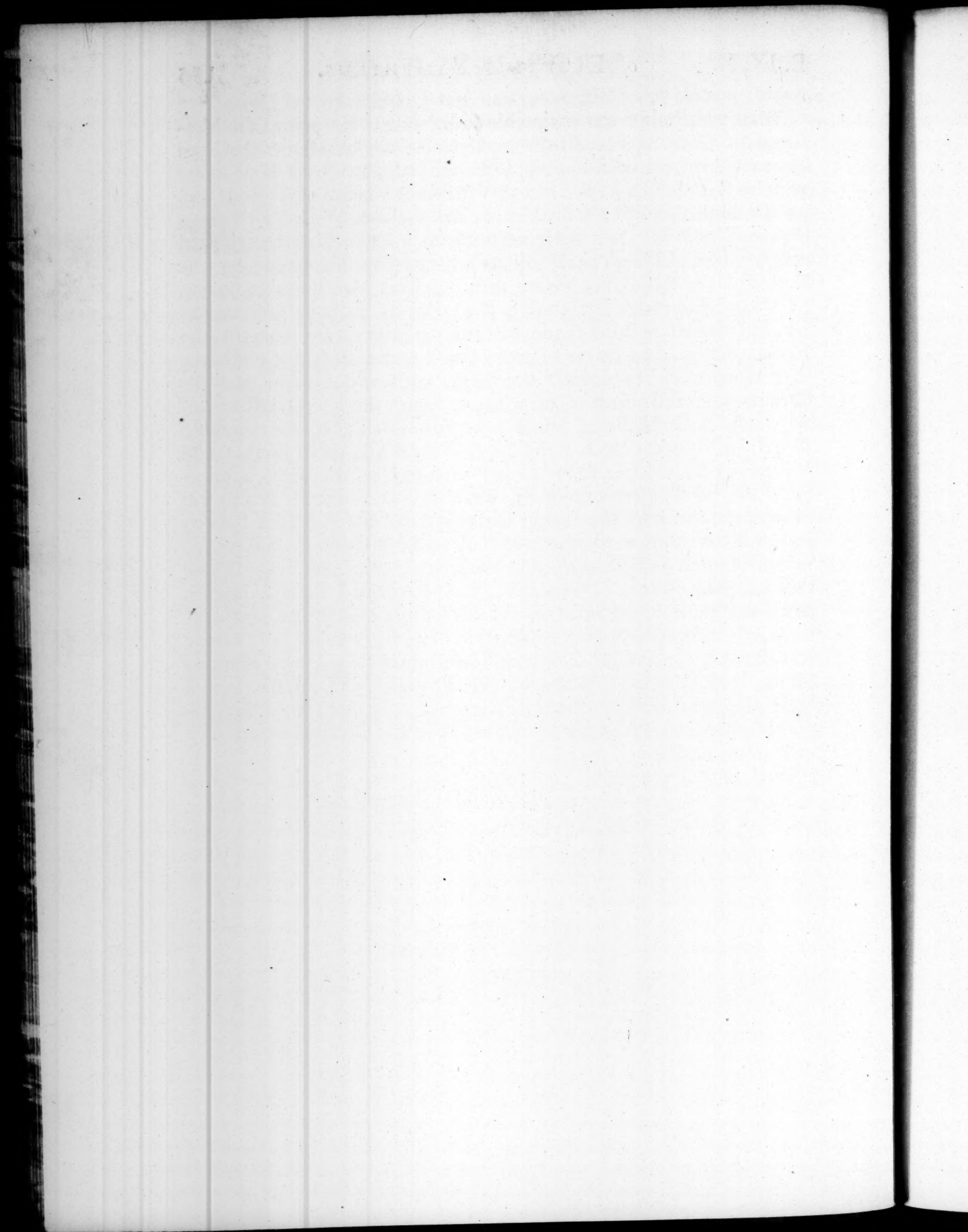
† For they had always consider'd Loyalty as a Fundamental of their Religion, and still given their Persecutors the more signal Proofs of it, as the Provocations to the contrary had been greater, and the Dangers more immediate, even when they had Number and Strength more than sufficient for Resistance, as we have seen in the *Dioclesian* Persecution.

WHEN,

WHEN, behold! our invincible and gracious Emperor, the Messenger of God, finding all the gentler Methods of Mercy that had been try'd to reclaim *Licinius*, disdain'd and abus'd by him, came with his Son *Crispus* (a Son in every Respect worthy of so great and good a Father) most seasonably to the Rescue of God's religious Servants, and his own distress'd Subjects. And this was effected easily. For although the Emperor's Army lay surrounded by the Forces of the Rebel, yet having distributed his Men into two Bodies, (the one commanded by himself, the other by his Son) and recommended himself and his Cause to God, he vigorously charg'd the Enemy, obtain'd an entire Victory, chas'd and destroy'd the Wolves that were ready to devour the Prey, convinc'd *Licinius* and his Creatures, to their Sorrow, of what, it seems, the late Overthrow of *Maxentius* and *Maximin*, could not, that is to say, the miserable Effects of Impiety and Rebellion; defac'd all their Images and Ensigns of Honour, recover'd his Dominions in the *East*, administer'd the whole Empire himself, establish'd an universal Peace and Happiness, and fill'd the World with his Laws and Edicts of Favour and Benevolence towards the *Christians*; who dismissing all Remembrance of their past Dangers and Sufferings, exercis'd every where the publick Offices of Religion, and celebrated their Festivals, particularly those appointed upon this glorious Occasion, with all imaginable Pomp and Joy; magnifying with Processions, Dances, and Musick, the infinite Power and Goodness of God, the King of Kings, extolling the Virtues of the Emperor and of his Royal Offspring, and resting assur'd of the daily Increase of their Happiness upon Earth, 'till they should arrive at the Consummation of it in Heaven it self.

F I N I S.







TO the RIGHT HONOURABLE
R O B E R T, Earl of *Carnwath*,
I N T H E
Kingdom of *S C O T L A N D*.

My LORD,



Cclesiastical History ought to chuse for Patrons, Men of Exemplary Lives, as well as exalted Rank and Character. Thus *Sozomen* inscrib'd his History to *Theodosius* the Younger ; and *Nicephorus* his to *Andronicus Palæologus* the Elder. Indeed the gay Titles of an ill Man before a Book of that kind, are a Banter, not only upon the Reader and the Performance, but the Person also to whom the Author makes the Dedication. They look like *Adrian's* Hog over a Gate of *Jerusalem* ; and tho' in such an Age as this, they may promote the common Sale, as a little Gold upon the Back of it will do ; yet they give Understanding Men a Jealousy of it, and a Prejudice against it : For he that only pursues his own Ends in a Dedication, may be justly suspected to serve other Peoples in what comes after it.

Upon

Upon these Accounts, as I am sure the Reader cannot, so I hope your Lordship will not be displeas'd to see these Papers grac'd and guarded by your Name. And tho' I know your Lordship is fearful of doing yourself Justice in your own Thoughts; yet, I presume, the same Modesty will prevail with you to leave those who honour you to the Liberty of theirs.

History is a Favourite of your Lordship's, as it ought to be with all Persons of Quality: 'Tis the Mirror of Life and Conduct: It reaches to every Capacity of a Gentleman, and teaches him to manage, think, and speak to all Advantage. But that of the Church excels the Civil in many Respects; for besides the Instructiveness of it in our most weighty Concerns, it sets the Nobler Passions o' work, and shews us not only what we ought, but what (with God's Assistance) we are able to do. It entertains us with those great and glorious Examples of Piety, Integrity, Patience, Contempt of the World, firm Courage and Constancy, and true fervent Zeal for the Honour and Service of God, which cannot but excite Imitation. And while it offers to our View the insidious Counsels and Practices of False Brethren, it fills us with a Religious Abhorrence of their Names and Memories, and helps to preserve us from being misled by parallel Instances, where-ever we meet with them.

I am sure your Lordship will receive and countenance any Endeavours that may contribute to make these good Impressions. You have set your Heart upon Religion and Virtue; and all the Satisfaction you take in those Advantages of Birth and Title which the good Providence of God has conferr'd upon you, is the dedicating and using of them
to

to his Service and Honour, by such an Application and Exercise of those Talents, whether of Grace or Nature, which he has liberally vouchsafed along with them, as gives you a full Assurance and certain Prospect of infinitely greater Dignities and Glories hereafter. And nothing less than the Consciousness of this Merit, and these Expectations, could produce that singular Sweetness and Equality of Temper, which so constantly shews itself in your Conversation; not only on the Level with your Equals, but in your Condescensions to your Inferiors, when you are most oblig'd to express the great Concern you have too often occasion to shew at the provoking Practices of a loose Age, which you can do at any time without any other Passion but a CHRISTIAN Indignation, free from the least Mixture of personal Prejudice or Resentment; being such as proceeds from the Love of God and True Religion, and the Sense of your own Obligations in Honour and Duty to assert and defend both. In mentioning thus much of your Character, I please your Lordship as little as I flatter you. But the Benefit of such an Example must not be lost to the World; and tho' it has sufficiently publish'd itself, yet it cannot be too much inculcated and recommended.

And, I promise myself, your Lordship will the more easily pardon my Boldness, in touching upon this Subject, (which I ought to be as much afraid to pursue as your Lordship can wish) because you are not alone interested in the Representation of your own Virtues and Endowments, but that Antient Kingdom too, to which your Lordship is so great an Ornament and Blessing; and that Antient Church, of which you are so dutiful a Son, and so resolute a Champion. That Original Courage which stands recorded in the * Motto of

* I D A R E.

your

your Family, and has descended to you thro' so long a Succession of Noble Ancestors, now exerts itself in a Cause of greater Importance than it has often had Opportunity to do before, that of an AFFLICTED CHURCH, which has your Lordship's entire Obedience and Love, and tender Compassion, and earnest Prayers to God to multiply her Friends, and, by Conversion, to lessen the Number of her Enemies.

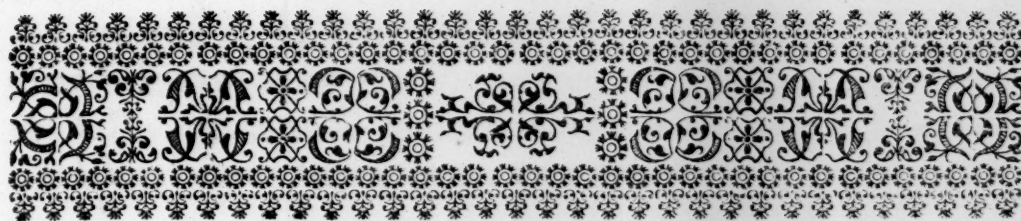
Thus the Primitive Professors and Assertors of the Faith bewail'd the Breaches of *Sion*, suppled their Mother's Wounds with their Tears, and seconded her Sighs with their Cries; and thus affected and employ'd will occur to your Lordship some Instances of Eminent Quality and Figure in the following Sheets, to the Contemplation of whose Story I beg Leave more particularly to recommend your Lordship, because I have Reason to believe it will be to no-body more acceptable, tho' I am sensible it might have been much better told, than your Lordship will find it, by,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most Obedient Humble Servant,

Samuel Parker.



P R E F A C E.



THE Reader, I presume, will expect two Things from me before he enters upon the Perusal of the Abridgment itself; namely, a short History of my three Authors, and some Account of my Design and Undertaking; in both which I shall endeavour to acquit myself as much as I can to his Satisfaction.

*Socrates was born at Constantinople, about the Beginning of Theodosius's Reign. He had two Instructors in Grammar, and came very early under their Care, Helladius and Ammonius, who had left Alexandria, where the first was a Priest of Jupiter, and the latter of * Simius, in high Resentment upon Theophilus's demolishing the Heathen Temples there, and settled themselves at Constantinople. Some time after, our Historian address'd himself to his Rhetorical Studies, under the Direction (as is probable) of Troilus, an eminent Sophist and Orator of that Age and Place; and this Course of*

* The Ape was a Deity among the Egyptians.

Improvement he follow'd, 'till the Time when he thought fit to betake himself to pleading; whence he came by the Name of Scholasticus, a Word then us'd to signify an Advocate or Counsellor, because the Courts were furnish'd with young Lawyers from the Schools of Rhetorick. But he grew out of Love with this Employment, and turn'd his Hand in the Year 440 to another, which we are highly oblig'd to him for, the Writing of Ecclesiastical History; a Province which he has discharg'd with admirable Judgment and Diligence. The first shews itself as well in those excellent Remarks and Applications which lie scatter'd up and down in his History, as in his Choice of a plain, familiar Stile, which was certainly very proper for one who made it his Aim to relate Things as clearly and intelligibly as he could: The latter in the Exactness of his Chronology; his correcting those Errors he was led into by Ruffinus, and the laborious Search after, and Use he made of authentick Monuments, Registers, Records, &c.

*There are Authors, both antient and modern, who represent our Historian to have been a Novatian; and it must be ingenuously confess'd, that he has laid some Occasion in their Way to do so, for he is very particular in Favour of that Sect and their Bishops. But then it ought to be observ'd, that all the Civility he shew'd them, was only with regard to the Advantage those Bishops had over the Heads of other Heterodox or Schismatical Communions, by their Numbers, and the Character of their Piety. And so far Sozomen befriends them too, who, 'tis certain, was not one of them; for Theodorus, in his Preface to his Tripartite History, (as we are told by Valesius, who saw part of that MS.) stiles him μακαριώτατος; and himself lets us know (L. 9.) that he join'd in the Solemnity of a publick Procession
with*

with the Catholicks at Constantinople, in Honour of the Forty Martyrs. That Socrates had a Kindness for the Novatians, he intimates in several Instances, particularly by the Allowances he makes for them; and this Tenderneſs he might eaſily contract from a natural Severity of Temper, agreeable to their Strictneſs, or from converſing with them, or both. But that he was not of their Body is very clear, in that he gives the Name of the Church more than once to the Catholicks, and that too in Oppoſition to the Novatians, as well as to other Hereticks and Separatiſts, with whom he has join'd the Novatians; and then too he has inform'd us how little he approv'd what a Novatian (as we underſtand from him in the ſame Chapter) would have been highly pleas'd with, Nectarius's putting down the penitentiary Presbyters; and laſtly, Theodorus, who liv'd in the ſame City, and almoſt at the ſame Time with him, calls him Θεοφιλης, in common with Sozomen and Theodorit.

Sozomen was deſcended of a good Family, belonging to Bethelia, a Village near Gaza in Paleſtine. His Grandfather was the firſt of them that turn'd Chriſtian; a Man of good Parts and tolerable Learning, and much valued for that which render'd him a Bleſſing to his Neighbours, his Skill in the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. He had been converted by a Miracle wrought upon one Alaphion, an Inhabitant of the Place, whom Hilarion, by a ſhort Prayer, deliver'd from a Demoniackal Poſſeſſion, and, in conſequence of that Riſque, won over, with his Family, to the Faith. Alaphion probably was related to Sozomen's Grandfather. His Deſcendants were very eminent for their Piety, Charity, and other Virtues, and the firſt that concern'd themſelves to erect Churches and Monaſteries in thoſe Parts. Our Hiſtorian, beſides that of Sozomen, had the Names of Hermias

and Salamanes; the latter, 'tis likely, from Salamanes mention'd in his sixth Book, c. 32. with whom, as a Descendant of Alaphio, Valesius supposes he claim'd Relation; for that Nicephorus must needs be mistaken in writing him Salaminus, and concluding him thence a Native of Salamine in Cyprus; since we learn from himself that his Family was of Palestine, where he had a Monastical Education, under the Care of a Society which deriv'd their Blood from Alaphion: And in Gratitude to these, as well as out of a singular Affection and Reverence he had imbib'd for that Course of Life, he lays himself out so liberally in its Praises, and gives us such an accurate and copious History of so many Orders and Institutions of it. He study'd the Civil Law at Berytus in Phœnicia, where there flourish'd a celebrated School for that Profession, and afterwards he pleaded at Constantinople. The Style of his History is neither flat, nor too pompous. Photius prefers it to that of Socrates; and Valesius agrees with him; but yet is not altogether pleas'd with Sozomen's, whom he takes to have been no great Proficient in Rhetorick, and proves him an injudicious Historian, from some Instances of impertinent Digression, and foreign Description. Part of this History, I know not whether so much as Gennadius and Labbe suppose, is now lost, as appears from his Epistle Dedicatory to Theodosius, in which he says he had brought it down to that Emperor's seventeenth Consulat, which was A. D. 441. whereas he does not come so low as to the third General Council, which met in the Year 431. according to Petavius; according to others somewhat later. Before he compiled that which we now have, he had writ a short Ecclesiastical History in two Books, not extant, beginning from Christ's Ascension, and ending at the Year 323.

'Tis

'Tis made a Question, Which of these two Authors wrote first. Valesius offers to make it probable, in a conjectural Way, that Socrates's History is older than Sozomen's. But to me Socrates seems to have clear'd the Point (L. 1. c. 10.) where having told the Story of Acesius, he adds, Τέτων ἔτε δ Παμφίλῳ Εὐσέβιῳ, ἢ ἑ ἀλλός τις ἐμνημόνευσε πώποτε; which was certainly false, and Socrates must have known it to be so, if Sozomen's History had been writ before his; for we find the same Story in Sozomen, L. 1. c. 22.

Theodorit, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria, was born at the Syrian Antioch, towards the End of the fourth Century, of wealthy and religious Parents. His Mother had pass'd thirteen Years of her conjugal Estate childless, Nature having deny'd her the Power of Conception; when her Husband put her upon desiring the Prayers of Macedonius, a very pious Ascetick, that she might obtain the Blessing of a Son, which in three Years Time she did, having first consecrated by a Vow the Fruit of her Womb to God; so that it is no Wonder Theodorit should be his Name, who, in a more extraordinary and peculiar Sense, was both the Gift of God, and an Offering return'd to him. But his Mother had not been so happy as to survive the Danger of bearing him, had not another venerable Secluse, nam'd Peter, obtain'd her Recovery by his Prayers, to which both her Husband and Son were, at other Times, indebted for several extraordinary Cures, and herself for the miraculous Removal of a desperate Distemper in her Eye. Before even seven Years had pass'd, Theodorit was initiated in the Monastick Life, which he was so unhappy as not to leave, till it had prov'd an Occasion of involving him in a close Intimacy and Amity with Nestorius and John, being his Fellow-Pupils, the one afterwards

afterwards Bishop of Constantinople, and the other of Antioch. His Preceptors were Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and St. Chrysostom, under whose Tutorage he became an accomplish'd Orator and Expounder of the Scriptures. That he was ever concern'd with the former of these, (the reputed Source of the Nestorian Heresy, whose Writings were upon that Account condemn'd by the third General Council) was his great Misfortune, and more especially prov'd to be so, when he deriv'd an ugly Blemish upon himself, by writing an Apology and other Books in Theodorus's Defence. When he was yet very young, Porphyry Bishop of Antioch ordain'd him Reader, and Alexander, Porphyry's Successor, made him a Deacon. In the Year 420, according to Baronius, or 423 according to Garner; he was advanced to the Chair of Cyrus, vacant by the Death of Isidore, till which Time he continued his Monastick Life, and with very great Reluctancy accepted of a Bishoprick, which he held twenty-five Years, and administer'd so circumspectly, honourably, and successfully, that there did not happen so much as one Instance of Corruption, or any thing that look'd that way, among his Domesticks, or one Presentment in his Diocese, all that Time. And although he valued Money, and the Advantages and Conveniences that come by it, so little, that he entirely converted a very plentiful Inheritance to pious and charitable Uses; yet he shew'd himself sensible of the Worth and Significancy of it publickly apply'd, when he bestowed a very large Portion of the Revenues of his Bishoprick upon adorning, improving, and furnishing with Conveniences, the City of Cyrus; and by his Interest at Court prevented an additional Tax or Tribute that was coming upon his Diocese. But much worse than this would have been, was that other Evil, from which, assisted by Maris, James, and several others of the Asceticks, that lived within his Jurisdiction,
he

he rescued his Church, not without frequently exposing his Life; and that was the Darkneſs of an almost Pagan Ignorance and Extravagance, and the Peſtilence of Heresy, under the ſeveral Shapes of Marcioniſm, Eunomianiſm, Apollinariſm, Arianiſm; and God ſo bleſſed his Labours this Way, that, as we learn from himſelf, he baptized with his own Hands Ten thouſand Marcionites. The ſame Service he did for the Churches of Phœnicia, and that of Antioch, whither he was ſent for ſeveral times, to exerciſe his Talent of Preaching, by Theodotus, John, and Domnus, ſucceſſively Biſhops of that See. He ſupported and redeem'd, by the Charity of his Church, a noble Matron of Carthage, taken Priſoner and ſold into Slavery by the Vandals, and reſtor'd her to her Father; and one Celeftiacus, who had been forc'd to fly his Country to eſcape their Hands, and from an opulent and ſplendid Condition was reduc'd to extream Indigence, had a Subſiſtence from him, while he ſtay'd with him, and his recommendatory Letters to the neighbouring Biſhops when he left him. He very much frequented the Cells of the Monks and Hermits that had their Reſidence near him, and upon a Time Maris, who was one of them, and has been nam'd above, having not ſeen the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated for thirty-ſeven Years together, and ſhewing an earneſt Deſire to obtain that Bleſſing, he ſent for the Communion-Plate of his Cathedral Church, and made the Hands of his Deacons ſupply the Place of an Altar.

Nestorius, his old Acquaintance and Friend, having receiv'd ſuch a Choak-pear as he knew not what to do with, in Cyril of Alexandria's Twelve Capitula, or Anathematifms, engag'd our Author to write againſt them, which he did with ſo much Heat and Paſſion, that while he was labouring

to fasten the Heresy of Apollinaris upon Cyril, he run himself unawares upon a contrary Extream, and asserted a double Personality in Christ; and his Indignation boil'd so high, that he sent his Letters abroad to the Monks, fill'd with dreadful Accusations and Invectives against Cyril. In the Year 431. he was summon'd to the Council of Ephesus, but instead of standing to the Judgment of that Assembly, which censur'd him as a Friend to Nestorius's Cause, he and John of Antioch, and others of the Eastern Bishops (among whom he was the Primum Mobile) formed a separate Synod or Conventicle; in whose Name, as representing the whole Eastern Church, he was sent a Deputy, and six Bishops of that Faction with him, to the Court of Constantinople; but a Command from the Emperor stopp'd him at Chalcedon, where the Bishop of the Place not admitting him into his Church, he set himself to preaching in a spacious Hall, or Portico, and wonderfully charm'd his Audience. Afterwards being permitted to present himself before the Emperor, he laid open the Cause to him with great Freedom and Earnestness, but to no Purpose; for the Emperor was resolutely fix'd to abide by Cyril. So Theodorit and his Fellow-Travelers were sent home, where the former was still so active as to engage his Associates to declare their Resolution of standing to what had passed against St. Cyril, and wrote his Five Books, at the Instigation of the Devil, says Marius Mercator, against the Council of Ephesus. But how little he deserved (says Sirmund) to be thus severely handled, is plain enough from the Condemnation of Nestorius, which both Sides agreed in at the Compromising of the Quarrel, and which made it appear that either Mistake or Resentment had been chiefly at the Bottom of the Dispute; and besides, as Du Pin observes, it was by his Counsel that John wrote at first to Nestorius, to receive the Term of the Mother

Mother of God. *In the Year 444, this War broke out again, Theodorit assaulting Cyril's Memory after his Death (at which too he did not forbear shewing an indecent Joy in the Face of the World, tho' he makes honourable Mention of him when dead, and had corresponded with him in a friendly Manner some time before he died) more furiously than he had arraign'd his Principles and Conduct while he lived. Dioscorus, Successor to Cyril, who had taken the Eutychian Heresy under his Protection, being sensible how dangerous and formidable an Enemy Theodorit was to that Doctrine, in the first Place employ'd his Agents and Emissaries to persuade the Eastern Church that he was a rank Nestorian, the Stile of Odium which the Eutychians fix'd upon the Catholicks; he likewise laid him under an Anathema; and when the second Council of Ephesus, very justly denominat'd Latrocinale, was summoned, struck in with the Emperor's Resentment, which was greater than ever at Theodorit's last Sally of Passion, as it happened to be aggravated too by another imprudent Provocation, for he had ordained one Irenæus Bishop of Tyre, whom the Emperor had banished the Court, and who stood incapacitated by having been twice marry'd; so that it is no Wonder Dioscorus's Motion to his Majesty was accepted, to impose upon Theodorit this Confinement, that he should keep himself within the Precincts of his own Diocese. And thus our Historian, without being suffered to make his Appearance and Defence, was deprived of his Bishoprick, and banished. Now then he had no body to make his Address to for Favour and Patronage, (Domnus of Antioch, one of his best Friends, having been wrought upon to join in the Sentence against him, and Flavian of Constantinople, another of them, being dead) but the Bishop of Rome, then Pope Leo, who having duly informed himself of the State of the Case,*

Y and

and found him Orthodox, acquitted him, and contributed all that lay in his Power towards his Restoration, which the Emperor Marcian effectually compleated the next Year; when upon the convening of the fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon, he was called thither by the Emperor, and took his Place among the Fathers, in spite of all the Clamour and Opposition the Egyptian Bishops could make, after having made Profession of the Catholick Faith, and condemn'd, tho' not without Hesitation and Regret, his old Friend Nestorius; and upon a further Hearing and Discussion of his Cause, in the eighth Session, and adding an Anathema to the Declaration he had made against Nestorius, which he had been ready to do before, but that he suspected his Egyptian Adversaries (and so did others too, insomuch, that while they were calling out to have Theodorit dismissed the Council, they had like to have been turn'd out of it themselves) were driving on underhand the Eutychian Cause. The Council gave him again a full Right and Title to his Bishoprick, congratulating his re-obtaining it with a general Exultation, and he gave his Voice and Subscription, with them, against Eutyches. Sirmond says, the Council was so well satisfied of his having been abused, that they received him into their Body without obliging him to abjure Nestorianism, as some People demanded he should. After this he went home, and discharg'd his Episcopal Duty by the Ministry of Hypatius, whilst he bestow'd his whole Time in Writing of Books, and other good Exercises and Offices of a decent and honourable Retirement, in which he died about the Year 457. being advanced beyond the Seventieth of his Age; and when James, surnam'd Thaumaturgus, his Bosom-Friend, soon after follow'd him, their Ashes were repositied together in the same Urn. Marcellinus's Chronicon makes him live to the Year 466. and others tell us he

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liv'd to 470. Labbe is for moderating the Computation with Gennadius: However that was, his Memory found Enemies and Friends as he had done. The Emperor Anastasius and his Favourites cast a Blot upon it. In the second Constantinopolitan, or fifth General Council, it was attack'd again, (tho' not out of any real Prejudice to him, but in Defiance to the Council of Chalcedon) and his Book against the Capitula, condemn'd by those who were Admirers of his other Writings, tho' the worst that he had affirmed and insisted upon was, that the Capitula tended to the Apollinarian Heresy; and the Council of Ephesus so far concurr'd with him, that they gave Cyril to understand, that some Things in them wanted explaining. On t'other Hand, in the Reign of the Emperor Justin, some of the Clergy of his Church carry'd his Image thither in Procession, seated it in the Episcopal Throne, and administer'd the Sacrament of the Eucharist in Commemoration of him. But the Eastern Church in general did not think fit, it seems, to shew him any such Favour, for they have not vouchsafed him a Place in their Calendar; and accordingly he is stiled *μάρτυρ*, but never *ἐπίσκοπος*.

Theodorit was a Man of a severe Life and strict Piety; sincerely studious of promoting the Honour of God, and the Good of his Church; and whatever false Steps he made, were owing, not to any Depravity of Will or Judgment, but to the Unhappiness and Infirmary of his Temper; for he had too much Spirit and Fire, and was disputacious, positive, unconvincible, over-resenting of Injuries, and impatient of Contradiction. He had prodigious natural Parts, which he improved and enlarged with Acquisitions of all kinds of Knowledge to such a Degree, that he was by much the most learned Man of his Time.

'Tis clear enough that Theodorit, tho' he compiled his Ecclesiastical History about the same time with Socrates and Sozomen, yet wrote last of the three. He is placed the third in Order by Cassiodorus, Justinian, Photius, Nicephorus, and Evagrius. He tells us himself, it was his Design to supply the Defects and Omissions of other Historians, τα λεγόμενα συσχεῖναι, which he has not only done very largely as to Socrates and Sozomen, but frequently corrected their Mistakes too, and that so candidly and modestly as not to mention their Names. Those two Historians (says Valesius) closed their Histories with the Year 439. Theodorit does not seem to have published his till after Eutyches had broached his Heresy, which was not till the Year 448: For in his fifth Book, c. 3. he reflects most probably upon that Heresy in those Words, Ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς εἰζης ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐβλάσεν, &c. and in his Epistle to Eusebius of Ancyra, written in the Year 445. where he gives a Catalogue of all his Writings extant at that Time, he makes no mention of his Ecclesiastical History. If it be demanded how it comes to pass, that our Author, if he wrote his History so late, has not so much as said one Word about Nestorius, but shut it up with his Predecessor Sisinnius; The Answer is obvious, that he had no Mind to be raking in the Embers of a Combustion which had been but just extinguish'd, and avoided telling a Story, which he could hardly have manag'd so as not to have given Offence to the Fathers of the Ephesine Council, or else incur severe Imputations. For that he publish'd his History after the Dissolution of that Council, is evident, not only from what has been already observ'd, but from a Passage in B. 5. of his History c. 32. where he says, St. Chrysostom's Bones were translated to Constantinople by Command of the Emperor then reigning, Theodosius

Theodosius the Younger. Now the sixteenth Consulat of that Prince was the Year of this Translation, and the 438th of our Lord, almost seven Years after the sitting of that Council.

Photius, with good Reason, prefers the Stile of Theodorit's History to that of Socrates and Sozomen, as being admirably suited to such a Work, for that it is clear and sublime enough, and yet not luxuriant or verbose. But his Metaphors are sometimes too bold and affected; which yet is not so great a Fault as his omitting all Distinctions and Notes of Time.

A Catalogue of Theodorit's Writings would take up too much Room in this Preface, and therefore I had rather refer those that desire Information upon that Article, to Dr. Cave and Mons. Du Pin.

Having now brought my Reader acquainted with the Lives and Characters of my three Historians, chiefly from what has been collected concerning them by Valesius, Dr. Cave, and Sirmund, I shall beg his Patience a little longer, while I trouble him with a few Lines relating to my own Performance.

That which I have especially aim'd at, as I did in my Abridgment of Eusebius's History, is to make my Book as universally serviceable as I could, to the Learned as a Remembrancer, and to the Unlearned as an Instructor: To this End I have endeavour'd to steer between the two Extreams of a culpable Brevity, and an unnecessary Length, proposing to myself not to omit, if it were possible, so much as any one Incident, or Circumstance, which might be of Consequence
for

for those who have convers'd with the Originals to recollect, and yet to contract the Whole into a Compass, as suitable as the Thing would bear for every Man's Use and Convenience; in which Undertaking I found the less Difficulty, because sometimes the same Story occurring in all my Authors, and very frequently in two of them, I was concern'd only to insert what Additions the latter has still made to the former, and to take Notice where, in any thing material, they disagree. Those Additions the Reader will find inclos'd between Uncuscs or Hooks, with the initial Letter of the Author's Name over against them, whether S. for Sozomen, or T. for Theodorit. The Differences I have sometimes wrought into the Text, and sometimes thrown into the Margin; where I have also had occasion either to justify my Treatment of my Authors, or set their Meaning in a clear Light, as often as it has been, or seems liable to be abus'd, either by those Men who will have a Church that shall supersede the Divine Authority of Christian Religion, or those that are for keeping Religion without the Divine Authority of a Church.

I once had it in my Thoughts to have also interwoven, or annex'd, whatever of any Importance Eusebius in his Books of the Life of Constantine, Philostorgius, and Nicephorus afford, which is not to be met with in my three Authors. But as the first I think, has not much in it of that Kind, and being, as Socrates well observes, only a Panegyricall Oration, ought to be consider'd and us'd accordingly; so, upon Recollection, I did by no means look upon the two latter as Authors of Credit enough to keep Company with Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit, the one being so malicious a Lyar, and the other such a superstitious Legendary.

It

It may be some People's Opinion, perhaps, that a Translation of Cassiodorus's Tripartite History, might have done as well as this Abridgment. But, I confess, I flatter myself they'll change their Mind, when they take Notice that Cassiodorus is not an Abridger, but a Collector; that he has not made the Three Historians One, but has only taken one Story from This, another from That: So himself tells us in his Preface, Nos autem eorum relictis operibus, & unumquemque cautâ mente tractantes, cognovimus non æqualiter omnes de unaquâq; re luculenter ac subtiliter explanâsse, sed modo hunc, modo alterum aliam partem melius expedisse. Et ideo judicavimus de singulis dictatoribus deflorata colligere, & cum autoris sui nomine in ordinem collocare: Whereas my Business has been not to make a meer Translation, as Epiphanius Scholasticus made that out of which Cassiodorus has gather'd his History; but so to form a History out of my three Authors, that no material Circumstance which is mention'd in the one and not in the other, might be left out of any Part; not to mention those Defects of Judgment and Conduct in Cassiodorus's Work, which, in Modesty, I ought to leave to the Observation of better Judges.

At the same time I am very much afraid there are many Faults and Imperfections in the ensuing Sheets, and doubt not but more will be found. They contain such Variety of Matter, Characters, and Interests, of artful Management and critical Turns of Affairs, that it is hardly possible to give an Account of them all, without slipping sometimes into lesser Mistakes; and I am the more convinc'd of this, having made an untoward one, which a Friend discover'd to me after it was printed off, in my marginal Note, p. 206. where I have suggested, that Licinius held his Dominions

in Dependance on Constantine; and therefore instead of having been formerly a Traytor to his Prince, I would follow Valesius's Translation, and say, having minister'd to the Malice and Cruelty of a wicked Tyrant by the basest Assistances and Services, p. 206. l. 9, 10. And again, I am advis'd, instead of sit down, p. 198. l. 15, to say, take his Place; of which Emendation I desire the Reader to take particular Notice, that I may not be misunderstood in a tender Point.



A LETTER



A
 LETTER
 TO THE
 ABRIDGER.

S I R,



YOU Expect no *Compliment* from a *Friend*: Nor would your Performance receive any Addition by my Testimony; but I return my Thanks in a Way I know much more agreeable to you, that is, in what may most Promote the Service of *Christ* and His *Church*.

AND nothing can contribute more towards that in this degenerate Age, than to acquaint Men with the *Histories* of the *Church*, and the *Works* of the *Fathers* in the *Primitive* Times. As the *Acts* of the *Apostles* follow'd the *Gospels*, and their *Epistles* are given us after their *Acts*, to explain their *Doctrines*, so the *Histories* of the *Church* follow the *Acts* of the *Apostles*; and the *Writings* of the *Fathers* against the several *Heresies* that *Arose*, explain the *Doctrines* which had been receiv'd from the Beginning. Thus the Truth of the *Faith*, and the Certainty of *Fact*, both as to the *Doctrine* and *Discipline* of the *Church*, are continu'd to us in one Un-interrupted *Clew* or *Thread* of *Evidence*, all the Way down from *Christ*.

THIS *Evidence* Confounds the *Deists*: For if they deny it, they must give up all Certainty of Things done in former Ages, and the Truth of all *History*; and then they stop their own Mouths: Besides,
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they must own more *Certainty* of the *Facts* Related in the *Holy Scriptures*, by the *Institutions* which Accompany'd them from the *Beginning*, and which have *Continu'd* to this Day, than any can be found in any other *History* in the World. And the *Continuance* of these *Institutions* from the Times of the *Scriptures*, is carry'd down and made very Evident to us in the *Ecclesiastical Histories*.

HERE all the *Dissenters* from, and the *Usurpers* upon *Episcopacy*, find themselves *Censur'd* and *Condemn'd*.

LET the *Dissenters* shew any one *Church* in the World, for 1500 Years after *Christ*, that was not *Episcopal*. How then can they pretend, what *Evidence* can they give, that the *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, or any of our Modern Forms, was the Original *Form* of *Church Government*?

AND the *Usurpations* of the *Papal* Authority upon the *Episcopal* are clearly *Detected* too by *Ecclesiastical History*. Let me give but one *Instance*, which, I think, may determine the Cause: It is in *Euseb. Hist. lib. 7. c. 30.* concerning the Deposition of *Paulus Samosatenus*, Bishop of *Antioch*; wherein it is first observable, That the *Bishops* there *Assembled* to *Examine* this Cause of *Paulus*, did not meet by any *Authority* or *Summons* from the *Bishop* of *Rome*, but as *Pastors* of the same Common *Flock*, to take care that the *Faith* shou'd no where be hurt.

IN the next place, when they had adjudg'd him Guilty of *Herefie*, they waited for no Confirmation of their *Proceedings*, or *Orders* from the *Bishop* of *Rome* what to do, but immediately Pronounc'd *Sentence* by their own *Authority*, of *Excommunication* and *Deprivation* against him, and presently fill'd the *See*, making *Domnus* Bishop of *Antioch* in his Room.

BUT when they had done all this, then they sent a *Synodical Epistle* to the Chief *Bishops*, to be Communicated to all *Bishops* in the World, giving a full Account of all their *Proceedings*, that every thing might be done with the full Consent and Approbation of the whole *Episcopal College*, as far as might be. And this *Epistle* they Directed to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and All our Fellow *Bishops* (as the *Epistle* says) throughout the World, and to the whole *Catholick Church* under *Heaven*.

HERE

HERE was the *Life and Vigour* of the *Episcopal College* acting in Concert all the World over : And the *Arch-Bishop* of *Antioch* was not free from being call'd in Question by other neighbouring *Bishops*, tho' less in *Dignity* than himself, for all *Bishops* are *Equal* in their *Spiritual Power*, tho' one may be a greater *Bishop* than another, that is, *Bishop* of a greater *See* ; but that makes him not more a *Bishop*, only his *Diocese* may Extend farther than that of a Lesser *Bishop*. As St. *Jerom* said, (Ep. ad *Evagr.*) that the *Bishop* of *Rome* was a greater *Bishop* than the *Bishop* of *Eugubium* (a small City in *Italy*) but the *Bishop* of *Eugubium* was as much a *Bishop* as the *Bishop* of *Rome*.

THE first *Encroachment* upon the *Episcopat* was by extending the Power of the *Arch-Bishops* and *Metropolitans* too far : Then that of the *Patriarchs*, which were all but of *Ecclesiastical* Constitution ; and made way for the *Episcopat* being at last wholly swallow'd up by the *Pontificat* : Which makes good what Saint *Cyprian* says, Ep. 73. *Quam periculosum sit in Divinis rebus, ut quis cedat Fure suo & Potestate !* How dangerous it is for *Bishops* to give up their *Power* and *Right* !

THIS *Synodical Epistle* likewise says, *We cited hither*, that is, to *Antioch*, many other far distant *Bishops*, as *Dionysius* *Bishop* of *Alexandria*, and *Firmilian* *Bishop* of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, &c. to heal the *Poison* of this *Doctrine* taught by *Paulus*. Now it is certain that these *Bishops* bordering upon *Antioch* pretended no *Jurisdiction* over the *Bishop* of *Alexandria*, or other *Bishops* of remote Regions ; so that this *Summons* of theirs was no *Summons* of *Authority*, but of *Brotherly Care* and *Concern* for the *Faith*, and universal *Flock* of *Christ*. Hence we may compute the Force of that *Argument* brought for the *Supremacy* of the *Bishop* of *Rome*, in his *Convening* many *Bishops* together upon the like *Occasion*.

AND this *Synodical Epistle* gives the *Bishop* of *Rome* no other *Stile* than to other *Bishops*, calling them their *Fellow-Bishops*. No *Authority* in the *Bishop* of *Rome* more than others is so much as hinted in this *Epistle*, which is impossible to conceive, if they had had that *Notion* of his *Universal Supremacy* which has since obtain'd. No *Bishops* in his *Communion* now durst *Write* to him in that *Familiar Manner*, and as being all upon the *Level* with him. These

Antiochian Bishops give him Notice, as well as to other *Bishops*, to direct no more their *Communicatory Letters* to *Paulus*, whom they had *Depos'd*, but to *Domnus* whom they had substituted in his Place; and that they shou'd receive no more *Communicatory Letters* from *Paulus*, but from *Domnus*.

HERE was the *Unity* and *Security* of the *Catholick Church* in those *Ages*. Their *Unity* consisted in the mutual *Correspondence* and good *Agreement* of the *Bishops*, the Heads of the several *Churches*. As the *Peace* of the *World* is kept up by what we call the *Law* of *Nations* which is the mutual *Agreement* of the several *Princes* and *States*.

BUT the *Unity* of the *Church* is much more *Strict* and *Perfect* than that of the *World*: As being more one *Body*, and more closely *Compacted* than the several *Governments* of the *Earth*. For the *Bishops* are common *Pastors* of the same *Flock*, for the *Preservation* of the same *Faith*. Tho' each *Bishop* is *Supreme*, as to *Discipline* and *Government* within his own *District*: And by the *Union* and *Communion* of the several *Bishops*, the *Sentence* of each, when justly inflicted, had its Effect all over the *Christian World*. And for this further Reason, because *Christ* had promis'd to ratifie their *Sentence* in *Heaven*, which is the *Archetypal Church*: And whoever was justly thrown out there, could not be a *Member* of any *Church* upon *Earth*. Therefore any Person justly *Excommunicated* by his proper *Bishop*, stood *Excommunicated* all the *World* over. And when restor'd by his proper *Bishop*, was restor'd to the *Catholick Communion* of all other *Churches*: And the *Communicatory Letters* then in Custom among the *Bishops*, made the *Method* of this easy; for no *Bishop* receiv'd to *Communion*, the *Subject* of any other *Bishop*, without *Letters* from his proper *Bishop* that he was in *Communion* with him.

THIS was a much stricter *Unity* than that of *Temporal Princes*, whose *Power* extending only to *Temporal Punishments*, had no Effect in the other *World*; and therefore their *Authority* was limited within their respective *Dominions*: And their *Sentence* took no Place in any other *Country*: Hence Men *proscrib'd* in one *Country* go to *Another*, and are *Free-men* there: But this cou'd not help them, by the *Rules* of *Discipline* in the *Primitive Church*.

AND this *Unity* was the great *Security* of the *Church*; for by this means, the *Whole* did not depend upon any one; and if one
Bishop

Bishop prov'd *Heretical*, the rest did mercifully interpose, for the saving of the *Flock*: Which is the very Reason *St. Cyprian* gives (*Ep. 68.*) why *Christ* made the *College of Bishops* so numerous; and urg'd by *Gregory the Great* against the *Universal Supremacy* of any one *Bishop*, for then, said he, the *Universal Church* falls, if that one *Universal Bishop* falls.

BUT where it depends not upon *one*, there is less Room for *Bribes*, *Threats*, or *Politicks*: As we have seen it, since the *Church of Rome* came to depend upon the *Court of Rome*.

AND a *Prince* that had *Designs* might easier make his way to the *Pope*, than to the *College of Bishops* all over the *Christian Church*, who not being his *Subjects*, wou'd assert the *Faith* without Fear of his *Power*.

THIS was the *Frame* in which *Christ* left His *Church*; independent of any one *Bishop*, or of any *Prince* upon the Earth: But subsisting upon her own *Basis*, in the numerous *Concord* of many *Bishops*, as *St. Cyprian* speaks, *Ep. 55.* And unless we cou'd suppose all the *Bishops* in the *World* to turn *Heretical*, or the *Major Part* of them, all at one Time, it was impossible while the *Church* continu'd in this *Frame*, for any *Heresy* to enter, without being *Discover'd* and *Condemn'd*.

BUT how has it been otherwise, since the *Pope* took the *Helm* of the whole *Catholick Church* into his own Hands; and particular *Princes* and *States* that of the *Churches* within their respective *Dominions*? How has the *Pope* and these *Princes* play'd into one another's Hands, and agreed to share the *Spoil*, and divide the *Promotions* to all *Prelacies* between them? As the *Bishop of Sarum* has well observ'd in his *History of the Regale*, p. 241.

BUT in this same *Chapter of Eusebius* we see the *Regale* stand in its Right Place, as *Protector* and *Defender* of the *Church*, without *Encroaching* upon her *Spiritual* and *Inherent Right* of *Regulating* the Affairs of her own Body: For when *Paulus Samosatenus* was Depos'd for his *Heresy*, &c. in his own *City*, by the *Bishops* of his *Province*, with others Assembled on that Occasion, he refus'd to submit to the *Sentence*; and tho' disown'd by all the *Bishops*, he kept Possession of the *Church*, and the *Episcopal Palace*: Whereupon the *Bishops* having

having no *Civil Coercive* Power, apply'd themselves to the Emperor *Aurelianus*, who own'd Him for *Bishop* whom the *Bishops* by Common Consent *Chose*, and Banish'd *Paulus*, giving *Domnus* Possession of his *Church* and *Palace* : Thus following the *Decrees* of the *Bishops*, and putting them in *Execution*, but not *Prescribing* to them.

AND this Instance of *Fact* is more Evincing than many *Sayings* of the *Fathers*, where *Words* may be Disputed : And indeed *Fact* is the best Interpreter of *Words* : And consequently *Ecclesiastical History* is a great Help to the Understanding of the *Fathers*.

AND if there were a Good *Translation* into *English*, and a Judicious *Abridgment* of *St. Cyprian* and some other of the Primitive *Fathers*, with proper *Notes*, I think it would be a very useful Work, and contribute much to the guarding the *People* from both *Popery* and *Fanaticism*, while they cou'd Read the Sense of the Primitive *Church*, in their own Language ; and be Judges themselves, instead of trusting to *Quotations* of others, where the *Connexion* does not appear.

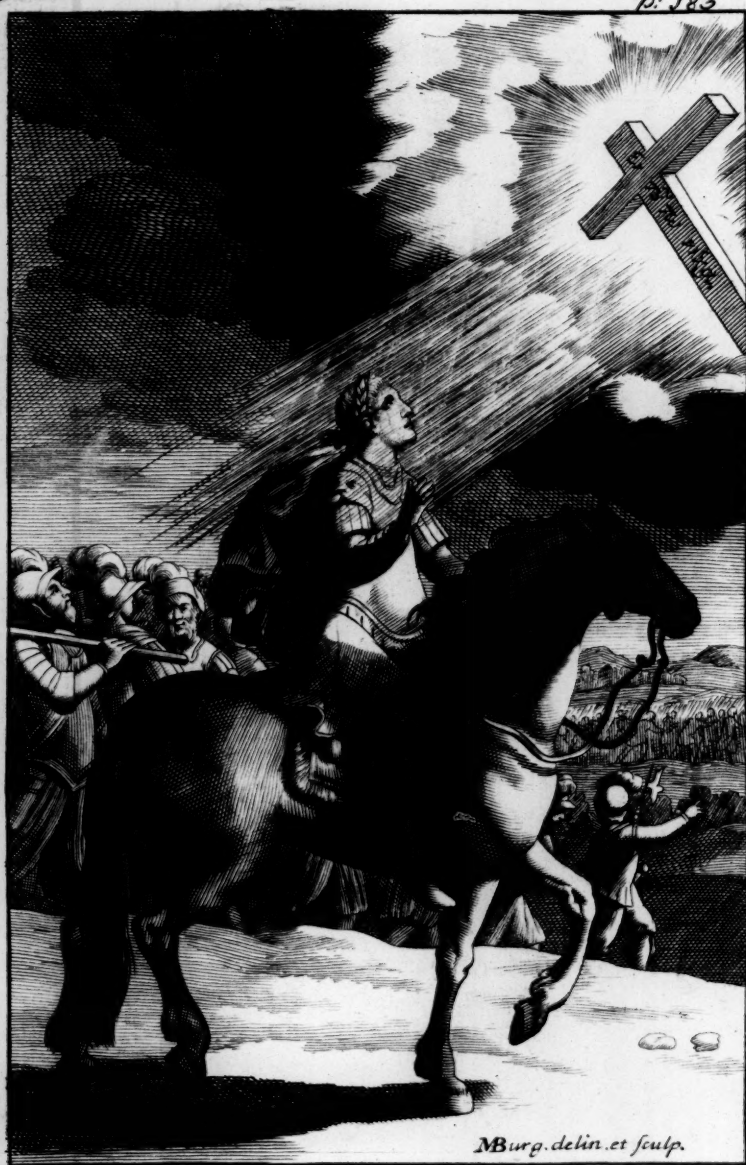
DR. WAKE has begun this, giving us in *English* the few *Works* that remain of the *Fathers* for the first 150 Years after *Christ*. And I am one Witness of the Benefit it has done, having carry'd it with me to several *Conferences* with the *Dissenters* : And it is impossible for any, who is not *Prejudic'd* against all *Conviction*, to Read the *Epistles* of *St. Ignatius* in a Language he understands, and to doubt any longer that *Episcopacy* was the *Government* of the *Church* at that Time.

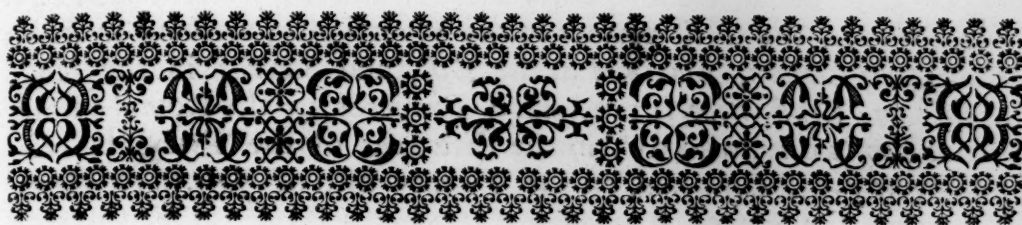
SIR, I commend you and your Labours to the Grace of *God* ; and pray him to send more *Labourers* into his *Harvest*, at this needful Time, when his *Christ* and his *Church* are so openly Attack'd.

S I R,

Your Old Friend and Humble Servant,

CHARLES LESLIE.





T H E
Ecclesiastical HISTORY
 O F
Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit.

B O O K I.

 **USEBIUS** having compil'd a History of the Church, which reaches down to the End of the *Dioclesian Persecution*, and the Beginning of *Constantine's* Reign ; and in his Life of that Emperor, (or rather Panegyrick upon him) left us but an imperfect and superficial Account of what afterwards pass'd in reference to *Arius's* Cause and Interest ; my Ecclesiastical History shall begin at the Time which his concluded with, and terminate in the present Posture of Affairs ; and it shall be collected, partly from the Testimony of written Authorities, partly from the Tradition and Report of living ones, and laid out in an easy, unaffected Stile. And here first of all, as a proper Introduction, I shall acquaint the Reader with the Degrees and Motives, by which the Emperor *Constantine* was converted to *Christianity*.

D I O-

DIOCLETIAN and *Maximian*, surnam'd *Herculius*, having exchange'd Imperial Dominion for Privacy and Retirement; *Maximian Galerius*, the third Partner in the Sovereignty, arriving in *Italy*, creates two *Cæsars*, *Maximin* in the *East*, and *Severus* in the *West*. In *Britain*, *Constantine* is proclaim'd Emperor in the Room of his Father *Constantius*, who dy'd in the first Year of the Two-hundred-and-seventy-first *Olympiad*, on the Twenty-fifth of *July*. At *Rome*, *Maxentius*, the Son of *Maximian Herculius*, usurping the supreme Authority by the Choice and Favour of the *Prætorian* Bands; his Father, who now repented his Abdication, took this Opportunity to reinstate himself, and made an Attempt against the Life of his Son, but was disappointed by the Soldiers, and afterwards * dy'd at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*; *Severus Cæsar* mean time is sent to *Rome* by *Galerius Maximian*, to reduce *Maxentius*, and, his Army betraying him, loses his Life: Whereupon *Maximian Galerius* is left, as 'twere, in the sole Possession and Administration of the Empire; but it was not long ere he dy'd, having nam'd *Licinius* his Successor, a *Dacian*, and his old Friend and Fellow-soldier: *Maxentius* at the same time tyrannizes at *Rome*, murders the Citizens, forces their Wives, and commits all manner of Barbarities; which *Constantine* no sooner understood, but he resolv'd upon rescuing the Oppress'd; and inquiring with himself of the Measures he should take to that End, he was principally concern'd about the main Matter, to what Divine Power he should recommend himself and his Cause. He knew *Diocletian's* Gods had nothing avail'd their Votary; and, on the other hand, that his Father *Constantius*, who had been a very

S. L. I. c. 6. fortunate Prince, [had been also very indulgent to the *Christian* Religion, and never so much as given the least seeming Discouragement to those who profess'd it, unless it were once, with a very good Design, when he requir'd all the *Christians* in his Court to sacrifice upon Pain of being banish'd thence, and afterwards turn'd out all those that comply'd with his Commands, as Traytors to their God; and consequently not to be trusted by their Prince.] But that which determin'd *Constantine* was an Appearance in the Heavens that presented it self as he was upon his March, a shining Cross with this Inscription, ἐν τῷ νίκῃ, *With this Banner be thou victorious*. And that it was no Delusion or

* An Error. V. Valef. in loc.

Fancy, he was convinc'd from those that attended him, who beheld the glorious Object as well as himself. * The Night following *Christ* himself commanded him in a Dream to have a Standard made in that Figure, and then to be confident of the Victory, which the Emperor accordingly did, [after *S. L. 1. c. 6.* he had consulted several Bishops, and rightly inform'd himself of the Proofs and Principles of *Christianity*, and of the Signification of the Cross which he had beheld.] And that very Ensign is still to be seen in the Royal Palace, [having always been so remarkably attended with *S. L. 1. c. 4.* the Divine Protection, that as no Body ever receiv'd any Hurt by carrying it in the Wars, so 'tis reported there was an Instance of a Person, who, having quitted it to another, immediately receiv'd a mortal Wound, after he thought he had convey'd himself out of the Enemies Reach; whilst he that receiv'd it, found himself safe in the midst of a Shower of Darts and Arrows, which lighted, every one of them, upon his Ensign, without so much as grazing upon himself.]

THUS arm'd and animated, the Emperor charg'd the Enemy near the *Milvian* Bridge, where *Maxentius* perish'd in the River; and *Constantine* got the Victory in the seventh Year of his Reign. Upon this, *Licinius*, who administer'd the Empire of the *East*, and had receiv'd from *Constantine* his Sister *Constantia* in Marriage, pretended to express his Sense of these Blessings, and his Thankfulness to God for them, by stopping his Persecution, and restoring the Church and its Members to their former Peace and Privileges. About the same time dy'd *Diocletian* at *Salona* in *Dalmatia*.

AND now the good Emperor, being intirely in the Interest of *Christianity*, erected and adorn'd several magnificent Churches, lock'd up and demolish'd the *Pagan* Temples, and made Sale of their Images. But it was not long ere *Licinius*, on the contrary, who hated the *Christians* in his Heart, begun to give the Church within his own Provinces no little Disturbance; at first as covertly and cautiously as he could for fear of *Constantine*, but afterwards in a more violent and hostile way: And yet when he found how much these Practices

* *Sozomen* says the Emperor saw this of sure Success; tho' *Eusebius* tells the Cross in a Dream, with several Angels Story the other way, adding that the standing near it, and that they bad him Emperor confirm'd it to him with the Solemnity of an Oath. *V. Soz. l. 1. c. 3.*

incens'd *Constantine*, he was ready with a thousand Excuses and Compliments to pacify him, and bound himself to a League of the strictest Amity with him under the most sacred Ties ; in Violation of which the Tyrant nevertheless continu'd his Outrages against the *Christians*, only giving them another Face and Name, and particularly to prevent their making Converts, he publish'd an Edict forbidding the Bishops to come within the Doors of any Heathen Families.

THESE repeated Prevarications *Constantine* was now no longer able to bear : so the two Emperors arm'd,
S. L. I. c. 7. [and *Licinius*, having now professely apostatiz'd to Paganism, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Miletus*, from whence he receiv'd a very discouraging Answer : However, being elevated by his heathen Favourites into very confident Presages of Victory, he prosecuted the War,] and after several Battles and Engagements by Land and Sea, with various Success, is defeated at *Chrysopolis* in *Bithynia*, and delivers himself to *Constantine*, who pronounces no other Sentence upon him than that he should retire and live quietly at *Theffalonica* ; which when he could not do, but was in a little time renewing his Preparations for War, he was dispatch'd by an Imperial Order ; after which *Constantine*, now sole Emperor, made it his Business to settle and secure the *Christian* Profession, and to protect and encourage its Votaries ;
S. L. I. c. 8, 9. [He promulg'd his Laws and Edicts exhorting and requiring his Subjects in the *East*, to embrace the *Christian* Religion, and forbidding the Use of Sacrifices, and all the idolatrous Worship, Mysteries, Rites and Customs of the *Gentiles*, together with their lewd Practices, and the inhuman Entertainment of the Gladiators at *Rome*. He was not only so just as to cause whatever Honours, Privileges or Possessions, any *Christians* had been formerly depriv'd of, to be restor'd to the Persons injur'd, or to their Heirs ; but likewise so cordially devoted to the Interest of the Church, that he took Care all his Prefects and inferior Magistrates should be *Christians*, was extremely liberal and generous to the Clergy, binding his Successors for ever by a legal Obligation to be so too ; and either built, enlarg'd, repair'd, or beautify'd an incredible Number of Churches at his own Charge ; among these he erected
S. L. I. c. 8. one sacred Edifice within his Palace ; [kindling by his Example an Ambition in others to do the like. And to reconcile and engage the Army to the Religion and Worship espous'd

espous'd by himself, he order'd all their Weapons and Armour should carry the Signature of the Cross ; for which he could not chuse but have a peculiar Regard, as it had been represented and recommended to him from Heaven, and as it purchas'd him so many wonderful Successes, particularly when he reduc'd the *Sarmatians* and *Goths* ; during which Expedition, 'tis said, he receiv'd many extraordinary Assurances of God's especial Favour : For the same Reason he abolish'd the Punishment of Crucifixion, and suffer'd no Coin of himself to be stamp'd, nor Picture to be drawn, without a Cross upon it. When he took the Field, he carry'd a sort of Tabernacle, or portable Chapel with him, and Priests and Deacons to attend the Services of it, and ever since, by his Example, every *Roman* Legion has had a moving Oratory with its proper Chaplains to officiate. He commanded the regular and solemn Observation of *Friday* as a Fast, and *Sunday* as a Festival. He abrogated an ancient Law, which discourag'd a single Life, and must have been very prejudicial to those *Christians* that should chuse it for pious Ends ; and not only this, but gave such People no less a Privilege than of making their Wills in their Minority ; he exempted all Ecclesiastical Persons from all Taxes and pecuniary Duties ; he establish'd the Liberty of Appealing, even finally, from all inferior Officers and Magistrates in the State to the Bishops of the Church ; all Persons that should have a Certificate from the Bishops of their being in the Communion of the Catholick Church, when they obtain'd the first or lesser Freedom, he intitled to the greater, that of *Denizons*, and ordain'd that all Determinations of Councils and Synods should be look'd upon as sacred Sanctions, and receiv'd as a part of the Imperial Laws. In a word, the Church receiv'd all the Proofs and Pledges of his Love imaginable ;] and thus favour'd and fortify'd the Church might have long enjoy'd, not only Peace and Security, but very profitable and magnificent Privileges ; had not her own Bowels bred such a Flame in her ; that, in Comparison of it, the worst Persecution had been a very great Blessing.

AFTER *Peter*, who suffer'd Martyrdom under *Diocletian*, succeeded *Achillas* in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, and to him *Alexander*, when now the Tempest of Heathen Violence was laid, and the Church enjoy'd a calm Serenity. It happen'd he and his Presbyters were one Day exercising themselves in a disputative way, upon the Doctrine of the *Trinity*. *Arius*, one of his Presbyters, a subtle

A a 2

Dispu-

Disputant, [but, which contributed much more to the Evils that ensued, secretly fill'd with Envy and Vexation at *Alexander's* being arriv'd at the Episcopat before him] pretended to be apprehensive that the Bishop's Discourse tended to *Sabellianism*, and carry'd his own to a contrary Extream; with no little Vehemence, alledging, that *if the Father begot the Son, he that was begotten had a Beginning of Existence; that therefore there was a Time when the Son was not, and consequently that the Existence of the Son began from nothing.*

THESE Conclusions, as it were from an Ember, kindled a general Conflagration. [As no Man could be more maliciously industrious than *Arius* to scatter his Venom, so his Sophistry soon produc'd a new Society or Sect] and met with a great many Friends and Patrons, the chief of whom was *Eusebius*, [an eloquent, learned, remarkable Man] once Bishop of *Berytum*, but at that time (as he had manag'd his Interest) of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*. *Alexander*, highly incens'd at these things, calls a numerous Council, excommunicates *Arius* and his Followers, and sends circular Letters to all Bishops and Pastors of the holy Catholick Church; informing them, 'That it was absolutely necessary for the Conservation of ' Catholick Union and Communion, that the Governor of every ' Church should acquaint the rest of his Brethren with all that ' passes within his respective Precincts; he thought himself oblig'd ' to advertise them of a Combination of certain abominable Hereticks within his Bishoprick, whose blasphemous Extravagancies ' he should have endeavour'd to keep conceal'd as much as possible, ' but that *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, presuming he should carry every ' thing as successfully with his Politicks as he had compass'd his ' Translation, had put himself at the Head of these Apostates, and ' sent abroad his Letters in their Favour to all the Churches of the ' World; all the while, under the wicked Pretence of espousing ' their Cause, driving on his own ambitious and turbulent Designs: ' That the Names of the leading Hereticks were *Arius*, *Achillas*, ' *Aithales*, *Carpones*, another *Arius*, *Sarmates*, *Euzoius*, *Lucius*, ' *Julian*, *Menas*, *Helladius*, *Gaius*, with *Secundus* and *Theonas*, lately ' Bishops: That their Doctrines were, *That there was a Time when ' God was not a Father; that the Father created the Son, till then ' not existing, out of Non-existence; that the Son is a Creature,*
and

' and not substantially like unto the Father, nor the real and genuine
 ' Word and Wisdom of the Father ; but only so fill'd, because the
 ' Word and Wisdom of God created him ; that his Nature is capable
 ' of Change and Variation, even of as black a Degeneracy as that of
 ' the fallen Angels ; that the Son cannot perfectly and adequately know
 ' or see the Father ; no, nor yet understand his own Nature and Sub-
 ' stance ; for that God created him purely upon our account, to be only
 ' as an Instrument in his Hand, when he should afterwards create us :
 ' That for these their impious Tenets, and their Obstinacy in
 ' maintaining them, himself with the Bishops of Egypt and Libya,
 ' almost a hundred in number assembled in Council, had anathe-
 ' matiz'd Arius and his Accomplices ; being assur'd, that, notwith-
 ' standing all Eusebius's Industry, Truth shall prevail over Falshood,
 ' and Christ against Belial ; for (says he) when the Gospel declares,
 ' that *In the beginning was the Word*, how shall we think too hard
 ' of those Men who affirm, *There was a Time when he was not ?*
 ' That make a Creature of the Only begotten Son by whom all things
 ' were made ? How can he be of nothing, of whom the Father says,
 ' *My Heart has pour'd out my excellent Word, and I have begotten*
 ' *thee of the Womb before the Morning Star ?* How should he be
 ' unlike in Substance to the Father that is his express Image and
 ' Brightness, and says of himself, *That he that has seen him, has*
 ' *seen the Father ?* Or subject to Change and Alteration, who
 ' declares, *I am in the Father, and the Father in me, and I and the*
 ' *Father are one ?* And so again the Apostle, *Jesus Christ, the same*
 ' *yesterday, and to day, and for ever*, according to that of the Pro-
 ' phet, *Behold, I am He, and I change not*, or am in my Essence
 ' absolutely and eternally Immutable ? How was he for our sakes
 ' created, for whom, and by whom all things were created ! Or how
 ' is it, that he has but an imperfect Knowledge of the Father,
 ' who has told us, that *as the Father knows him, even so he knows*
 ' *the Father ?* That the Hereticks have been again and again
 ' confuted with these and the like Arguments and Authorities,
 ' but still had the Dexterity to shift their Shape, and then make
 ' their own Use of the Holy Scriptures ; that this Heresy was
 ' a sort of Recapitulation and Confirmation of all the vile,
 ' absurd Heresies that arose before it, and approach'd the nearest
 ' of any to *Antichrist* ; that the Departure and Perdition of these
 ' Men was the less afflicting and surprizing, because there had
 ' been long ago a *Judas*, a *Hymenæus*, and *Philetus*, and *Christ*
 ' had warn'd us against the many Seducers that should come in
 ' his

his Name, and St. Paul against those that should Apostatize in the latter Days; and lastly, that the Council gave them this Notice of the whole Matter, and their Proceedings upon it, that the Offenders might be no where receiv'd to Communion, nor Eusebius, nor any other of their Patrons or Abettors regarded. Upon the Dismission of these Letters the Combustion, instead of being extinguish'd, gather'd still more and more, some approving and subscribing them, and others remonstrating. Especially Eusebius of Nicomedia was displeased at 'em, because they were particularly severe against him. He had a mighty Interest in the Emperor, then residing at Nicomedia; and upon that Account had too many of the Bishops at his Devotion. He wrote several times to Alexander to drop the Dispute, and receive Arius to Communion; and to the Bishops of the Catholick Church that S. L. I. c. 15. they should shew Alexander no Favour; [and a Synod of his Party met at Bithynia, from whence Letters were sent every way to the Bishops of the Church, to engage them to receive Arius, and oblige Alexander to do the like. Arius also, by special Messengers, made it his Request to Paulinus of Tyre, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, that they would approve of his Purpose, that he and the Presbyters of his Opinion should exercise their Office, not in the respective Churches they formerly belong'd to, but at large in some or other of them; which Proposal they and other Bishops of Palestine consented to; at the same time, * exhorting him and his Friends to pay all Obedience to Alexander, and most humbly to sollicite a Reconciliation.] Notwithstanding which, these warm Proceedings run up the Quarrel in a little time to meer Madness and Confusion, both Clergy and Laity every where falling into furious Disputes and Animosities; insomuch, that our most Holy Religion was made a Subject of Theatrical Buffoonry. [And all this proceeded from the Activity and Bigotry of the Arians, in the beginning of the Dispute, who not contented with acting only defensively, communicated an Account of their Faith to the Bishops abroad; and besought them, if they approv'd it, to interpose in their behalf with Alexander, or if they dislik'd

* 'Tis to be observ'd, in behalf of the Bishops, who thus far gratify'd Arius, that they requir'd him at the same time to conform and submit himself to his Bishop; so that they did not pretend to allow him any Authority to do as he desir'd, but under his Bishop, and with his Licence.

it, to inform them better. By this means they involv'd them in Disputes and Oppositions, and affected the Desire of their Souls, a general Distraction and Tumult in the Church.] There was at the same time a schismatical Faction, call'd *Miletians*, who join'd their Forces with the *Arians*. They were the Creatures of one *Miletius* an *Egyptian* Bishop, that having formerly begun a Schism, purely upon a Pretence of Injustice done him by *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria*, because he had pronounc'd the Sentence of Deposition upon him for divers Misdemeanors, [particularly for presuming to consecrate and ordain in the Room of his Metropolitan, when the Persecution oblig'd *Peter* to absent himself,] but chiefly for his Apostacy in the Time of Persecution, after the Martyrdom of *Peter* still kept up the Quarrel, and rail'd on against his Successor *Achillas*, and after him against *Alexander*, striking in with *Arius*, [or rather renewing his Confederation with him, for *Arius* had formerly, in the Days of *Peter*, deserted the Interest of the Church, and lifted himself under *Miletius*, but returning from his Cause, he was ordain'd Deacon by *Peter*, and afterwards, * for taking part again with the *Miletians*, and allowing their Baptisms, excommunicated by him, and so he continu'd, 'till *Achillas* pardon'd him upon his humble Submission, and not only re-admitted him to his Deaconship, but ordain'd him Presbyter. And *Alexander* had entertain'd so good an Opinion of him, that though some People highly inveigh'd against him for tolerating and conniving at *Arius's* Novelties, he shew'd him so much Favour, as only at first to persuade and admonish him, and put him upon a publick Proof of his Principles, and then to have them examin'd in a Synod; and after that to command him to renounce them; till finding him perversely and wilfully devoted to them, he excommunicated him and his Adherents. Hereupon, as *Arius* had before twice run over to *Miletius*, so now *Miletius* thought it was his Turn to join himself to *Arius*, [and at length their two Factions became so united, that

* *Valesius* very justly wonders that neither *Alexander* nor *Athanasius* should mention this Excommunication of *Arius*. However, of the two, he is less inclin'd to believe *Sozomen* than the *Acts of Peter the Martyr*, which say, that *Arius* was then a Presbyter, and excommunicated

for his heretical Doctrines, without any thing of his joining with *Miletius*. But it is certain those Acts are spurious, and whoever would see a Proof of it, let him consult Note (b) upon *Du Pin's Account* of that holy Martyr.

when

when they begun their old Game so successfully after the Council of Nice, the *Miletians* and *Arians* were taken promiscuously in *Egypt* for one another ; and indeed were the very same.

Now Matters standing thus, there were Letters upon Letters sent from *Arius* and his Partizans, particularly from *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, on the one Side ; and so from those that condemn'd him and his Doctrine, on t'other, to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who collected those that run against *Arius* into a Volume, as *Arius* did those which were for him ; and this last Collection is, as it were, the lively Oracles of the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and *Macedonians* at this Day.

[AMONG *Alexander's* Epistles there was none more remarkable and significant than that which he sent to his Name-sake the Bishop of *Constantinople* ; wherein he warns him against permitting those Workers of Iniquity to come within any Churches under his Jurisdiction, whatever pretended Letters of Communion any of them should bring ; for that they had not only with the *Gentiles* and *Jews* deny'd the Divinity of *Christ*, but had also done what his very Crucifiers could not persuade themselves to do, that is to say, torne asunder his Seamless Coat, erected new Altars and private obscure Conventicles ; and that, unsatiated with Heresy and Schism, they had made it their Business to molest and ruin and destroy the Catholicks, particularly by most false and scandalous Informations and Prosecutions against them in the Secular Courts ; that after they had been synodically ejected, they were so impudent as to make their Court to his Holy Brethren of the Episcopal College for recommendatory and communicatory Letters, which having by their little knavish Arts, Dissimulations and Calumnies obtain'd from too many Bishops, they chimed that Authority in the Ears of the People, and made use of it to seduce others ; that to undeceive those Bishops that had been thus impos'd upon, and to prevent the Scandal which must otherwise fall upon the Church, by such an Infraction of the Apostolical Rule of Communion, and by the Encouragement which these wicked Men receiv'd from it, he thought it necessary to acquaint his Colleagues with their Purposes and Principles ; as that the latter were chiefly founded upon a perverse Interpretation of those Places of Scripture, which concern'd the State of *Christ's* Humiliation, and upon an impious Antipathy

‘ Antipathy to those which prove his Divinity and Equality with
 ‘ the Father ; that this was the way by which they persuaded them-
 ‘ selves that *Christ* was not the Begotten of the Father, but only
 ‘ a Son adopted or predestinated upon the account of an extraordi-
 ‘ nary Piety and Probity, and that *St. Paul* or *St. Peter*, nay and
 ‘ themselves, were as capable of as proper and true a Filiation, as
 ‘ that which belongs to *Christ* ! whereas *St. John* has declar’d him
 ‘ to be the only Begotten of the Father, and to be God the Word,
 ‘ by whom all Things were made ; that therefore he is properly
 ‘ and substantially the Son of the Father, though the Manner of
 ‘ his Generation be inscrutable, as he himself has told us, that no
 ‘ body has known who the Son is but the Father, and no body
 ‘ has known the Father but the Son ; and so again the Prophet,
 ‘ when he ask’d, *Who shall declare his Generation ?* that he being
 ‘ the Wisdom and Word of God must be incapable of Increase or
 ‘ Improvement, much more of Diminution or Degeneracy, accord-
 ‘ ing to that of the Apostle, 2 *Cor. c. vi. v. 14, 15.* that *Christ*
 ‘ cannot be an adoptive Son, as Angels and Men, because he chal-
 ‘ lenges Adoration ; that he is prov’d to be substantially and pro-
 ‘ perly the Son of God from *Rom. c. viii. v. 32.* from *St. Mat. c. iii.*
 ‘ *v. 17. & c. xvii. v. 5.* *St. Mark, c. i. v. 11.* *St. Luke, c. iii. v. 22.*
 ‘ *St. John, c. i. ver. 18.* *Psalms ii. ver. 7.* *Psalms cx. ver. 3.* and
 ‘ from *St. John, c. v. v. 23.* and *c. x. v. 30.* and *c. xiv. v. 9.* that
 ‘ the titular or adoptive Sons of God are represented under another
 ‘ Character, as Beings that either had been or were probationally
 ‘ Candidates for so great a Title, and in their Nature liable to
 ‘ Change and Degeneracy, particularly *Gen. c. vi. v. 2.* and *Isa. c. i.*
 ‘ *v. 2.* that these new Hereticks were the Suckers, as it were, sprout-
 ‘ ing from the Stump and Root of the old ones, *Ebion* and *Arte-*
 ‘ *mas*, and *Paulus Samosatenus*, and *Lucian* ; that there were * three
 B b Bishops

* That the three Bishops were those whom the learned *Valesius* arguing from *Arius's* Epistle, has nam'd in his Note upon this Place, is very improbable, 1st. because *Arius*, in his Letter, reckons up six Bishops, and therefore we may suppose *Alexander* would have mention'd the same Number, if any of that Number had been the Persons he meant ; 2dly, *Arius's* Veracity and Ingenuity is not at all to be depended on, at least when weigh'd

against *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea's* Conduct afterwards, and his express Declarations, and the Testimonies of several of the ancient orthodox Writers in his behalf ; nay, and when in this very Period *Arius* is not asham'd to tell so notorious a Lye, as that all the Bishops in the East, except three, were for him ; and *Valesius* himself owns in the third Note upon the 5th chap. of *Theodor. L. 1.* that those Words of *Arius*, ἀνὰ δευὰ ἐγείροντο carry a fallacious

‘ Bishops in *Syria* who strangely patroniz’d and encourag’d these
 ‘ People, though they were of themselves so outrageously pre-
 ‘ sumptuous as to vent those Blasphemies against the Son of God,
 ‘ which the Devils themselves durst not so much as murmur ; and
 ‘ not only to insult and calumniate himself and his Flock, but
 ‘ to despise and over-rule the Judgment and Authority of his Col-
 ‘ legues in general, of the ancient Fathers, nay and the most clear,
 ‘ express Determination of the Holy Scriptures themselves ; that
 ‘ they represented the Catholicks as asserting two uncreated Beings,
 ‘ not considering that obvious Distinction between Generation and
 ‘ Creation, and that the Father, as being *not Begotten*, is declar’d
 ‘ by the Son to be greater than himself, as being *Begotten* ; not
 ‘ remembering that * *he who loveth the Father loveth the Son, who is*
 ‘ *begotten of him* ; that therefore he and his Brethren † had depos’d

fallacious and improper Meaning in them ;
 3dly, because *Theodoret* says no more than
 that he boasted (*ἐπεμύρετο*) that such and
 such Bishops had declar’d and suffer’d for
 him. And I conceive the two latter of
 these three Reasons remove all Necessity
 of believing, that the Bishops *Arius* has
 nam’d, as his Friends, were anathema-
 tiz’d ; or had shew’d him any other Coun-
 tenance than that of their Answer to his
 Proposal about himself and his Fellow-
 Presbyters. I know *St. Athanasius* brings a
 heavy Charge against these Bishops in his
 Book *de Synodis* ; particularly *Eusebius*, he
 says, had expressly asserted under his own
 Hand, *That Christ is not truly God* ; but I
 am willing to presume he was some way
 misinform’d, because undoubtedly *Euse-
 bius* had been condemn’d and stigmatiz’d
 more exemplarily than even *Arius* for such
 explicate Blasphemy ; whereas *St. Atha-
 nasius* himself (who almost every where
 discovers little Affection for him) says
 nothing of his being anathematized ;
 which he would certainly have done, had
 it been true.

* This Text the Bishop says our Savi-
 our delivered ; I suppose he meant by *St.
 John* : for I take it to be that, though
 somewhat differently worded, which we
 meet with in his 1st *Epistle*, c. v. v. 1.

† The learned Annotator, in his 48th
 Note upon this Chapter of *Theodoret*, sup-
 poses this *Epistle* to have preceded that
 wherein *Alexander* takes Notice of the

Nicomedian Eusebius’s patronizing the *Ari-
 an* Faction, because this says nothing of
 him, and declares only 10 Presbyters and
 Deacons anathematized, whereas the other
 names 12, and 2 Bishops ; and upon this
 Foundation he affirms there was a Synod,
 in which the 10 Presbyters and Deacons
 were condemned, distinct from and ear-
 lier than that wherein Anathema pass’d
 upon the 12 and 2 Bishops. He quotes no
 Authority for either Assertion ; and as
 for his Inference or Argument, it seems
 to be confuted by that Passage in this Let-
 ter, where *Alexander* says, he has already
 the Subscriptions of the Bishops of so ma-
 ny Provinces, *Egypt* and *Thebais*, *Libya*,
Pentapolis, &c. to the Condemnation of
Arius and his Accomplices ; which he
 could not have by him, in Consequence
 of this *Epistle* when he wrote it, and
 therefore he must have received them in
 answer to a former. Nor does the same
 great Man’s Conclusion seem to be better
 grounded for making two Councils, be-
 cause in the last *Epistle*, it might not have
 been necessary, nor, possibly, upon some
 prudential Considerations, very convenient
 to mention again all the Offenders he had
 enumerated in the former ; and besides, it
 is not likely, that *Alexander* would call a
 second Council of his Suffragans to ana-
 thematize the same Doctrines and Men
 they had anathematized Synodically not
 long before.

‘ and

‘ and anathematiz’d *Arius* and his Associates, particularly and by
 ‘ Name *Achillas*, *Euzoius*, *Aithalas*, *Lucius*, *Sarmates*, *Julius*, *Menas*,
 ‘ another *Arius* and *Helladius* ; and desir’d the Sentence might be
 ‘ approv’d and confirm’d by all his Collegues, as it had been so
 ‘ generally already by the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Thebais*, of *Libya*,
 ‘ *Pentapolis*, *Syria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Asia*, *Cappadocia*, and other
 ‘ neighbouring Provinces ; and lastly, he warn’d every Bishop
 ‘ against communicating with the Persons condemn’d, whatever
 ‘ Letters they should produce, or Pretences they might urge.’ His
 Letters to *Philagonius* of *Antioch*, *Eustathius* (then) of *Beræa*, and
 other orthodox Fathers were to the same Effect.

At the same time *Arius* made his Appeal to those Bishops, who,
 he had Reason to believe, entertain’d the same Sentiments and De-
 signs with himself, and principally to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, com-
 plaining in a Letter to him, ‘ That his Bishop had us’d him and his
 ‘ Friends very barbarously, and that he had drove them out of the
 ‘ City for contradicting his Bishop’s Assertions ; which were, that
 ‘ the Son co-existed from Everlasting with the Father, that the Son
 ‘ was always God, and that he was of the same Substance with the
 ‘ Father ; and for his own Affirmation to the contrary, that the
 ‘ Son was not before he was Begotten, or Created, or Establish’d,
 ‘ and that he had originally his Existence out of nothing ; and
 ‘ that in condemning him, *Alexander* had also anathematiz’d *Euse-*
 ‘ *bios* of *Cæsarea*, *Theodotus* of *Laodicea*, *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, *Atha-*
 ‘ *nasius* of *Anazarbus*, *Gregory* of *Berytus*, and *Aetius* of *Lydda* ;
 ‘ and all the Eastern Bishops, asserting that God the Father existed
 ‘ from all Eternity, but the Son had not ; that * illiterate and here-
 ‘ tical Triumvirate only excepted, *Philagonius*, *Macarius*, and *Hel-*
 ‘ *lanicus* of *Tripoli*.

UPON Receipt of these Letters, *Eusebius* dispatches away others
 to *Paulinus* of *Tyre*, ‘ Upbraiding him for his Silence in the *Arian*
 ‘ Cause, and that a Man so well able as he was to convince *Alex-*

* How undeserv’d a Character this is of
 these three great Men, sufficiently ap-
 pears from *Athanasius*’s joining them with
 the best, and every way most considerable
 Bishops then in the World ; for speaking
 of the *Arian* Bishops (in his Epistle to the
 Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*) he says, if they

wrote like such and such Men, the great
 Confessor *Hosius*, &c. ἔστιν ἢ ἐν τοῖς γρα-
 φομένοις ὑποσέθεν. ἀδελφὲ γὰρ καὶ ἀπλῆς ἐστὶν
 ὁ καὶ ἀποστολικῶν ἀνδρῶν τρεῖς ; and in
 that glorious Catalogue we find two of
 our three, *Hellanicus* and *Macarius*.

‘ *ander*, should not yet have wrote to him, and shew’d him out of
 ‘ the Scriptures, that as there is but one unbegotten Being, so the
 ‘ Son was no more than a Creature, and so far from being of the
 ‘ same Substance with the Father, that both in Substance and Pro-
 ‘ perties he is absolutely different from him;’ with more to the
 same Effect; which these ill-designing Men by Letter upon Letter
 handed very liberally to one another.

UPON the News of such lamentable Differences and Disorders,
 the good Emperor was extremely troubled, and immediately dis-
 patches Letters to *Alexander* and *Arius* by the Hands of his Fa-
 vourite, the pious and faithful *Hofius*, a venerable Confessor, and
 Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, to this Effect, ‘ That he understood
 ‘ the Division which had happen’d between them and their respective
 ‘ Adherents, was the Consequence of an unnecessary Question, on
 ‘ the Part of *Alexander*, and of an unwary Answer, on the Part
 ‘ of *Arius*; that it was a very dangerous Trial of Skill to begin a
 ‘ Dispute upon Matters of that Nature, especially so publickly, the
 ‘ Generality of People being so little qualify’d to apprehend the
 ‘ right Meaning, or to pass a true Judgment of them; besides the
 ‘ Weakness and Deceivableness of the Disputants themselves, all
 ‘ which must naturally end either in Blasphemy or Schism; that it
 ‘ was their Duty, by mutual Agreement and all ingenuous Re-
 ‘ tractations, to drop the Dispute, concurring, as he conceiv’d they
 ‘ did otherwise, in the other Fundamentals of Religion; and for
 ‘ the future, by no means to pursue such nice and subtle Enquiries,
 ‘ which must of Necessity weaken their Authority, and hinder
 ‘ them in the Discharge of their Duty; that the Philosophers of
 ‘ the *Gentiles*, (as great a Variety of Sects and Opinions as there
 ‘ was among them) held all close together in a common Fellowship
 ‘ and general Interest; much more that the Priests of the most High
 ‘ God were oblig’d to do so; that they ought to beware of wound-
 ‘ ing and rending the Church by Metaphysical Distinctions and
 ‘ Dissensions; that seeing they were both, *ex professò*, of the same
 ‘ Religion, and the same Faith in general, nicer Speculations and
 ‘ Scruples ought not to keep them asunder; or, however, if they
 ‘ could not reconcile their Notions between themselves, that at least
 ‘ they should keep them to themselves, live again in perfect Cha-
 ‘ rity and Friendship with one another, and re-unite themselves and
 ‘ the distracted People of God, in brotherly Love and *Christian*
 ‘ Communion; that this was the Desire of his Soul; that Night
 ‘ nor

‘ nor Day he should never rest ’till he could obtain it ; that the
 ‘ News of their Divisions had stopp’d his Purpose of coming among
 ‘ them, and that it lay in their Power, as soon as they pleas’d, to
 ‘ bring him to them by becoming unanimous, and easy, and affe-
 ‘ ctionate to one another, and by giving him an Opportunity, upon
 ‘ his Arrival, of joining his Praises with theirs to God for the Re-
 ‘ establisment of their Peace and Unity.’

BUT this Method, alas ! prov’d ineffectual ; and besides, there was at the same Time another unhappy Dispute on Foot in the Eastern Churches, about the Time of celebrating the Festival of *Easter*, some inclining to observe it according to the *Jewish* Calendar, and others according to the Rule of all other *Christian* Churches ; but this without Breach of Communion.

[And *Hosius* was commission’d by the Emperor to *S. L. I. c. 16.* settle this Affair too ; but succeeded no better in it than in the other.] Effectually therefore to put an End to these

Evils, the Emperor call’d a General Council, summoning Bishops from all Parts and Provinces of *Europe*, *Africa*, and

Asia, [*Silvester* Successor to *Miltiades* in the Bishop- *T. L. I. c. 3.* rick of *Rome*] being detain’d by his Age, but repre-

sented in the Presbyters he delegated ; besides an innumerable Company of Presbyters, Deacons, Acolyths, &c. And their Charges and Occasions were liberally supply’d by the Emperor. There likewise attended many Disputants and Orators of the

Laity. [The Day before that which was fix’d for *S. L. I. c. 17.* the publick and decisive Trial of *Arius*, the Bishops

summon’d him in order to a stating of the Case ; and were strangely divided upon it, some insisting, that there ought not to be the least tampering with the Faith deliver’d from the Beginning ; and others, that we ought not to follow the Opinions of the Ancients implicitly.]

Eusebius Bishop of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nizæa*, and *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, defended *Arius*. Against these *Athanasius* engag’d, at that Time a Deacon of the Church of *Alexandria*, and in great Esteem with *Alexander*. The Rhetoricians and the Masters of the School were the most forward with their Censures

and Invectives ; [and the *Gentile* Philosophers, of *S. L. I. c. 18.* whom there came a great Number, either out of

Curiosity, or with a Design to suggest Objections and Fallacies, and so to blow the Coals, watch’d all Opportunities to be troublesome.

One of them especially was very malepert and abusive, ’till a plain
 and

and honest Layman, who had been formerly a Confessor, by merely repeating a short Summary of his Faith, in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, so miraculously affected him, that he immediately assented to it, and return'd Thanks to God for his Conversion, which with most solemn Asseverations he ascrib'd entirely to a Divine Impulse, and recommended it to the serious Consideration of his Brother-Sophists.] Upon the Day appointed for an Examination of *Arius's* Cause and Doctrines, came the Bishops in Procession, S. L. I. c. 19. [to the Emperor's Palace, in which it was his Pleasure they should sit] and were follow'd by the Emperor himself, who made a Stand (upon his Entrance) in the midst of the Assembly, (such was the Deference and Veneration he shew'd to the Holy Fathers) 'till [the Bishops, upon his Majesty's Application to them for that Purpose] had given him a Sign to sit down, T. L. I. c. 7. [which he did upon a Throne prepar'd for him at the upper End of the Apartment, and all the Council seated themselves in the same Instant.] First, S. L. I. c. 19. Silence being commanded, [*Eustathius* (Successor to *Philogonius*, as *Philogonius* was to *Vitalis*, in the Chair of *Antioch*) made an Oration to the Emperor, wherein he magnify'd the infinite Goodness of God to his Church in placing his Majesty on the Imperial Throne; and was seconded, to the same Effect, by *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*] after which the Emperor address'd T. L. I. c. 24. himself to the Council, exhorting them to Unanimity and a right Understanding, [and putting them in Mind, how much they would expose themselves and their most Holy Religion, by abusing that Deliverance which God had so lately vouchsafed them, from the Rage and Tyranny of persecuting Princes, and turning it into an Occasion of quarrelling and disputing amongst themselves about the Principles of the *Christian* Profession, especially when the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament afforded them such full and clear Instructions concerning their Belief; and therefore to these Sacred Oracles he referr'd them for a Solution and Decision of the Matters in Controversy] and then order'd their private Complaints, which had been presented him the Day before, to the Flames; T. L. I. c. 11. [or rather, as *Theodorit* tells us, he reserv'd those Accusations, which some malicious People had been forward to tender him against the Bishops, 'till they were come to a final Decision and good Agreement, and then he produc'd them in a Bundle

Bundle seal'd up with his own Seal, and burnt them in their Presence; * assuring them, that he had not so much as look'd into them, and that he was so sensible of the sad Consequences of letting the Faults of the Clergy be publickly expos'd, that if he should ever be so unhappy as to take a Bishop in Adultery, he would interpose his own Robe to conceal him.] But whether *Socrates* has maim'd and mis-tim'd this Particular or not; when all Preliminaries were now concluded, his Imperial Majesty left it entirely to the Holy Fathers, to examine and settle Doctrines. Whereupon Propositions in abundance were advanc'd on either Side, and Disputes immediately running high, the Emperor attended diligently to whatever was insisted on, and spar'd no Pains in appeasing the Heats of some, and encouraging the good Management of others, till at length they came to a happy Conclusion and Agreement, both in Points of Faith, and in Relation to the Festival of *Easter*; and their Determinations were Recorded, and almost unanimously Subscrib'd; the Creed which they establish'd running thus; *We believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of all Things Visible and Invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father, that is of the Substance of his Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very Gods begotten, not made; being of one Substance with the Father; by whom all Things were made that are in Heaven and in Earth; who for us Men and for our Salvation came down, and was Incarnate, and was made Man, and suffer'd, and rose again the Third Day, and ascended into Heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost. But as for those, who affirm,*

* Here I think my self oblig'd to insert what, according to *Ruffinus*, he told them besides, on this Occasion. *Deus vos constituit Sacerdotes, & potestatem vobis dedit de nobis quoq; judicandi, &c.* God has Constituted and Ordained you his Priests, and has invested you with Authority to pass Judgment (in Spirituals) even upon us; and accordingly we ought to submit our selves, and we do so, to your Judgment. And since you stand exempt, (in your Spiritual Capacity) from the Judgment of all the World besides, you are referr'd to God himself, and your Differences left to be decided by him. For he has sent you to us with the Character of Gods; and it were absurd that the Concerns of Gods

should be brought before any Human Power, or indeed into any other Judicatory than that of God, who, as he has said, stands in the Congregation of Princes, and is a Judge among Gods. And therefore laying aside these Disputes, you are to settle Matters of Faith, and that with all good Temper and Meekness. This is a most valuable Monument and ample Testimony of that Fundamental Doctrine, the Independency of the Church, in her Spirituals, on the Secular Power; especially as it comes not only from one of the best and greatest of Princes, but from an Universal Monarch, and the first Christian Emperor.

That

That there was a Time when the Son of God was not, and that before he was begotten he was not, and that he was made out of nothing, or that he is of a different Substance or Essence, or that he is a Creature, or subject to Change or Alteration, they are Anathematiz'd by the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church.

THIS Faith was subscrib'd by Three Hundred
S. L. I. c. 20. and Eighteen Bishops. [Indeed Seventeen of the
 Fathers disagreed to it for some little Time,
T. L. I. c. 7. [among the rest *Menophantus* of *Ephesus*, *Patrophylus*
 of *Scythopolis*, and *Narcissus* of *Neronias*, or *Irenopolis*] but afterwards] there were only Five who excepted against
 it, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nicæa*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*,
Theonas of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*, * who made
 a great Noise against the Word *ἐμὸς* (*Consubstantial*) and
 refus'd to subscribe the Condemnation of *Arius*; where-
 upon the Council Anathematiz'd *Arius*, and all others of his
 Persuasion, prohibiting his Return to *Alexandria*; to which the
 Emperor joyn'd the Sentence of Banishment upon
S. L. 2. c. 21. *Arius*, *Eusebius*, and *Theognis*. [And tho' the first
 had been the Heresiarch, yet he was afterwards more
 especially concern'd in Honour to see it executed upon the two
 latter, because they were so sawcy as to provoke him with fresh
 Prevarications. For not long after the rising of the Council, 'tis
 said, they corrupted the Person, to whose Custody the Emperor
 had committed the Acts of it, and dash'd out their Subscriptions;
 and then publicly declar'd against the Doctrine of Consubstantiality;
 insomuch that the Story goes, *Eusebius* told the Emperor, *He could*
never persuade himself, if his Gown were rent asunder, that both
Parts were of the same Substance; neither were they asham'd at that
 Time to communicate with the Heterodox and Condemn'd Party.]
 An Example, which *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* could by no means follow,
 and therefore, tho' he continu'd some Time in Suspence, yet at last
 he subscrib'd the Creed, and sent it to his Church, with the Copy
 of another which himself had laid before the Council, and which
 (says *Theodorit*, *L. I. c. 7, 8.*) had been receiv'd with such Indig-
 nation by the Consubstantialists, that the Author was extreemly

* Tho' at length the three former brought to approve the Sentence against
 subscrib'd the Creed, but could not be *Arius*. *V. Vales. not. in Soz. L. I. c. 21.*

asham'd of his Error. It runs thus; *We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Creator of all Things Visible and Invisible: And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, * the first begotten of every Creature, begotten before all Ages, of God the Father, by whom all Things were made; who was Incarnate for our Salvation, and convers'd among Men; who suffer'd, and rose the Third Day, ascended to the Father, and shall come again with Glory to judge the Quick and the Dead. We believe also in one Holy Ghost. And we believe that every one of these is and subsists; the Father truly Father, the Son truly Son, and the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost; even as our Lord, when he sent his Disciples to Preach, said, Go ye and teach all Nations, baptizing them, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. As to all which we do affirm, that thus we hold and believe, and that thus, as we have formerly held, so we will constantly continue to hold unto Death, Anathematizing every impious Heresy.* His Letter inform'd them, ' That the Emperor declar'd, ' he approv'd this Creed, and wish'd all to acquiesce in it, with the ' Addition only of the Word *ὁμοούσιον* (Consubstantial) which toge- ' ther with the Words *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας* (of the Substance of the Father) ' being carefully and laboriously weigh'd and examin'd, and explain'd ' to signify (as it was known to have done amongst earlier Eccle- ' siastical Writers) *That the Son was of the Father, yet not so as to* ' *be a Part of the Father, and that his being Consubstantial with the* ' *Father signify'd no more than that the Son of God has no Similitude* ' *with the Creatures made by him, but that he is in all respects like* ' *unto the Father only, by whom he was begotten, and that he is of* ' *the Father, and of no other Substance or Essence, and therefore he* ' *had assented to this Doctrine, and to those Expressions, as his* ' *Brethren had done, after a most mature Deliberation and cautious* ' *Discussion; and that as for the Anathema annex to the Creed,* ' *he cou'd not but approve it, and look upon it as a very proper* ' *Expedient against that Abuse of unscriptural Terms, which had* ' *so frequently and lamentably embroil'd the Church. †*

C c

THIS

* *Πρωτόγονον πάντων τῆς κτίσεως.* This seems to be a very harsh Expression; but the Words immediately following set it very clear.

† The Annotator in his Note upon those Words *πεὶν ἐνεργεῖα γινώσκειναι.* Theodorit, L. 1. c. 12. will have them to be Heretical, and supposes Socrates omitted them

THIS Epistle, says *Theodorit*, he wrote in his own Vindication to a Knot of *Arians*, who, 'tis probable, charg'd him with Treachery and Foul-dealing, and it ought for ever to silence that sort of Men, who have the Impudence to challenge him, as a Patron of their Cause; notwithstanding he has declar'd himself so expressly for the Word *Consubstantial*; as he has elsewhere related the regular and considerate Proceedings of that sacred Assembly, and their * Unanimity in the Admission and Subscription of their Creed.

AT the same Time the Council sent an Epistle to the Church of *Alexandria*, and all the *Christians* of *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, to let them understand ' they had anathematiz'd *Arius's* Blasphemies, and his impious Terms and Phrases; that *Arius* had receiv'd his Condemnation and Sentence, and so likewise *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*; that they had depriv'd *Meletius* of his Episcopal Authority, reserving barely the Title to him, and confining him to the City where he had been Bishop; that as for others whom he had consecrated or ordain'd in his Schism, they had decreed their Consecrations and Ordinations should be confirm'd by the Imposition of Catholick Hands before they should be receiv'd to Communion; that then they should be reckon'd valid, but withal that such Bishops, Priests and Deacons should remain inferior ever after in Place and Honour to all such Bishops, &c. as had receiv'd their Ordinations from *Alexander*, and have Power to transact nothing without their Consent; but that nevertheless they should be capable of being elected into their Places as they became vacant, provided the Bishop of *Alexandria* should think fit to confirm the Election;

T. L. 1. c. 9. [(notwithstanding all which [*Meletius*, not long
S. L. 2. c. 2. after, had the Hardiness upon his Death-bed to ordain one *John*, who was intimate with him, to be his Successor; and] there is at this Day a Remnant of the same

them for that Reason. The Expression, I confess, is very improper and harsh, and *Socrates* probably not only thought it so, but that it was redundant too, with what else he has left out; as having, in effect, been said in the same Epistle before; but I think it will bear, and deserves a very

orthodox Construction, taken with the Words which immediately follow, *ὑν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγενήτως* where the Word *ἀγενήτως* ought to take off all Suspicion of heretical Meaning.

* V. the last Note but one, and *Vales.* Not. in *Theod. L. 1. c. 13.*

Combination

Combination; particularly there are the *Meletian* Monks, infamous for their Heterodoxy, and their *Samaritan* and *Jewish* Customs and Discipline).] Then the Council further acquainted them, 'that they had put an End to the Dispute concerning the Celebration of *Easter*, and that the *Eastern* Church were for the future to observe it at the same Time with the *Western*.' The Emperor also dispatch'd an Epistle to the Church of *Alexandria*, 'congratulating their Rescue from those blasphemous Heterodoxies, and dividing Principles, that had given them such Disturbance, and acquainting them how diligently and fully the Council had examin'd into Matters, what Blasphemies had been utter'd and urg'd by the Hereticks, and how unanimously the Fathers had agreed upon one Form and Declaration of Faith, in Opposition to the execrable *Arius*; pressing them withal immediately to settle again into a perfect Union and Communion in the Profession of that Faith, which carrying the Seal and Attestation of so many religious and intelligent Bishops, assembled in Council, * he look'd upon as the Determination of God himself; and lastly, requiring them so to hasten and compleat their Unity and Concord, that, at his Arrival among them, he and they might join their Voices, as one, in an harmonious Acknowledgment and Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the Re-establishment of their Peace.' Beside this, the Emperor sent abroad several other Epistles upon the same Occasion; one directed to the several Bishops and People of the Catholick Church, obliging them to fix the Name of *Porphyrians* upon *Arius* and his Followers, and to prevent the Infection's descending to Posterity, [as the Council *S. L. I. c. 21.* had condemn'd and set a Mark of Infamy upon his peculiar Terms and Phrases, and his blasphemous Books, particularly his Poem intitled, *Thalia*;] so the Emperor commanded all Persons that had any of his Compositions in their Hands, to burn them; upon Peril of forfeiting their Lives if they conceal'd them. And he dismiss'd another, acquainting his good Subjects, 'That

* So *Ruffinus*, (*L. I. c. 5.*) *Defertur ad Constantinum sacerdotalis concilii sententia. Ille tanquam a Deo prolatam veneratur. Cui si quis tentasset obniti, velut contra divina statuta venientem, in exilium se protestatur acturum.* The Determination of the Council was presented to the Emperor, who receiv'd it with great Reverence as the Act of God; and solemnly

declar'd, whosoever should presume to withstand it, he would send him into Banishment for opposing himself to God's Decrees. Not that it was an infallible Determination; but, because being found agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, it had been promulg'd and ratify'd by the sacred Authority of a general Council.

‘ a general Council having been conven’d by him for the establiſhing
 ‘ a right Uniformity and Conſonancy in the Faith and Diſcipline of
 ‘ the Church, they had determin’d that the Feſtivity of *Eaſter*
 ‘ (eſpecially being the Day on which we commemorate the great
 ‘ and triumphant Argument of our own Reſurrection and Immor-
 ‘ tality) ſhould be every where obſerv’d upon the ſame Day ; that
 ‘ they had rejected the Rule of the *Jewiſh* Calendar, not only as it
 ‘ was found to diſagree with the Practice and Preſcription of the
 ‘ earlieſt Times of *Chriſtianity*, but becauſe it ſeem’d very impro-
 ‘ per that *Chriſtians* ſhould be directed in this Matter by the Uſage
 ‘ of that very People, who crucify’d their Saviour ; and being
 ‘ abandon’d, for that accuſed Parricide, to the utmoſt Degree
 ‘ of Folly and Madneſs, have ſince combin’d to celebrate two
 ‘ Paſſovers every Year ; that our Bleſſed Lord had left us the
 ‘ Remembrance of that very Day in which he purchas’d his
 ‘ Church upon the Croſs, and withal his Pleaſure that his Church
 ‘ ſhould be perfectly uniform and united ; that it was irregu-
 ‘ lar and indecent, ſome Churches ſhould be faſting while others
 ‘ were feaſting ; that it had therefore been decreed, the Feſtival of
 ‘ *Eaſter* ſhould be obſerv’d according to the Inſtitution which had
 ‘ obtain’d in all the Weſtern, Southern, and Northern Parts of the
 ‘ World, and in ſome of the Eaſtern too ; that this Reſolution of the
 ‘ Council was ſupported, not only by the Practice of a Majority of
 ‘ Churches, but by the Reaſon of the Thing ; it being no leſs for the
 ‘ Honour and Advantage of the Church, that all the Parts of her
 ‘ ſhould act conſiſtently with one another in this Inſtance, than that
 ‘ ſhe ſhould not take her Meaſures in fixing the Time of ſo great
 ‘ a Solemnity from the Practice of Infidels ; that it was their Duty
 ‘ to communicate this Decree of the Council to one another, and to
 ‘ conform themſelves to it, the Reſolutions of ſuch Aſſemblies
 ‘ being venerable and ſacred ; and that he promis’d himſelf the
 ‘ Happineſs of finding all Churches, where-ever his Occaſions ſhould
 ‘ hereafter call him, comporting themſelves accordingly.’

[ABOUT the ſame time he was pleas’d to iſſue
 T. L. c. II. out his Orders to the *Prefecti-Prætorio*, for diſtri-
 buting annually a very conſiderable Quantity of
 Corn, in the reſpective Cities under their Care, to ſuch Virgins,
 Widows, or other Perſons whatſoever as had devoted themſelves
 to any ſacred Miniſtrations.]

LET

I

LET us here annex three other Epistles of *Constantine* (the first of them written before the Council of Nice) One to the Bishops of every Province, informing them, 'that as he was sensible how much some Churches were out of Repair, and how meanly others were built, either through the Negligence, or Iniquity of the Times; so it was his Pleasure that the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons should take Care that the old Churches be now well repair'd; and new ones erected where they should see it convenient; and that he had sent Orders to the Governors of Provinces and his *Prefecti-Prætorio* to be assisting to the Bishops in whatever Service, and furnish on his Account whatever Money or Materials they should apply to them for upon this Occasion.

HE wrote another to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, where he tells him, 'that in regard of the numerous Increase of Converts to Christianity in the City of *Constantinople*, as he thought it expedient that there should be more Churches built there, so he requires him to get fifty Copies of the Holy Scriptures wrote out by the best Transcribers, in a very legible Character and commodious Volume for the publick Use; that he had directed the Treasurer of the Province to defray the Charge of this Work, and wish'd it might be done with all Expedition; that he expected to see the Copies when they were finish'd, and assign'd him the Use of two publick Carriages for the Conveyance of them; and lastly order'd him to entrust them with one of his Deacons, whom he would not fail to gratify.

ANOTHER he wrote to [the excellent] *Macarius*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, [and Successor to *Hermonas*,] *T. L. 1. c. 3.* wherein he expresses, 'His great Surprize and Joy at *T. L. 1. c. 3.* the finding of our Saviour's Cross; and his Zeal and Ambition to adorn the Place, where it was found, with a magnificent Temple, not only forasmuch as God had sanctify'd it to himself from the Beginning, and more eminently in the latter Days, by the Death of his Son; but also to atone for prophaning it formerly, as he had done by placing an Idol there; and recommends to his Care the Conduct and Direction of the Work; which he desires may be most august and splendid, having sent his Orders to *Dracelian* his chief Deputy, to provide the best Artificers,

‘ Artificers, Materials, &c. for the Building Part, and requiring
 ‘ the Bishop to see nothing be wanting to make the Ornamental
 ‘ answerable.

BESIDE these, he wrote Letters, in a declamatory Form and Stile,
 to all the Cities of the Empire against *Arius* and his
 S. L. I. c. 21. Followers; and particularly to the *Nicomeditans* [and
Niceans] against *Eusebius* and *Theognis*; especially
 exposing ‘ the Wickedness of the former, not only as being a
 ‘ Patron of *Arius* then, but * as having been for-
 T. L. I. c. 20. ‘ merly a Traytor to his *Prince*, [not only as a
 ‘ Corrupter of the Faith, but a Persecutor of the
 ‘ Church; and taking Notice how irregularly he had intruded into
 ‘ the Church of *Nicomedia*, and of the Determinations of the great
 ‘ Council against him and *Theognis*, which yet had been so gentle
 ‘ as not to affect them upon their better Behaviour; he lets them
 ‘ further understand, how much they had abus’d this Clemency,
 ‘ and what Contempt they had put both upon that sacred Assembly
 ‘ and himself, and that therefore he had given Orders for their
 ‘ Banishment]; and concludes with advising the Elec-
 S. L. I. c. 21. ‘ tion of other Bishops in their Room, [declaring he
 ‘ would shew no Mercy to any body that should
 ‘ presume to adhere to the Principles and Communion of the former,
 ‘ in Opposition to such orthodox Successors.]’ But to turn our Eyes
 again to the Council of *Nice*.

THE Emperor [hoping it might conduce to that
 S. L. I. c. 22. general Union which he propos’d] most graciously
 condescended to summon thither one *Aceus*, a *Novat-
 ian* Bishop, and upon enquiring whether he concurr’d with the
 Council in their Declaration of Faith, and Resolution concerning
 the Observation of *Easter*, and his Answer, that he assented to
 both, as being establish’d upon Apostolical Authority and Practice,
 he further demanded, *Why then he maintain’d a separate Commu-
 nion?* *Aceus*, in reply, insisted on the Miscarriages in the *Decian*

* *Valesius*, in his last Note upon the
 20th Chapter of *Theodorit*, B. I. would
 clear *Eusebius* from this Charge, as having
 been at that time *Licinius*’s Subject; but

this will by no means justify him, till it
 be prov’d that *Licinius* did not hold his
 Dominions in Dependence on *Constantine*.

Persecution, and the Irremissibleness of Apostacy (as being the Sin which the Scripture calls *a Sin unto Death*) by the Hands of God's Ministers, whatever might be hop'd from his extraordinary Mercy, [and that it must be unlawful to administer *Christ's* Body and Blood to Sinners in that Condition, or to communicate with them:] At this the Emperor bid him *set up his Ladder, and climb to Heaven by himself*. This Relation, (says *Socrates*) *Eusebius*, and all other Historians have omitted; but it was communicated to me by an ancient Person, one *Auxanon*, a *Novatian*, who was then present in the Council.

WHERE it was also brought under Consideration, whether they should not oblige all Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons and Sub-deacons, that had been marry'd before they were ordain'd, * to debar themselves the common Liberty of the matrimonial Estate: And the Council seem'd dispos'd to pass such a Canon; had it not been prevented by the Arguments of *Paphnutius*, a Bishop in the higher *Thebais*, [and an unmarried Man.] *S. L. I. c. 23*. He told them, *This would be to impose a heavy Yoke upon the Necks of the Clergy; that such a Restraint would turn to*

* *Valesius*, in his Note upon *Soz. L. I. c. 23*. gives us a Caution against understanding those Words *ὅν ἔχουσιν γυναῖκας μὴ κοιμῆσαι*, as if the Bishops and Clergy had been all along oblig'd to abstain from the conjugal Bed, tho' they were allow'd to cohabit. All the Authority he affords us for this Distinction is from *Epiphanius*, to which it is sufficient to answer, waving all other Exceptions and Arguments, that as that Father's *τὰ κατὰ ἀποδοχὴν περαιτέρως* ought to be interpreted, as the Sequel discovers (*V. Expos. Fidei Sect. 23*.) of such Rules and Exercises of Discipline as respected only particular Persons, and were left voluntarily to them; so his *τὰ ἐν προτάγματι* were such Institutions and Injunctions as affected only particular Churches, those, for Instance, that either held themselves bound in Duty, or chose to conform to the Canons of the Councils of *Eliberis*, *Ancyra*, *Neocæsarea*, &c. For if those Injunctions had been suppos'd to oblige universally; what Occasion could there be for starting in the Council of *Nice* the Proposal here spoken of? Much more, how came the Holy Con-

fessor to oppose it? And that too upon such Principles, and with such Objections as make no less against any Obligation to Celibacy in general? Now it is most evident from *Socrates*, that the *μὴ κοιμῆσαι* must refer to the Bed; for that Historian founds the Reasonableness, Impartiality, and Conveniency of what was urg'd to that Purpose, as it came from *Paphnutius*, upon this very Character of him, that he was *ἀτρεὲς γάμοι, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπὼν γυναῖκα, an unmarried Man, and absolutely a Stranger to female Embraces*, and *ἐπὶ σεβασμῷ περιεστῆς*, celebrated for his Continence: And that *Paphnutius* understood the Restraint which he oppos'd, to be that which I assert it to be, is plain from urging this Text, *Marriage is honorable in all, and the BED UNDEFILED*. Is it not strange the Annotator should have overlook'd or slighted all this? But is it not yet more surprizing that he should forget, in the reading of twelve Lines, so clear and full a Disproof of his Notion as the Words *μὴ συγκαθεύδω*? which *Sozomen* says was the very Thing propos'd in the Council.

the

the Church's Prejudice; that it was laying a Snare in the way both of the Man and Woman, which would in many Cases prove fatal; that conjugal Embraces were very chaste and pure; and it might suffice to let the ancient Ecclesiastical Usage prevail, that the marry'd Clergy should not marry a second time: And these Considerations prevail'd.

This *Paphnutius* was a very good Man, and had wrought several Miracles. [In *Maximin's* Persecution he had lost his right Eye, and the Use of his left Leg by being cut in the Sinews under the Ham] and was therefore dear to his present Majesty, who would frequently kiss the Socket of the Eye that had been thrust out.

T. L. 1. c. 11. [A remarkable Method, by which this excellent Emperor hoped to derive upon himself an uncommon Benediction. The same he would do to others of the Confessors that were then at *Nice*. For besides *Paphnutius*, there were alive, and present in that divine Assembly, many venerable Worthies that had suffer'd for the Faith; particularly *James*, Bishop of *Nisibus*, whom God had empower'd to restore the Dead, and to work many other Miracles. There was also *Paul*, Bishop of *Neocæsarea*, who, under the Tyranny of *Licinius*, had been sing'd and disabled in the Joints and Sinews of both his Hands with a red hot Iron.]

AT this Time liv'd *Spyridon*, Bishop of *Trimitus* in *Cyprus*; of whom there are many remarkable Things reported, particularly these following.

BEING a Man of a very charitable and publick Spirit, he permitted those that wanted to fetch Corn or Fruit at any Time, without troubling themselves to ask him, out of a Granary he left open for them, upon Condition those who only borrow'd, should honestly restore as much as they took. One of his Neighbours designing to cheat him, brought him a Return of Provisions he had only borrow'd out of his Granary. *Spyridon* refus'd to take it himself, and bid him carry it, as other People did, to the common Stock. Upon which the Borrower pretended to go and leave it there, but carry'd it home; and some Time after came to *Spyridon*, and desir'd him to accommodate him again. *Spyridon* bid him go to the Granary, and take as much as he would. Accordingly he went, and finding it empty, return'd to the good Man and inform'd him of it. *Spyridon* told him, he wonder'd he should be the first Man that

that complain'd there was nothing left ; and wish'd him to look once more ; for that he was confident he would find what he wanted, unless he had forgot to restore what he had borrow'd : And then the Man confess'd his own Knavery. This Bishop was so scrupulously severe in every Thing and Word relating to Religion, that *Triphyllius*, the eloquent Bishop of *Nicosia*, happening in his Sermon, when he quoted that Text, *Arise, take up thy Bed, and walk*, to use the Word *οκίμωδα* (*thy Flock-bed*) instead of *κεδῆ-βατον* (*thy Bed*) *Spyridon* took him up very sharply, and ask'd him, *Whether he pretended to word that Command better than the Author of it?* Which, as vain and arrogant as his oratorical Faculty had made *Triphyllius* before, sufficiently mortify'd and humbled him ; especially coming from such a venerable, celebrated old Man. On the other hand ; he was so free from Superstition and fantastical Scruples, that when a certain Traveller came to bait with him in the Time of the quadragesimal Fast, and he had neither Bread nor Meal in the House, nor any thing else but a piece of Pork in the Brine, he order'd his Daughter to dress it ; and his Guest refusing to eat of it, because he was a *Christian*, he did not only set him the Example himself, but told him the Reason which he gave rather oblig'd him to eat of it, because *to the Clean all Things are clean*.

BEFORE he came to the spiritual Pastorship he was a Country Shepherd, and still attended the same Employment afterwards. One Night some Thieves went to steal some of his Sheep, but were not able to get out again, an invisible Power tying them fast to the Folds ; where finding them in the Morning, after he had address'd himself to God upon this Occasion, and admonish'd the Offenders to earn and not to steal their Victuals, especially when they might have it for asking, he set them at Liberty, and gave them a Ram, telling them merrily, *There was their Wages for their hard watching*. Another Story of him is this. His Daughter, whose Name was *Irene*, having receiv'd something of a very great Value to keep for a Friend, bury'd it, and soon after dy'd. The Owner returning challeng'd it at her Father's Hands with all the Importunity and Vehemence imaginable. Hereupon the Father went to his Daughter's Grave, and there besought the Divine Majesty, that she might rise at this Time to Life, before the great Day ; which accordingly she did, and having shew'd her Father the Place where she had hid the Treasure, expir'd again. This I have heard affirm'd by several
D d Cyprians,

Cyprians, and *Ruffinus* the Historian tells us the same ; whose Memoirs I shall presently have Occasion to make further use of.

EUTYCHIANUS,* of the *Novatian* Communion, but, yet, a Man of great Sanctity, was Co-temporary with these, and receiv'd into an Intimacy with the Emperor. *Auxanon*, a *Novatian* Presbyter, who communicated what I have related about *Acesius*, gave me many Years since an Account of several Miracles *Eutybianus* had done ; and this very memorable one amongst the rest. One of the Emperor's Guards, suspected to be in a Conspiracy, had made his Escape ; but was apprehended and laid in Irons, near the Place of *Eutybianus*'s Retirement ; where he was very serviceable in the Neighbourhood, both as a Divine and a Physician, and where *Auxanon*, then a Youth, liv'd with him, and was instructed by him in the Institutions of the Monastick Life. Upon this Accident a general Application was made to *Eutybianus*, to obtain his Intercession for the Prisoner with the Emperor, who was no Stranger to the Fame of *Eutybianus*'s Miracles. The Monk promis'd he would go to the Emperor ; and in the mean Time, understanding that probably the Prisoner must die under the Weight and Torture of his Chains, before the Time of his Execution or Reprieve, sent a Message to his Keepers, beseeching them to take off his Irons. Their Answer was, *They durst not*. Whereupon *Eutybianus*, with *Auxanon*, came to the Prison ; and the Keepers refusing him Admittance, the Doors of the Prison spread themselves open, and he was no sooner enter'd, but the Prisoner's Chains, without further Trouble, fell from him. After this, *Eutybianus*, with his Companion, went to *Constantinople*, and easily obtain'd the Offender's Pardon.

[IN the same Reign liv'd that famous Ascetick, *S. L. 1. c. 13*, the great *Antonius*, with whom the Emperor cultivated a religious Friendship and Correspondence. 14.

His Father and Mother dying when he was yet very young, he dispos'd of a good Estate which they left him, to charitable Uses, and publick Benefactions, and then retir'd to the Solitude of a Wilderness, where he impos'd upon himself a very austere Course of Life, and dedicated all his Thoughts and Time to the

* This shews our Historian had a Kindness for the *Novatians*.

subduing of his Appetites and Passions, and acquiring those Virtues and excellent Qualities, by which he might render himself not only acceptable, but useful to Mankind. And indeed, as he at all Times contributed his best Endeavours towards a Redress of Grievances, for the Injur'd or Oppress'd; interposing his Interest and Authority, which was very considerable, with the Magistrates and governing Men; so he was very fortunate and dextrous at composing private Animosities and Quarrels, and at smoothing and softening the Tempers of those who convers'd with him. He was illiterate; but yet a very instructive and prudent Man, obliging and entertaining, unapprehensive of Distress or Danger; not at all impatient of Contradiction or Impertinence, and so conformable and resign'd to the whole Will of God, that it pleas'd the Divine Goodness to vouchsafe him the Gift of Fore-knowledge and Prediction, and the Power of casting out Devils. He fought (says *Socrates*, L. 1. c. 21.) very frequently, in the literal Sense, with Demons, that presented themselves in visible Appearances and Forms. He was a very great Enemy to Idleness, and he urg'd it for a standing Rule, that whoever seriously resolv'd upon a regular and pious Life, ought every Morning and Night to examine what had been his Behaviour so many Hours, and to write down his Miscarriages, that he might be the more ashamed when he beheld the Number of them, and withal the more cautious, for fear his Catalogue should fall into the Hands of other People. He was particularly devoted and dear to *Athanasius*. Among a Multitude of his Disciples (for they were very numerous, and kept up a Succession in *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Palestine*, *Syria* and *Arabia*) one of the most eminent (and indeed for working Miracles, and Exorcising, more remarkable than *Anthony* himself) was *Paul*, surnam'd the *Simple*, who had such a Command of his Passions, that surprizing his Wife in the very Act of Adultery, he only smil'd, and vow'd he would live with her no longer, and so having recommended her to her Gallant, he withdrew to *Anthony*, and put himself under his Discipline, which, notwithstanding the Rigour of it, and the Man's great Age, he was in a little Time as well train'd and reconcil'd to, as if he had been long acquainted with it. At the same Time liv'd *Ammon*, another famous Hermit. He was a marry'd Man, but with the Consent of his Wife had slept always apart from her; and at length, when by his Example she became as fond as himself of all the Hardships that attend an Ascetic Life, and propos'd their living separately, he left his House to her, and fix'd himself in a Place of Solitude, near the Lake

Mareotis, from whence he went twice every Year to see his Wife, and where he presided over all the Asceticks in those Parts, and had many Disciples. The *Egyptian* Monks have a Tradition, that when he and *Theodorus*, upon a Journey, came to a large Dike which stopp'd them, *Ammon* desir'd *Theodorus* to stand aloof while he stript himself to wade through it, but that even then he found his Modesty such, that he could not dispense with seeing himself naked: Upon which he was rais'd from the Ground by some Celestial Power, and carry'd to the opposite Bank. There goes another Story of him, that a Man and a Woman bringing their Son to him to be cur'd of the Biting of a mad Dog, he bad them restore an Ox they had stolen to the right Owners, and their Son should recover; and so their Son did, when the Parents had perform'd the Condition. 'Tis reported, that just at that Instant when *Ammon* dy'd, *Anthony* (who was at the Distance of a very long Journey from him) was observ'd to direct his Looks with great Earnestness and Surprise towards Heaven, and told those that were about him, when they enquired the Meaning of it, that he saw the Spirit of *Ammon* carry'd up into Heaven with a Chorus of Angels singing Divine Songs before it; nor was it long ere Information came, that *Ammon* expir'd in that very Hour.

AND here, as a proper place to give the Reader a general Idea of the Monastick or Ascetick Discipline; some *S. L. I. c. 12.* derive its Original from *Elias* the Prophet, and *John* the Baptist; others from *Philo's Therapeutæ*, suppos'd to be a Body of *Jewish* Converts that were inclin'd to retain their Judaical Way of Life; and others ascribe the Beginning of it to the Persecutions which drove so many Christians to the Mountains, Wilderesses, and Woods, and obliged them to take up their Residence there. The Philosophy of it is unconcern'd with Logick and the Liberal Sciences, and with every thing else which does not immediately and naturally tend to the Eradication of Vice, and the Acquisition of the most Heroick Vertues. It makes it Criminal and Flagitious, to advance no farther than the Negative Duties in Christian Practice; and yet it abhors the least Degree of Conceitedness, Ostentation, or Hypocrisy. 'Tis employ'd in exercising the Dominion of Reason as absolutely as it can over the Passions and Appetites, and in weaning its Professors from even the ordinary Satisfactions and Refreshments of Life; in fortifying them
to

to Chearfulness itself, against Contumely and Contempt, against Sickness and Indigence; in a Word, against all Injuries and Misfortunes; in disposing and qualifying them, not by Lustrations, or Sprinklings, or any such Ceremonies, but by Purity of Mind, and the Practice of Moral Virtue, for the more intense Contemplation of Divine Objects, and the Practice of a Genuine and Exalted Devotion: And as it enjoins them a peculiar Simplicity and Sanctity, so it obliges them to a steady Integrity and Veracity, to Regularity and Frugality, to Hospitality and Works of Charity, to all the Offices of Humanity, and Friendship, and good Neighbourhood, particularly to the honest and sober Information, and the dispassionate and decent Reprehension or Admonition of those who submit themselves to their Instruction, or enjoy their Acquaintance.] But now 'tis high time to return to the Affairs of the Church.

THE Fathers, in the Council of *Nice*, having added to their Determinations several other Canons [and *S. L. 1. c. 25.* received many Kindnesses and Presents from the Emperor, together with his earnest Persuasions to good Agreement and Unity, and his Commands, that they should pray for himself, his Children, and his Empire] return'd to their respective Homes. A Catalogue of their Names is to be seen in *Athanasius's Synodicus*; and it begins with these; *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*; *Vito* and *Vincentius* Presbyters of *Rome*: *Alexander* Metropolitan of *Ægypt*, *Eustathius* of the greater *Antioch*, *Macarius* of *Jerusalem*, *Harpocratio* of *Cynopolis*, &c. They met upon the Twentieth of *May*, in the Consulat of *Paulinus* and *Julian*. And when they had broke up, the Emperor took a Progress into the West.

AFTERWARDS *Eusebius* and *Theognis* sent their Recantations to the * Metropolitans of the Catholick Church; upon which by the Emperor's Order they were recall'd from Banishment, and Reinstated in their Bishopricks, into which *Amphion* and *Chrestus* had been Ordain'd. The Substance of their Recantation was this; ' That as it was their Duty to submit to the Sentence Synodically

* Τοῖς κορυφαίοις ἢ ἐπισκόποις; not to the Bishop of *Rome* only, but to the Five Patriarchs, or rather all the Metropolitans.

‘ pass’d upon them, notwithstanding they had not been allow’d to
 ‘ make their Defence; so to defeat and confute all Calumnies,
 ‘ which their Silence might otherwise seem to confirm, they hereby
 ‘ acquainted them, that, after mature Deliberation, they entirely
 ‘ concur’d with them in the Consubstantial Faith; and tho’ they
 ‘ had hitherto declin’d to subscribe the Condemnation of *Arius*,
 ‘ upon a Persuasion that he was misrepresented, yet now they were
 ‘ very willing to do it: not out of any Impatience to be restor’d,
 ‘ but to clear themselves of all Suspicion of Heresy: Lastly, That
 ‘ they hop’d they might be permitted, as *Arius* himself had
 ‘ been, to return, and besought the Bishops to reconcile the
 ‘ Emperor to them.

SOON after dy’d *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*,
 S. L. I. c. 18. [of whose great Piety and Zeal for the Orthodox
 Faith as we have said much already, so we must
 not omit that remarkable Instance of God’s especial and indulgent
 Favour to him; That when the *Gentil* Philosophers complain’d to
 the Emperor, that the Bishop introduc’d a new Religion, and
 demanded a Disputation with him; at the Emperor’s Command,
 he, tho’ a Stranger to their Sophistry, accepted the Challenge,
 and as soon as their first Disputant was now ready to open his
 Mouth, he thus prevented him, *In the Name of Jesus Christ I*
command thee not to speak; which Anticipation had that Effect, that
 immediately the Man lost the Use of his Tongue.

S. L. 2. c. 17. *Alexander* was succeeded by *Athanasius*, [whom
 upon his Death-Bed he nam’d for his Successor,
 according to those Directions (says *Apollinaris* the Syrian) which he
 receiv’d immediately from Heaven, but, it seems, so much against
Athanasius’s Inclination, that he got out of the Way, and was not to
 be found when called for; upon which Occasion *Alexander* utter’d
 those Prophetical Words; *O Athanasius, you think you have escap’d;*
but you shall not find it so. The *Arians* have a Story, that, upon
 the Death of *Alexander*, the Catholics and *Meletians* communicated
 with one another, and that Fifty-four Bishops, out of *Thebais* and
Ægypt, bound themselves by an Oath not to admit any Person for
Alexander’s Successor, but by a free and common Election; and
 yet that Seven of these Bishops, contrary to their Oath, ordain’d
Athanasius, without the Privy and against the Intentions of the
 rest. But the very Character and Qualifications of this great Man are
 alone

alone enough * to confute their idle Calumny.] When he was a Child (says *Ruffinus*) he and his Play-Fellows had a Fancy to form a little Society, in Imitation of the Sacerdotal College; and *Athanasius* was their young Bishop. It happen'd, that, as the Children were very busy at these Exercises upon the Day of the Commemoration of the Martyrdom of *Peter* late Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Alexander* took Notice of them, and conceiving that the Combination presag'd something extraordinary, order'd they should be educated for the Service of the Church; [and had *S. L. 2. c. 17.* such a Regard to their Ministration (which he found exactly to answer that of the Church) that understanding *Athanasius* had been baptizing some uninitiated Children, he, with the Advice of his Clergy, determin'd against the rebaptizing them, and that it should suffice to have the Baptism ratify'd and compleated in the Part that requir'd Sacerdotal Authority] But he was more especially solicitous to have *Athanasius* carefully bred up, whom he afterwards, when he had first ordain'd him Deacon, [and made him his Arch-Deacon,] carry'd *T. L. 1. c. 26.* along with him, for his Companion and Assistant, to the Council of *Nice*.

WHICH was no sooner separated, but the Emperor, now at Ease, address'd himself to the rebuilding of the Christian Churches, and to the enlarging, fortifying, adorning and enriching of *Constantinople*, till then call'd *Byzantium*; to which, when he had made it equal to the Old, he gave the Name of *New-Rome* by an Edict. [His singular Affection *S. L. 2. c. 3.* to this City is accounted for, by *Sozomen*, from a miraculous *Recommendation*; For, that Historian tells us, he mark'd out the Ground for the Compass of a Noble City, which was to bear his Name, and rival Old *Rome*, upon the Plains near *Ilium*, and in the Ground where the *Grecian* Forces once lay; and that he had already built the Gates; but was commanded by *Christ* in a Vision to reserve his Design for another Place, which, he was told, must be *Byzantium*. Here he erected several Churches, which God was pleas'd to signalize by many extraordinary and miraculous Manifestations. Here he built the Church of *St. Irene* and that of the *Apostles*. But the most remarkable of those sacred Structures was

* See the Synodical Epistle of the *Egyptian* Bishops to all Bishops of the Catholick Church, appeal'd to by *St. Athanasius* in his 2d Apology against the *Arians*, where this Lye is sufficiently expos'd. *Vales. Not. upon the Place.*

that of *St. Michael*, so call'd from the Archangel, who is said to have appear'd in the Place where it stands. That this Church is honour'd with a more immediate Presence of the Divine Majesty, appears from several astonishing Instances. I myself, says *Sozomen*, am a Witness and an Argument of the extraordinary Mercies vouchsafed in that Place; and my Friend *Aquilinus* is another; who being reduc'd to a very dangerous Condition by the yellow Jaundice, in so much that none of the Physicians could give him any further Advice, order'd his Servants to carry him into that Church; where, as he was sleeping, he was directed in a Vision to dip whatever he eat into a Composition of Honey, Wine and Pepper: And this Prescription, as contrary as it was to the Methods of the Physicians, perfectly recover'd him. There likewise *Probianus*, one of the Emperor's Physicians, labouring under Extremity of Torment with the Gout, receiv'd, as himself inform'd me, not only a State of Ease and good Health, but a Conviction * in one Particular, which till then he had not credited; and it was this, that the Symbol of the Cross could be so serviceable either to Angels or holy Men in the Benefits wrought by miraculous Operations at their Hands. As to which he was better inform'd by a † Vision of an Angel, pointing to the § Cross in the Altar Piece.

NOR was the Emperor less intent upon the glorious Work of exterminating Gentilism, and assigning the Images of the Gods and the Furniture of their Temples to the ornamental Part of the publick Places of the City. And *Christianity* prevail'd and spread apace.

IN Honour to the great Founder whereof, *Helena*, his Imperial Majesty's Mother, upon an Admonition in a Dream
T. L. I. c. 18. from Heaven, took a Journey [in her old Age] to
S. L. 2. c. 1. the Ruins of the City of *Jerusalem*, to find out our Saviour's Sepulchre, [which it had been almost impossible for her to do, but either by the means of some extraordi-

* That the Sign of the Cross was us'd in those Days, especially upon such extraordinary and astonishing Occasions, we have no manner of Reason to doubt or deny; but there is no Necessity therefore to infer from this Passage, that that Ceremony had any Efficacy in itself, or that it was

apply'd or valu'd in any other than a figurative or relative Meaning.

† So I translate *ὡς ἔειπεν*.

§ He does not say the Crucifix, nor the Cross standing on the Altar. *Valsius* acknowledges it was not the same as is now plac'd on the Altars of the *Romish* Communion. See his last Note on this Chapter.

nary Direction from Above, or, as others will have it, by the Assistance of a certain *Jew*, who met with the Discovery among the Records of his Family ;] for the Infidels had heretofore block'd up the Entrance into it, and built a Temple over it, which they consecrated to *Venus*, in their Malice against the *Christians*, who frequented it with all due Expressions of Reverence ; and, if possible, to extinguish the very Name and Remembrance of the Place. In it there were found three Crosses, with the Table carrying the Supercription of *Pilate*, and the Nails that fasten'd our Saviour's Hands and Feet ; which were afterwards by the Emperor's Order form'd into a Helmet, and the Curb of a Bridle, for his Use in War. 'Twas yet uncertain which of the three was the Cross of *Christ*, 'till *Macarius*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, having pray'd to God, that he would vouchsafe a Discovery of it, [and told the Spectators by what miraculous Effect *S. L. 2. c. 1.* they should immediately obtain it,] order'd the three Crosses to be apply'd, one after another, to the Body of a sick Woman, who was just at that Time in the Article of expiring : And after two of them, upon which the Thieves had suffer'd, had been try'd without any Effect, the third was no sooner brought to her, but she was immediately restor'd to her former Health and Vigour. [And 'tis said a dead Man was *S. L. 2. c. 1.* brought to Life again by the same Expedient.] *T. L. 1. c. 16.* Hereupon * the Empress, [after the execrable Temple of *Venus* had been demolish'd, and the polluted Ground upon which it stood, carry'd off to a great Distance from the City, by the Emperor's express Order] erected a very magnificent Church upon the Place of the Sepulchre, where she left part of the Wood of the Cross for publick View, and sent the rest of it to her Son ; by whom it was repositied within his own Statue in the *Forum Constantini* at *Constantinople*. This is what I have heard, and the *Constantinopolitans* assert it to be true : [And *S. L. 2. c. 1.* *Sozomen* avers it from a constant, authentick, and general Tradition, both written and unwritten.] After the Em-

* I call her Empress upon a Persuasion that she had been marry'd to *Constantius* ; the Proofs of which, if the Reader would see laid together, let him consult *Baronius*, *Ann. 306. N. 17, 18, 19.* Besides *Suspitius*

Severus says, that she reign'd as Empress along with her Son, *Augusta cum filio conregnabat*, and presently after gives her the Title of *Regina*. *Hist. S. L. 2.*

prefs had built this Church, (the Materials whereof his Majesty supply'd as his Part in so glorious a Work) she built another upon the Place at *Bethlehem*, where *Christ* was born, and a third upon the Mountain, from whence he ascended. She delighted in exercising her Liberality, and expressing her Deference to the Church, and to all those, particularly of her own Sex, that had any way a Share in the Ministrations or OEconomy of it ;
S. L. 2. c. 2. [inasmuch, that during her Stay at *Jerusalem*, she invited the Holy Virgins there to an Entertainment, and waited at the Table, and performed all the Offices of a menial Servant.] She was no less charitable to the Neccessitous, and tender towards the Distress'd and Afflicted. She dy'd in the Eightieth Year of her Age, (or thereabouts) and was interr'd at *Constantinople*.

MEAN TIME the Emperor address'd himself, more and more vigorously, to eradicating the Gentil Superstitions
S. L. 2. c. 5. and Institutions ; [and he pursu'd this Work, tho' not in a violent and hostile, yet in such a resolute and authoritative Way, that the People submitted very humbly and readily to his Commands for fear of his Displeasure, and the Priests and Officers of the Temples set open the Doors of all their mysterious Cells and Labyrinths, and, of their own Accord, produc'd the Images of their Gods ; which were partly melted down and coin'd into Money, and partly carry'd to *Constantinople*, to adorn that City.] He remov'd the *Cubitus Nili* or Instrument that was us'd to measure the Rising of the *Nile*, from the Temple of *Serapis* to the Church of *Alexandria*, and so shew'd the Mistake, not only for that Year, but ever since, of those superstitious People, who gave out, that *Serapis's* Anger would not let the River overflow. At the same Time his Thoughts and Zeal were more and more employ'd in erecting Churches in several Places
S. L. 1. c. 3. [especially in the greater Cities, as at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, and at *Antioch* upon the *Orontes* ;] from which Care he could not be diverted by the Irruption of the *Sarmatians* and *Goths* into the *Roman Empire*. These, under the Banner of the Cross, he entirely defeated ; and his Success so astonish'd them, and fill'd them with such an Awe and Admiration of the Means, that they readily embrac'd the *Christian* Religion. At *Membre* (mention'd *Gen. xviii.*) he built another Church in the
Room

Room of the Altars which the Heathens had built there ; [it having been a Place much frequented both *S. L. 2. c. 4.* by them and the *Jews*, and polluted by many unhal-
low'd Myſteries and Practices, particularly by the Adorations of the Heathens to the Angels.] Another he rais'd at *Heliopolis*, where he introduc'd *Chriſtianity*, after he had reform'd the deteſtable Manners of the People ; among whom Community of Wives was eſtabliſh'd, by Law, and the Proſtitution of their Virgins, by immemorial Cuſtom. He put an End to the like abominable Practices among the *Aphaci*, demolifhing their famous Temple of *Venus* ; and to the Oracle in *Cilicia*, whoſe Temple he alſo deſtroy'd, [and took Care in general to have thoſe *S. L. 2. c. 5, 6.* Edifices every where defac'd and neglected. By theſe and the like Methods he ſo expos'd the Folly and Emptineſs of Heatheniſm, and ſo prepar'd his unbelieving Subjects for conſulting their own true Intereſt more ſoberly, and inquiring into the Merits of the Cauſe more impartially, and attending to the Informations and Inſtructions of the Biſhops and Monks more diligently and chearfully (not to mention the miraculous and extraordinary Convictions which ſome of them receiv'd) that hereupon ſeveral entire Countries and Cities embrac'd *Chriſtianity*, broke their Idols in pieces, pull'd down their Temples, and built Churches in the Room of them. Among the profelyted Places was *Majuma*, a little Sea-port Town, which the Emperor, in Regard and for Joy of his own Converſion, was pleas'd to improve into a City, and then gave it the Name of *Conſtantia* ; as he did that of *Conſtantina*, for the ſame Reaſon, to the City now call'd ſo in *Phœnicia*. And ſtill the Conqueſts of *Chriſtianity* ſpread further and further, even into the more barbarous Regions and Provinces. The Nations inhabiting the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, the *Celtæ*, the furtheſt *Gauls*, that lie upon the Ocean, the *Goths*, and others, had been ſo fortunate in their Wars with *Gallienus* and the Emperors after him, as to take ſeveral of the *Chriſtian* Clergy Priſoners ; and the mighty Miracles they wrought, with the virtuous and holy Lives they led ; very eaſily induc'd their Conquerors to receive their Religion.]

BUT to carry our Eye to a greater Diſtance yet ; when the Apoſtles, by Lot, diſtributed themſelves into the ſeveral Parts of the World to plant *Chriſtianity*, as *Parthia* fell to St. *Thomas's* Care, and *Ethiopia* to St. *Matthew's*, ſo St. *Bartholomew's* Province was the Converſion of *India* ; but, it ſeems, he did not penetrate into the

innermost Parts of it, where the Gospel was not preach'd, 'till, at this Time, one *Meropius*, a Philosopher, with
S. L. 2. c. 24. two young Kinsmen [and Pupils] of his, travell'd thither, where he and his Attendants, as being Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, were kill'd by the Inhabitants, upon a sudden Rupture of their Amity and Alliance with the *Romans*. The two Youths however were spared, and presented to the *Indian* King; who, liking their Looks, made the one of them, by name *Ædesius*, his Cupbearer, and *Frumentius*, the other, his Secretary [and Steward.] Soon after, the King dying, the Queen his Widow was pleas'd to commit to them the Education of her Son the King, then very young. *Frumentius*, who was his principal Tutor, now begun to enquire whether there were any *Christians* in the Country, and countenanc'd and encourag'd those who met together in private for Exercises of Devotion. Afterwards he built them a Church, and instill'd the Principles of the *Christian* Religion into several of the *Indians*. At length, when the King came of Age, *Frumentius* having acquitted himself very happily in the great Province he had undertaken, with much Importunity obtain'd Leave for himself and *Ædesius* to return home.
S. L. 2. c. 24. The latter hereupon went to his Relations [at *Tyre*, where some time after he was ordain'd a Presbyter ;] And *Frumentius* coming to *Alexandria*, and informing *Athanasius* how good a Prospect there was of the Conversion of the *Indians*, if a Bishop and Clergy was sent thither, *Athanasius*
S. L. 2. c. 24. [having consulted the Bishops and Clergy, that were near at Hand, about the Matter,] perswaded him to take the Episcopal Office himself, into which he was accordingly ordain'd, and then return'd into *India*, where he
S. L. 2. c. 24. propagated *Christianity* with very good Success, [was rever'd and honour'd as if he had been an Apostle,] and wrought a great many Miracles. This Account *Ruffinus* had from *Ædesius* himself.

ABOUT the same Time the *Iberi*, that lie near the *Euxin*, a Colony of the *Iberi* in *Spain*, receiv'd also the *Christian* Faith. The Instrument of their Conversion was a captive Woman, the Wonder of the *Barbarians* for her exemplary Virtue and Austerity of Life. It happen'd, that the King's Son, a little Child, was dangerously ill; and when none of the Women of that Country, having been apply'd to for their Assistance, could relieve him, he was brought
to

to this Captive ; who, in the Sight of a great Number of Witnesses, laying the Child upon a Bed of Hair, instead of any outward Application, pronounc'd these Words, *Christ that has heal'd many, will also heal this Infant* ; and so it was, for she had no sooner pray'd to God for his Recovery, but he was in perfect Health, and so continu'd some time after. The Queen, his Mother, fell sick, and was restor'd to her Health by the same Person in the same Manner ; for which when Thanks were return'd her, she told the Queen, *that it was not she that had effected these Cures, but Christ the Son of God, the Creator of the World*, and admonish'd her to acknowledge and worship that Deity ; [which thereupon *S. L. 2. c. 7.* the Queen immediately did.] The King would have made her a Compensation, but she refus'd it, and sent him word, *that she neither wanted nor desir'd any other Treasure than Piety, and that he could not gratify her any way so well as by acknowledging the God she worshipp'd.* The Day after as he was Hunting, the Mountains and Forests were on a sudden cover'd with such a gloomy gross Darkness, that he was utterly at a Loss which way to move, and call'd upon his Gods, very devoutly and earnestly to direct him, but finding those Petitions fruitless, he address'd himself to the God of the captive Woman, who in a Moment dissipated the *Darkness*. Upon this, returning home, and being inform'd by the Woman, who was that God she worshipp'd, he embrac'd the *Christian* Faith, solicited his Subjects to follow his Example, and order'd a Church to be erected, [which he had *T. L. 1. c. 24.* refus'd his Queen, when she petition'd for it the Day before ; and apply'd himself to the captive Woman for a Model to build it by, which accordingly she gave him.] In the Prosecution of this Work God condescended to give the *Iberians* another Argument and Manifestation of his Divinity ; for when the Workmen found it impossible, by all their Engines, Art, and Strength, to raise one of the Pillars, [(the lower part *S. L. 2. c. 7.* of it sinking so deep into the Ground, and there fixing itself so fast, that they were forc'd to leave it in an oblique or leaning Posture)] the Prayers of the Captive, who came privately in the Night to the Place, had this Effect, that the Pillar was rais'd and hung in the Air perpendicularly over the Basis ; from whence, the next Morning, descending, it fix'd itself firm upon it, in the Sight both of the King and People ; who no sooner beheld it, but with Shouts they declar'd the King's Persuasion to be true, and magnify'd the God of the Captive. Soon after, the sacred Pile was finish'd,
and

and the *Iberians* treated with the Emperor to admit them into a close and lasting Alliance with him, and to send them a Bishop and Clergy. This Relation *Ruffinus* had from *Bacurius* that had formerly been * a *Regulus* (or *Vice-Roy*) among the *Iberi*.

[THE *Armenians* had long before resign'd themselves to *Christianity*, having been commanded to do so by their King *Teridates*, who upon the Authority of a miraculous Dispensation to him, had set them the Example. From them and the *Osroeni*, 'tis probable, the *Persians* deriv'd the Faith, which in Time so diffus'd and establish'd itself among them, † that the *Magi* (or *Persian* Priests) and the *Jews*, being both highly exasperated at it, brought a Charge of high Treason to King *Sapor*, against *Simeon* Archbishop of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*; and this afforded the King a Provocation, or rather a Pretence, to discourage and oppose the Profession of *Christianity*, first of all, by severe Exactions and Impositions; and afterwards, by inflicting capital Punishments on the Clergy, by pulling down their Churches, and confiscating the consecrated Furniture. *Simeon* was apprehended, and brought in Chains to the King; who, when he was not able to make any Impression upon him with all his Menaces of Torture, demanded the Reason of his refusing to do him Homage § at this Time, which he had so often done before. *Simeon* told him, he had never been averse to pay that Ceremony to his Majesty, which the Law and Custom of the Country prescrib'd; but that now, when it was challeng'd in Diminution and Contempt of the divine Prerogative, he was absolutely oblig'd to refuse it. Upon this the King command'd him to adore the Sun; but not prevailing with him to do this neither, by the most inviting Promises; no nor by even threatening the utter Excision of the *Christians*; he remanded him to Prison. As they went with him thither, the good Bishop found *Ushazanes*, an ancient Eunuch, who had been the King's Governor in his Infancy, and was now Comptroller of the Household. Him *Simeon*, by the Sharpness of his Rebukes, so sensibly affected for an Act of Apostacy he

* *Ruffinus's* Word is not *Regulus*, but *Rex*, one of their Kings.

† The learned *Valesius* gives very good Reasons, in his third Note upon the 13th Chapter of the 2d Book of *Sozomen*, why

we should believe that Historian mistaken as to the Time of King *Sapor's* Persecution, and that he ought to have plac'd it in *Constantius's* Reign.

§ The Word is *πεσχυνέω*.

had been lately guilty of, that he fell into Agonies of Sorrow, put himself into deep Mourning, and sat in the Porch of the Palace, bewailing his Condition, and weighing with himself, how miserable he was under the Displeasure of an offended God, by the Anguish he felt so sensibly under the Reproaches and Aversion of his once intimate Friend. Being sent for by the King, and ask'd the Reason of his Grief, he very freely told it him, and protested by the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, that he would never be guilty again of so detestable a Crime ; from which sacred Resolution when the King could neither by Terrors nor Persuasions divert him, he grew enrag'd, and condemn'd him to lose his Head. When he was now upon his way to suffer the Execution of this Sentence, he dispatch'd a Request to the King, by one of the Eunuchs, his particular Friend, that as his Majesty had known him to have ever been a diligent and faithful Servant to his Royal Father and himself, so he would vouchsafe to order the publick Herald to proclaim, that *Usthanes* dy'd, not for failing any way in his Duty to the King, but for his being a *Christian*, and refusing to deny his God. The King granted his Petition, presuming such a Proclamation would sufficiently terrify the *Christians* ; as the Martyr, on the contrary, hoped it would preserve others from the Compliance he had been guilty of, and encourage them to embrace the Sufferings he now chearfully accepted.

THE next Day, being good *Friday*, *Simeon* (after he had once more, in the Presence of the King, asserted and vindicated his holy Profession) together with an hundred others of the Clergy, was conducted to Execution, the President of the *Magi* promising them their Lives if they would declare themselves of the King's Religion, and worship the Sun ; which none of them would do, and so they were all put to Death ; *Simeon* encouraging and assisting them in their last Minutes, and urging out of the holy Scriptures the dreadful Punishments assign'd to Apostacy, and the incomparable Advantages and Rewards of Martyrdom ; for he was by special Order reserv'd to dye the last, and accordingly, with two Presbyters of his Church, *Abdechalaas* and *Ananias*, he clos'd the Tragedy of that Day ; or rather of that Company : For *Pufces*, the President of the King's Artificers, observing *Ananias* tremble as he was preparing for the Stroke, bad him shut his Eyes, and fear nothing, for he should immediately find himself wrapt in the Glories of Heaven. Upon this he was brought before the King, to whom declaring himself a *Christian*,

Christian, and expressing his Sentiments with extraordinary Freedom, he was condemn'd to a peculiar kind of Death, which was to have his Neck bor'd or prob'd thro' to the Root of his Tongue, and that pull'd out. His Daughter also, a consecrated Virgin, receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom, along with him.

THE next Year, and upon the same Anniversary, the King issu'd out his Orders for a publick Massacre of the *Christians* throughout his Dominions ; which too generally took Effect, the *Magi* searching diligently after all such as absconded ; and many of the *Christians* not attempting to conceal themselves, upon an Opinion, that not confessing *Christ* was a sort of denying him. A very great Number of the King's Domesticks were now cut off, particularly *Azadas* the Eunuch, whose Death so much afflicted his Master, that he gave over persecuting the Laity for his sake. Only there were three Women, all dedicated to a Life of Devotion, *Tarbula* a Virgin, Sister to *Simeon* ; another Sister of *Simeon's*, a Widow ; and a Servant of *Tarbula's* ; who upon a Suggestion from the *Magi*, as if, in Revenge of the Bishop's Death, they had bewitch'd the Queen, then sick, were apprehended, fawn asunder, and then fasten'd to Crosses, between which the Queen was directed by the *Magi* to walk backward and forward, in order to a Cure. *Tarbula*, 'tis said, was a very beautiful Woman, and of such an inflexible Vertue, that one of the *Magi*, who was much in love with her, could not tempt her to a Violation of her Chastity (nor so much as a patient hearing of his Proposal) by all the Assurances he could give her, that, if she would comply with his Desires, he would preserve both her and her two Companions.

THE busy Malice of the Priests being, by the King's late Order, turn'd entirely upon the Clergy ; *Acephimas*, a Bishop, with many of his Presbyters, &c. was seiz'd. The latter came off with Confiscations. But the Bishop, after he had been most barbarously lash'd with Thongs for refusing to worship the Sun, was continu'd a Prisoner. In that Condition, the *Magi* permitting, he was attended by *James*, one of his Presbyters ; whom with *Aithalas*, another Presbyter, and *Azadanes* and *Abdiesus*, Deacons, they most inhumanly scourg'd, and then laid in Chains ; and after a very tedious and painful Confinement, these holy Presbyters and Deacons, and their excellent Bishop, heroically persisting in their former Resolution, were again put to the same Torture. *Acephimas* dy'd under it ; but the rest very unexpectedly

unexpectedly surviv'd it, and were recommitted to their former Confinement. *Aithalas's* Arms were so stretch'd upon the Rack that they were disjointed from his Shoulders, and ever after hung dead and useless. 'Tis impossible to reckon up the Presbyters, Deacons, Monks, holy Virgins, and other Ecclesiasticks, that then seal'd the Faith with their Blood. But among the Martyr-Bishops were *Barbasymes*, *Paul*, *Gaddiabes*, *Sabinus*, *Mareas*, *Mocius*, *John*, *Hormisdas*, *Papas*, *James*, *Romas*, *Maares*, *Agas*, *Bochres*, *Abdus*, *Abdiesus*, *John*, *Abramius*, *Agdelas*, *Sapor*, *Isaac*, *Dausas*, *Mareabdes*, a *Chorepiscopus*, and Two-hundred-and-fifty of his Clergy, whom, with himself and *Dausas*, the *Persians* had taken Captive.

At this Time the famous *Milles* was sacrific'd. He had been Bishop of a City in *Persia*, and signaliz'd himself as a Confessor in that Place; but finding neither his Arguments nor Sufferings made so much as a single Convert, he left it, after he had consign'd the People over to the Judgments of God; the worst of which in this World soon reach'd them; that is to say, Rebellion, and the Consequences of it, Ruin and Depopulation. He had afterwards travell'd, upon a religious Account, to *Jerusalem*, and from thence to the *Asceticks* in *Egypt*. His Miracles, his Life and Martyrdom stand recorded in *Syria*. And with him I shall end my Narrative of the *Persian* Prosecution, in which were destroy'd sixteen thousand Men and Women, whose Names are known, besides others innumerable, and almost every Individual by a distinct kind of Torture and Death.

UPON Advice of these outrageous Proceedings, the good Emperor, taking a proper Opportunity when he had newly laid some Obligations on the King of *Persia*, dispatch'd his Letters to him in behalf of the *Christians*; in Substance, 'That if he would be kind to them, he would ever acknowledge it as the greatest Favour done to himself; that their Worship was very innocent, a spiritual, and not (like that of the Heathens) a sanguinary Worship; and that as patronizing their Religion was the only way to ensure all the Blessings of Heaven, so Misfortune and Misery would be the certain Consequences of opposing it; and, for a Proof of this, he urg'd the Instance of his Predecessor *Valerian*, on the one Hand, and of himself, on the other.

THUS ready and vigilant, upon every Emergency, was the pious Emperor to succour and rescue the Church ; and might have secur'd her Peace effectually, had not a perfidious Confederacy of ambitious Hypocrites, by the Advantage of too near a Relation both to her and him, had the Opportunity of betraying the one by deceiving the other ; which brings us again to the Story of the *Arians* and *Eusebians*. But here, before it be resum'd, let me give the Reader what *Socrates* has inserted out of a Work, which, he says, he had read of *Archilaus* Bishop of *Caschari*, who disputed in Person with *Manes*, or *Manichæus*, the Heretick ; and that is, a more perfect and particular Account both of that Heresy and its Author than what *Eusebius* has left us in his History. There was one *Scythianus*, a *Saracen*, that having learnt in *Egypt* the Doctrines of *Empedocles* and *Pythagoras*, particularly that of the former, that there are two sovereign Principles in Nature contrary to one another, the one Discord, the other Amity, presum'd to introduce them into the *Christian* Institution. This *Scythianus* had one *Buddas*, before call'd *Terebinthus*, to his Disciple. *Buddas* goes to *Babylon*, and there gives out that he was born of a Virgin, educated in the Mountains, and I know not what besides. Afterwards he writes four Books, the first his Book of *Mysteries*, the second his *Gospel*, the third his *Treasure*, (or *Treasure*) the fourth his *Common-Places*. In the Conclusion, as he was attempting the Celebration of some strange magical Mysteries, the Devil threw him headlong down from an high Eminence, and broke his Neck. The Woman, in whose House he liv'd, bury'd him, and got his Money, and bought with it a Boy seven Years old, whose Name was *Cubricus*. She gave this Boy his Freedom, and a liberal Education, and, at her Death, left him *Terebinthus's* Estate, and the Books he had writ. With these *Cubricus* went into *Persia*, where he took the Name of *Manes*, and distributed among his Disciples Copies of *Terebinthus's* Works, pretending them to be his own. In these Books the Author asserts a Plurality of Gods, and the Divinity of the Sun, the Doctrine of Fatality and no Free-will ; the Μετεσώματωσις or Doctrine of Transmutation of Bodies ; That *Christ* was not really a Man, but a Phantom, and he rejects the Law and the Prophets, and calls himself not only an Apostle, but the Holy Ghost. It happen'd that the King of *Persia's* Son fell sick, and *Manichæus*, the Fame of his pretended Miracles recommending him, was sent for to recover him ; which when he could not do, the King resolv'd that this Impostor should
not

not long survive the young Prince, and so clapt him in Chains. But he made his Escape into *Mesopotamia*; whence he had yet the ill Fortune to be brought back again, and by the King's Order was slay'd alive, and his Skin stuff'd, and hung up at one of the City-Gates.

EUSEBIUS and *Theognis* (to return to their Affairs) were now, since their coming home, become the Emperor's darling Favourites, upon the great Opinion he had of the Ingenuity of their Recantation. And by means of this Interest and Authority they kindled a greater Flame in the Church than they had done before, being alike devoted to the Doctrine of *Arius*, and incens'd at the Opposition they had met with in the Council from *Athanasius*; so that when they had muster'd up their frivolous Objections to no Purpose against his Ordination, *Eusebius* enter'd upon more insidious Methods to ruin him, and restore *Arius* and his Heresy. This new Game he begun with solliciting *Athanasius* in the most importunate manner to receive *Arius* and his Associates to Communion; but not prevailing there, he labours to persuade the Emperor to recall *Arius*, and admit him to his Presence.

MEAN time Diffensions run every Day higher and higher among the Pastors of the Church, upon Account of the Word *ὁμοούσιον*, or *Consubstantial*; the Adversaries charging the Advocates of it with *Sabellianism* and *Montanism*, as if they deny'd the distinct Personality of God the Son; and the Advocates representing the Adversaries of it as Patrons of *Polytheism*, while either Party unanimously * asserted one God in three Persons, and the proper Personality and Existence of the Son.

THESE unhappy Divisions call'd for the Interposition of a Council; which therefore was assembled at *Antioch*; and *Eustathius*, Bishop of that Place, being († by one who was afterwards depos'd himself upon the same groundless Charge, *Cyrus* Bishop of *Berea*) accus'd of § *Sabellianism*, and, as some Men would persuade us, convicted

* He does not say believ'd, or ingeniously meant these Doctrines, which it is very certain the Adversaries of that important Word did not.

† See *Valesius's* Note upon the Place.
§ The Consubstantial Faith, so call'd by its Enemies. See the same Note, agreeable to the Historian in chap. xxiii.

- of several (they do not say what) dishonest or irregular Practices, [but in Reality persecuted for strictly adhering to the *Nicene* Creed, and opposing some Bishops whom he took to be its Adversaries,] lost * his Bishoprick. Whose Deposition so divided and disturbed the City, that, when the Election of a Successor came on, the People were presently all in an Uproar, one Party demanding the Restitution of *Eustathius*, the other the Admission of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* in his Room; and they had certainly destroy'd one another, had they not been prevented by the Emperor's pacificatory Letters, and absolutely refusing to accept of the Dignity.
- S. L. 2. c. 19. [Eustathius sat down very patiently under all his
T. L. 1. c. 21. hard Usage, [and very hard it was indeed; for the Persons who ruin'd him, were, at that very Time, most kindly entertain'd by him; and then too the Manner of doing it was no less remarkable, for they suborn'd a common Strumpet to lay a Child to him, and admitted her single Evidence for sufficient; and when some of the Council remonstrated to these Proceedings, the Managers posted away to the Emperor, and so engag'd him on their Side,] especially by representing *Eustathius* as the Author of the late Insurrection, [that he banish'd him into *Illyricum* as an Adulterer and an Incendiary. Whereas he was certainly a Man of singular Piety, Integrity,] Understanding, Eloquence, and Merit in every Respect.]
- T. L. 1. c. 22. [And, for an unquestionable Proof of his Innocency, it pleas'd God that the Woman who had been hir'd to swear against him, falling into a very lamentable and lingering Indisposition, confess'd the whole Matter in the Presence of several Witnesses.] Eight Years after *Eustathius's* Deposition († till when, 'tis said, there continu'd a Vacancy) *Euphronius* was elected into that See by the *Arian* Interest; [which again, upon *Euphronius's* Death, created *Flaccillus* his Successor; and this new schismatical Succession occasion'd there, of Course, a Separation; the *Eustathians* absolutely refusing to communicate, or to have any thing to do with it.]

* He was not only depos'd, but banish'd; and either now, or afterwards, were also driven away from their respective Sees, *Euphrasion* of *Balanea*, *Cymatius* of *Paltus*,

Carterius of *Antaradus*, *Eutropius* of *Adrianople*, and *Cyrus* of *Berea*. *Theod. L. 2. c. 15.*

† A Mistake. See *Valesius* upon this Place.

[ABOUT this Time dy'd *Mark*, Successor to *S. L. 2. c. 20. Sylvester*, and was succeeded in the Chair of *Rome* by *Julius*; and *Macarius* in that of *Jerusalem* by *Maximus*. This *Maximus* had been formerly ordain'd into the See of *Diospolis*, but in regard of his signal Sufferings, his Orthodox Faith, and his other recommending Advantages and Qualifications, was, as some say, detain'd by the People, with a high Hand, against the Will of his Ordainer *Macarius*, to be his Coadjutor and Successor; or rather, as we learn from better Authorities, *Macarius* himself made choice of him, upon the Importunity of the People, to keep out those *Arian* Wolves, which, he had too much Reason to fear from what they had already attempted, would, after his Departure, enter in among his Flock.

It happen'd that *Constantia*, the Emperor's Sister, had a certain Chaplain who was secretly an *Arian*, and, at the Instance and Encouragement of *Eusebius* and his Faction, had persuaded the Princess into an Opinion of *Arius's* Innocency and hard Usage; which tho' she had not the Courage to let her Brother understand, yet upon her Death-bed she recommended this Presbyter to him as a Person of extraordinary Merit; who afterwards daily improving his Influence and Interest with the Emperor upon the Foundation of so good a Character, presum'd at length to persuade him also that *Arius* had been abus'd, and, he was confident, would subscribe the *Nicene* Faith, before his Majesty's Face, if he might be permitted; to which the Emperor reply'd, That if he would, he should want neither his Permission now, nor his Favour for the future; and dispatch'd a Letter to him, commanding him immediately to return, which he did with *Euzoius*. The Emperor receiv'd them; and they assured him they assented to the *Nicene* Faith, and, upon his Command, deliver'd into his Hands a Declaration of their Belief, wherein they acknowledge [(but with an equivocal and fallacious *S. L. 2. c. 27.* Meaning, as some People even then discovered)] the Lord Jesus Christ to be the Son of God * begotten of him before all Ages, God the Word, by whom all Things were made; consigning themselves over to the just Judgments of the Almighty,

* 'Tis to be observ'd that the Word as begotten; and no doubt these pretended
begotten in the Greek (*γεννημένον*) is ambi- Converts had that Ambiguity in their
guous, for it may be render'd made as well Eye.

if they do not sincerely, and in the proper Sense, believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and begging to be united to their Holy Mother the Catholick Church.

S. L. 2. c. 27. [THIS Recantation and Profession pleas'd the Emperor extreanly; and tho' he would not presume to communicate with them till the Ecclesiastical Authority had reconcil'd and receiv'd them, and for that Purpose sent them afterwards to the Bishops assembled at *Jerusalem*;] yet *Arius* was immediately * suffer'd † to return to *Alexandria*. Where *Athanasius* not receiving him to Communion, he again set himself to do all the Mischief he could; whilst *Eusebius*, and the Emperor, at his Sollicitation, transacted with *Athanasius* to re-admit *Arius* and his Associates. But *Athanasius* still refus'd, informing the Emperor, That with an Apostate and a Heretick, lying under an *Anathema*, he could not upon any Terms allow himself to communicate. In Answer to which the Emperor, out of an intemperate but a well-meant Zeal for an Accommodation, sends him word; that, if he did not receive into his Church all Persons that had a Mind to come, he would have him depos'd, and banish'd. And this Resentment and Passion administer'd all the Opportunity and Encouragement in the World to the *Eusebians* to prosecute their Purpose of ruining and removing *Athanasius*;

S. L. 2. c. 22. [Who yet sent the Emperor, in Reply, such clear and solid Reasons why he could not admit the *Arians*, that *Eusebius* found he should never gain his Point 'till he had got *Athanasius* far enough out of the Way.] The Principal Contrivers and Authors of this great Man's Sufferings were a Council of Five; *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nicaea*, *Maris* of *Calcedon*, *Ursatius* of *Singidunum* in the higher *Moesia*,

S. L. 2. c. 22. and *Valens* of *Mursa* in the higher *Pannonia*: [They represented *Athanasius* as a Factious Incendiary, a Man destitute of all Moderation; and the most horrid Crimes, as Murder, Firing of Churches, Persecution of good People, &c. are alledg'd against him and his Suffragans.] And they had their Knights

* See Dr. *Cave*, in the Life of St. *Athanasius*, p. 73.

† *Valesius* in his Note here says, He does not believe that *Arius* return'd so soon to *Alexandria*; and, I think, he might

have confirm'd his Opinion from *Sozomen* in the Chapter just before quoted; where we find he did not return 'till he had been at the *Jerusalem* Synod, and obtain'd their recommendatory Letters.

of the Post too among their Friends of the *Meletian* Faction, [whom *Eusebius* had, by Promises to promote their Interest at Court, brib'd] to accuse *Athanasius* of I know not what Atheistical and Seditious Practices; [as that he had the Confidence to levy a Tax or Impost by his own Authority in *Ægypt*; and of forming a Design against the Emperor's Life, or at least assisting those who were preparing a Rebellion. *Athanasius*, on his Part, by Letters to the Emperor, endeavour'd to make him sensible of the scandalous Behaviour and impious Proceedings of his Accusers, of their Designs and Efforts to subvert the *Nicene* Faith, and of the Unlawfulness and Invalidity of their Ordinations.] And the Emperor upon a fair Hearing, and a better Understanding of the Matter, *Athanasius* himself appearing in Obedience to the Imperial Summons, to make his Defence, which his Enemies endeavour'd to prevent, acquitted him with Testimonies of his good Opinion and Favour, [cry'd shame on his Accusers, and sent a great Character of him to his Flock the *Alexandrians*.] *S. L. 2. c. 22.*

AND yet it was not long ere the *Eusebians* had laid a new Scene; for one *Ischyas* of the Province of *Mareotis* (which is within the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Alexandria*) presuming unordain'd to exercise the Functions of a Priest, and being detected, run away, and came to *Eusebius*; who not only receiv'd him as a Presbyter, but promis'd him a Bishoprick, if he would come in an Evidence against *Athanasius*, which he undertook to do upon the Footing of several pretended Complaints; as that he had been assaulted and outrag'd in a very barbarous Manner; [particularly, that he had been imprison'd upon *Athanasius's* falsely charging him with throwing Stones at a Statue of the Emperor] and that *Macarius* (who had attested *Athanasius's* Innocency to the Emperor, and thro' whose Sides they intended to reach his Bishop) had burst into his Chancel, overturn'd the Communion-Table, * broke the Chalice, and burnt the Sacred Books. But besides this they had form'd another very extraordinary Stratagem. They got a dead Man's Hand, which whether they cut off from a living Body or a Corpse,

* Sozomen says, (L. 2. c. 23.) This was alledg'd against *Athanasius* himself.

is known only to God and themselves; and this Hand they pretended to be one *Arsenius's*, a *Meletian* Bishop
S. L. 2. c. 23. [(or, according to *Sozomen*, of an inferior Order)]
 and that *Athanasius* had kept it by him for Magical
S. L. 2. c. 23. Uses and Operations. [This *Arsenius* had absconded
 some Time upon the Score of a Misdemeanour, for
 which he was apprehensive of being call'd to Account; but he
 cou'd not lie so close as to escape the Scent of the diligent *Eusebians*,
 who promis'd him all Security, and every thing else, if he would
 keep their present Counsel; and so left him under the Eye of one
 of their Friends, and were louder than ever with their Clamours and
 Accusations;] which succeeded so well, that the abus'd Emperor
 sent Orders to *Dalmatius* the Cenfor, to bring the Parties accus'd to
 a Trial, and appointed *Eusebius* and *Theognis* * to be present at it.
 Upon Notice of this, *Athanasius* sends into *Ægypt* in quest of
Arsenius, and got undoubted Information, that he lay somewhere
 conceal'd, but could not find him out. Mean time the Process
 was stopp'd, the Emperor appointing an Assembly of Bishops, who
 were cited to solemnize the Dedication of a Church he had built at
Jerusalem, to meet at *Tyre*, and determine the
S. L. 2. c. 25. Affair of *Athanasius*; [who not long before had
 refus'd to appear at a Council, which, by the
 Emperor's extorted Consent, met at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, to judge
 his Case, upon very just Exceptions against the
T. L. 1. c. 28. leading Parties in it; [particularly *Eusebius*, *Theognis*,
 and *Theodorus* of *Heraclea*.] The same sort of Men
 were now combined together at *Tyre*, to the Number of *Threescore*.
Macarius was brought thither in Chains, and under a Guard.
Athanasius, tho' well assur'd of his own Innocency, was very
 unwilling to come, upon an Apprehension, that upon his appearing
 there, they would be making some Attempt upon the *Nicene* Faith;
 but finding, by the peremptory and menacing
T. L. 1. c. 28. Letters of the Emperor, [(whose great Piety and
 Prudence were not always Proof against the Lustre
 of the Sacred Function, prostituted and abus'd by wicked Men)]
 that his Appearance was unavoidable, he came.
S. L. 2. c. 25. [And *Ischyrras*, with *Callinicus*, and others of the
Meletians, besides some new Deserters, were ready

* That is all that the Words of my Author import, *ἵνα ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ αὐτῶν κρι-
 νητοὶ ἀβάρδοις.*

with their Evidences and Articles of Impeachment ; which have been partly mention'd before, and were the rest of them no less false and frightful ; as that *Athanasius* had overturn'd a Bishop's Throne, and that he had deposed and most barbarously persecuted *Callinicus*, Bishop of *Pelusium*, for refusing to communicate with him, 'till he had clear'd himself about the Matter of breaking the Chalice, and put in his Place one *Mark*, a degraded Presbyter ; and several of the *Meletian* Bishops complain'd they had been beaten by his Order. It was farther alledg'd, That he had violently compell'd the Seven Bishops that ordain'd him, but afterwards quitted him, to communicate with him, and had made them close Prisoners. Then there was an Information exhibited, in the Name of the People of *Alexandria*, that *Athanasius* hinder'd their coming to Church. And a young Woman presented herself, who declar'd, That *Athanasius* would have brib'd her to Debauchery, [tho' a consecrated Virgin,] and that, when *T. L. I. c. 30.* she would not consent, he ravish'd her. *Athanasius* found they had concerted all Things so well, that it was almost impossible for him to preserve himself ; but yet he retain'd his Courage, and several of the Allegations he soon disprov'd, and others he only desir'd Time to baffle. As to the Business of the Rape, his Friend and Presbyter *Timothy* soon baffled and spoil'd it, by asking the Woman, *Did I attempt to force you ?* To which she answer'd [pointing at him with her *T. L. I. c. 30.* Finger.] *Yes, you, Sir ; at such a Time, and in such a Place.* This was so untoward a Discovery, that as they were forc'd to put off *Athanasius's* Demands for searching to the Bottom of the Plot, with Clamour, and the Pretence of more and clearer Indictments ; so it seems, their Modesty has not allow'd them to insert any thing of the Matter in the Acts of the Council. But with regard to *Arsenius* ; so it was that the good Providence of God brought him, contrary to the Commands of his Masters, to *Tyre* ; his Errand being to satisfy his Curiosity. * It happened, that

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* *Sozomen* says (*L. 2. c. 23.*) That the Person who had concealed him, being apprehended, discover'd he was alive, and where he lurk'd ; and that the Emperor receiving Advice of what had pass'd, acquitted *Athanasius* again, with many Assurances (which he caus'd to be made

publick) that instead of listening for the future to these Blood-hounds, he would exert the utmost Rigour of the Law upon them if they did not keep themselves quiet ; and that therefore they thought it their wisest way to do so, for some time ; during which Interval the Churches in

Egypt

some Servants of the Prefect *Archelaus* got Notice of it, and communicated the News to their Master, who found him out, and secured him, and sent word of it to *Athanasius*. At first *Arsenius* denied himself, but was convicted by *Paul* Bishop of *Tyre*, who had known him a long Time. Soon after *Athanasius* is called upon to answer for himself, and his Accusers produce the Hand. *Athanasius* asks, whether any body present knew *Arsenius*? Several told him they knew him very well. Then *Athanasius* order'd him to be brought in with his Hands hid under his Cloaths, and asked them, whether this was the Man that had lost his Hand? At this all Parties were astonish'd, but what were let into the Secret; especially when *Athanasius*, drawing *Arsenius's* Vestment aside, shewed them first one Hand, and, upon their further Suspicion, the other; after which he told them, he hop'd they were

T. L. I. c. 30. satisfy'd, that *Arsenius* had still two Hands, [which was as many as he ought to have] and left his Accusers to make it out how they came by the Third. Whereupon *Achab*, otherwise call'd * *John*, who brought in the Charge against *Athanasius*, convey'd himself with all Expedition out of the Council. However the rest of them were not such

S. L. 2. c. 25. Fools as to blush, [and tho' they could not tell how to prove *Arsenius* was born with three Hands, yet they could demonstrate their Knowledge of his being kill'd by a very extraordinary Turn, which was, that *Athanasius* had contriv'd to have *Arsenius's* House set on fire, and *Arsenius* himself ty'd up to a Pillar, and whipt, and then lock'd up in a Room; but that he got out of a Window, and lay so long conceal'd, that every body concluded he was dead, 'till some of the *Meletian* Bishops, sparing no Pains to find out so glorious a Confessor, at length had the good Fortune to meet with him.]

ATHANASIUS perceiving all he could urge or prove in Vindication of himself was to no manner of purpose, quitted his own, and pleaded *Macarius's* Cause; in Defence of whom he protested against *Eusebius* and his Brethrens Part in the Judgment,

Ægypt acquir'd many Converts both from Heathenism and Heresy. But afterwards (*c. 25.*) the same Author says, *Arsenius* understanding the Danger *Athanasius* was in upon his Account, came to *Tyre* of his own accord, to prevent the worst. This

does not agree with his own former Narrative, nor with that of *Socrates*, and is therefore to be rejected.

* The *Meletian* Bishop. See *Valesius* upon the Place.

for

for that they were *Macarius's* profess'd Enemies, and demanded a Proof of *Ischyra's* being a Presbyter, as they had filed him in their Allegations. All he could offer was over-rul'd, and the Court (forsooth) being fatigu'd, the Case was deferr'd till Commissioners had been sent into *Mareotis* to enquire into the Merits and Circumstances of it. Accordingly *Theognis*, *Maris*, *Theodorus*, *Macedonius*, [*Narcissus* of *Cilicia*] *T. L. 1. c. 30.* *Valens*, and *Ursacius*, were deputed to go thither; against whom *Athanasius* again objected for the same Reason as before; and, when they were still deaf to all his Exceptions and Obsecrations, [and so partial as to *S. L. 2. c. 25.* acquit one another under the Proof of those very Crimes, which they charged upon him: In a Word, when their Designs were so apparent, and their Malice so exorbitant, that they were not asham'd to cry out, in a Body, 'Twas not fit such a Sorcerer [who (they said) at this very *T. L. 1. c. 30.* Time had so egregiously impos'd upon their very Senses] should live, [and were actually attempting *T. L. 1. c. 30.* to pull him in Pieces;] and the Emperor's Officers found it necessary to steal him, as it were, out of the Council, to prevent his Murder,] he got off unperceiv'd, and went away directly to the Emperor: And he was no sooner gone, but the Synod pass'd a Censure upon him for absenting himself, and when their Materials, which their Emisseries took Care should be fit for their Purpose, arriv'd out of *Mareotis*, they dispatch'd them to the Emperor, and pronounc'd Sentence of Deprivation upon *Athanasius*, [with a Prohibition, that he should *S. L. 2. c. 25.* never more reside at *Alexandria*; and accepted the Ordination and Communion of *John* the *Meletian* Bishop, and his Presbyters,] and took care to fill their Instrument of Deposition, with a Thousand Calumnies, [particu- *S. L. 2. c. 25.* larly of the Offender's Misbehaviour at *Tyre*, and for his not appearing before them at *Cæsarea*] but not a Word of *Arsenius's* Affairs, who being, by this time, got into the Bishoprick of *Hypsêlis*, was one of those that subscribed the Sentence: [Then they acquainted the Emperor *S. L. 2. c. 25.* with what they had done, and warn'd the Bishops every where, by Circular Letters, against communicating with *Athanasius*.] They had scarce finish'd their Work, but upon receiving the Emperor's Letters to hasten them, they

- went to *Jerusalem*, and having dedicated the New Church there [(which was a very magnificent one)] they admit *Arius* and his Associates to Communion, in Obedience, as they said, (and the Excuse became such Betrayers of the Church) to the Emperor's Letters, wherein he declar'd himself undeceiv'd in his Opinion of *Arius* and *Euzoius's* Faith ; and, to clinch the Nail, they wrote to the Church of *Alexandria* [and to all the Churches of *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Thebais*, and to his Imperial Majesty,] informing them, that they had pull'd up the Root of Bitterness, and restor'd the Church's Tranquility ; and that *Arius*, having repented and recanted, ought to be received to Communion. [Thus they follow'd their Blow, and overbore both the Innocence of the great *Athanasius*, and the Remonstrances of not a few among themselves, † particularly of the celebrated Confessor *Paphnutius*, who, 'tis reported, took *Maximus* of *Jerusalem* by the Hand, and went with him out of the Council, as from an Assembly where a Confessor could not stay without a Crime.]

BUT it was not long ere *Athanasius* having, in the very Face of his Accusers *, complain'd to the Emperor of this barbarous Usage, his Majesty dispatch'd his Letters to these moderate Men ; informing them, ' That it was his Pleasure they should all repair to him, ' and let him into a right Understanding of all their Proceedings, ' having a Jealousy that Things had been manag'd and determin'd tumultuously and partially ; for that as he was entering *Constantinople* on Horseback, *Athanasius*, attended by some few Clergymen, came up to him so unexpectedly and surprizingly, that he did not know him ; but that when he did, he refus'd to concern himself with him, and finding him still importunate, was going to order his Guards to take him away, had he not prevented it by declaring he desir'd no more than that his Accusers and he might confront one another before the Emperor, which seem'd so reasonable a Request, that he found himself oblig'd in Conscience and Honour to summon them to Court ; ' and then notifies, in the Close of his Letter, the Conversion that had lately happen'd of some of the barbarous Nations to *Christianity*.

† See what *Valesius* has remark'd upon this Passage.

* See *Natal. Alexand. 20th Dissert. Concl. 2. in Sac. 4. Part. 4.*

THIS Summons did not a little alarm the Council, and most of the Bishops retir'd to their respective homes. But *Eusebius*, *Theognis*, *Maris*, *Patrophilus*, *Ursacius*, and *Valens* went to *Constantinople*, where [they took upon them to *S. L. 2. c. 21.* justify all that had been done, and] † waving their former Indictments, told the Emperor that *Athanasius* had been threatening to stop the annual Transportation of Corn from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, and nam'd three Bishops for their Witnesses. Upon this, and withal, as others will have it, to unite the Orthodox and the *Arians*, with the latter of whom *Athanasius* absolutely refus'd to communicate §, the Emperor banish'd *Athanasius* into *Gaul*, where he took up his Residence at *Treves*.

WHILST the Assembly of Bishops at *Constantinople* depose *Marcellus*, Bishop of *Ancyra* in the lesser *Galatia*, for not performing what he had lately promis'd to the Bishops at *Jerusalem*; and that was to burn his Answer to the Books *Asterius* had written for the *Arian* Cause; wherein *Asterius* asserts that *Christ* is no otherwise the Power of God than as the Locust and the Cankerworm are said to be so in Scripture; [and having *S. L. 2. c. 33.* deposed the Author, they require the several Churches, whither they sent their synodical Epistles, to make diligent Search after the Book, and to burn all the Copies they could find of it.] *Asterius* was very intimate with the *Arianizing* Clergy, and very forward to appear at Councils and Synods in Prospect of a Bishoprick, though incapacitated by his Apostacy in the Times of Persecution; and had been at much Pains to diffuse his Doctrine through all the Cities of *Syria*, but was not taken Notice of by the *Jerusalem* Assembly, because he was a Layman. *Marcellus* in opposing him had run into the Error of *Paulus Samosatensis*, and stands confuted by *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*. His Deposers substituted *Basil*, [a very eloquent and *S. L. 2. c. 33.* learned Man,] in his Room; till *Marcellus* recover'd his Bishoprick in the Council of *Sardica*, where he urg'd that his Meaning had been mistaken. [The *S. L. 2. c. 33.* Truth of it is, he had so incens'd the *Eusebians* by

† *Sozomen* (*L. 2. c. 28.*) says they insisted on the Article of breaking the Chalice.

§ *Constantine* his Son gives a better, and, as it should seem, the true Reason, in *Socr. L. 2. c. 3.*

his protesting against their Determinations at *Tyre* and *Jerusalem*, and by refusing to communicate with them in the Dedication of the new Church, that very probably they passed an undeserv'd * Construction upon his Book ; and the Story goes that they told the Emperor, *Marcellus* asserted such and such Positions, which yet he only propos'd as Questions or *Theses* for Disputation.]

HERE by the way I think my self oblig'd to do *Eusebius* the Justice as to observe, in Opposition to those who suspect he was an *Arian* in his Heart, that besides his subscribing the *Nicene Faith*, and what he says in the third Book of *Constantine's* Life, of the Unanimity and good Agreement of the Council in their Determinations, he asserts, in his Books against *Marcellus*, the Son of God to be, only, and properly, his Son, an uncreated Being, and very God ; and that as for the Place where it is said, *God has created me the Beginning of his ways*, the Words ἐκτισέ με ἀρχὴν signify properly that God the Father constituted or appointed God the Son to superintend or govern the Creation ; in the same Sense as the Word κτίσται is us'd 1 *St. Pet.* c. ii. v. 13 ; and κτίζων *Amos* c. iv. v. 13. and κτίσθι *Ephes.* c. ii. v. 15 ; and again κτίδεντα c. iv. v. 24 ; and κτίσις, 2 *Cor.* c. v. v. 17. and elsewhere. Nor is it any Objection that when he has Occasion to make Use of the Doxology, he words it in this Manner ; Now to God the Father be Glory thro' his only begotten Son, &c. seeing not only the ancient Fathers (particularly *Origen*, for whom *Eusebius* had a singular Veneration) but *St. Paul* too expresses himself frequently by the Word διὰ (by or thro') with Regard to the Relation and Offices of the second Person in the Blessed Trinity.

IT was § the Thirtieth Year of *Constantine's* Reign, when * *Arius* with his Followers return'd to *Alexandria*, to the great Grief and

* See *Marcellus* vindicated in *Athanasius ad Solitarios*.

§ See *Valesius* upon the Place.

† *Valesius* denies that *Arius* return'd to *Alexandria* ; for, says he, *Athanasius* nowhere says so ; on the contrary, he affirms he never would submit to his coming thither, notwithstanding the Emperor's and *Eusebius's* Menaces and Commands. But here the learned Man seems to confound the Question whe-

ther *Arius* return'd, with the Question whether *Athanasius* admitted him to Communion. 'Tis certain it had been Rebellion in *Athanasius* not to suffer him to return if it was the Emperor's Pleasure to send him ; but when he was return'd, it lay in *Athanasius's* own Breast whether he would communicate with him. And indeed that was the Thing, and only that, which the Emperor and *Eusebius* expressly demanded,

and Disturbance of the People there; among whom behaving himself turbulently and factiously, he was summon'd by the Emperor to give an Account of his Conduct at *Constantinople*, or, if we should rather believe *Sozomen*, (*L. 2. c. 19.*) went thither of his own Accord, finding the Church of *Alexandria* would not communicate with him, [and being invited too by *T. L. 1. c. 14.* his Patron *Eusebius*.] Upon his coming to *Constantinople* the City was so divided and embroil'd, that *Alexander*, their Bishop, and Successor to *Metrophanes*, begun to be very solicitous for the Preservation of the *Nicene* Profession within his Jurisdiction, especially when *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* *T. L. 1. c. 29.* [and his Gang were packing a Synod there, the Meeting of which he had not Power or Interest enough to prevent, the Emperor still too much favouring the *Eusebians*;] Which made them so insolent, that they threaten'd to deprive him, [and place an *Arian* in his Chair,] if he did not receive the *S. L. 2. c. 29.* *Airans* to Communion; [which he had absolutely *S. L. 2. c. 29.* refus'd to do, insisting upon the sacred and inviolable Authority of the great Council of *Nice*;] especially as he look'd upon himself to be the proper Patron* and Guardian of its Decrees. In this Distress therefore the good Bishop has Recourſe to Fasting

demanded, to receive to Communion τὸς πρὸς Ἀρείου, Arius, and which *Athanasius* absolutely refus'd, urging μηδεμίαν εἶναι κοινωνίαν τῇ χειροτονησάσῃ ἀπὸς τοῦ καὶ δοῦλον ἐκκλησίαν (*Apol. 2. ad Imper. Const.*) that the Catholick Church abhors all Communion or Fellowship with an Antichristian Heresy; So that if by τὸς πρὸς Ἀρείου was meant *Arius* himself (and *Valesius* gives no other Reason why it should be understood of his Adherents than *ego sic intelligendum puto*; *Observ. Eccl. L. 2. c. 2.*) then his Return is necessarily imply'd in *Athanasius*'s being injoin'd and refusing to admit him: Unless you will say all that was requir'd of *Athanasius*, was to send communicatory Letters to *Arius*, and receive them from him; but then undoubtedly either the Emperor or *Eusebius* would have worded the Demand, or *Athanasius* signify'd his Refusal, in clearer and properer Terms, and not have said the Man when they meant Letters to and from the Man.

* That Council having sat within his Jurisdiction; The Words are remarkable ἐν ἡμετέρῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου ποιῶν,

as they confront the high Pretensions of the Bishops of *Rome*. *Valesius* takes no Notice of them; though they are a much better Proof that the ordinary Resort upon Matters relating to that Council lay to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, notwithstanding *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*'s referring his Cause to *Rome*, than is the Annotator's naked Supposition (*the 2d Note upon c. 13. B. 1. of Socrates*) that *Hosius* subscrib'd at the Head of the Bishops, as being Pope *Sylvester*'s Representative or Proxy; seeing among many others, there are two very good Reasons, why we should believe *Hosius* presid'd there, for himself, and not for the Bishop of *Rome*; first, because none of the elder Historians give the least Intimation of his sitting there as a Delegate; and 2dly, because if the Bishop of *Rome* had been there himself, as the Bishops of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem* were, *Hosius* had been the fittest Man to preside, as having been specially employ'd by the Emperor in those two Affairs which occasion'd the convening of that Council.

and

and Prayer, and prostrates himself under the Communion-Table in the Church of St. *Irene*, with Tears beseeching God for several Days and Nights together, that if *Arius's* Opinion were true, himself might never live to see the Day, which was fix'd (it seems) for a Disputation between them; but if his own were the Orthodox Faith, that *Arius* might receive the Wages of Iniquity before that Time. Thus *Socrates*. But *Theodorit* corrects the latter Part of the Story, which by no means answers to the Character of *Alexander*, out of *Athanasius*; who says nothing of any intended Disputation but that *Alexander*, being assur'd by the *Eusebians*, that they would take Possession of his Church the next Day, address'd himself in this Prayer to God; *If it is thy Will, O Lord, that Arius's Communion should enter into these Walls to Morrow, release the Soul of thy Servant, and destroy not the Righteous with the Wicked; But if thou wilt have Mercy upon thy Church, and I know thou wilt, bear thou the Words of the Eusebians, and give not thy Heritage to Ruin and Reproach. Take Arius out of the World, lest he invade thy Church, and bring his Heresy into it, and so Blasphemy itself ever after pass for true Religion.*

It was indeed a Time for the most earnest Deprecations, when
 * *Arius* had now subscribed very chearfully and very insidiously the
 Nicene

* *Valesius*, in his third Note upon *Sozomen*, c. 30. l. 2. and elsewhere, makes the *Arius*, whom the Synod of *Jerusalem* favour'd, distinct from the Heresiarch, not only against the Account and Authority of our three Historians, but without bringing any express or direct Authority from any other. His principal Objections are these; first, *Athanasius* says that the Heresiarch was conducted by the *Eusebians* to the Church immediately after he had satisfy'd the Emperor. 2dly, To what Purpose two Recantations or Confessions, when the Emperor was so satisfy'd with the first, as to recommend him, upon it, to the Council at *Jerusalem*? 3dly, Why should the Emperor expect another from him, at least after that Council had accepted the first? 4thly, *Athanasius* declares the Heresiarch dy'd excommunicate, and therefore he could not be the same with him whom the Bishops at *Jerusalem* absolv'd; nor durst *Alexander* have refus'd

to communicate with him, in Defiance to the Authority of that Council. As for his last Argument in the 2d Chap. of the 2d Book of his *Observ. Eccles.* taken from the Time of *Marcarius's* being at *Constantinople*, it is so very precarious and uncertain that I need not take Notice of it. But to the first of the four I crave Leave to answer, that *Athanasius* does not say the Heresiarch was recall'd from Banishment immediately before his acquitting himself, at that Time, to the Emperor, and his being conducted to the Church; (which is the Basis of *Valesius's* Argument) for the Words are ἐκέλευτο παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου; which signify no more than that he was summon'd or call'd before the Emperor; as he might be, either from *Alexandria*, or, if he were in *Constantinople* it self, from his Lodgings, at any Time after his Return out of Exile, and presenting his first Confession at Court. To the 2d and 3d; The Emperor might have good Reason (and certainly

Nicene Faith, in the Emperor's Presence, and confirm'd his Subscription by an Oath, with this execrable Fallacy, as 'tis reported, that when he swore he did believe sincerely and ingenuously what he had subscrib'd, he had his own Opinion in a Paper, as he had written and subscrib'd it, and this he held under his Arm; [when, at the same Moment, the Emperor S. L. 2. c. 30. admonish'd him to beware of any equivocal or fallacious Meaning, as he hop'd to escape the Divine Vengeance.] Now then his Majesty, confident of Arius's Sincerity, lays his Commands upon Alexander to receive him to Communion; and so Arius leaves the Palace very triumphantly, his Eusebian Friends attending him in a pompous Procession till he came to the Forum Constantini; where being seiz'd on a sudden with such a Horror of Conscience, [or, as others will have S. L. 2. c. 29. it, such an Extasy of Joy for his Success, [as caus'd a Relaxation in his Bowels, he withdrew to a Privy behind the Forum [long after upon his Account S. L. 2. c. 30. detested, till one of his Followers bought the Ground, and built a Tenement upon it.] Here he fainted away, and in the Fit his lower Guts fell out with the Excrement and a great Quantity of Blood, and then the lesser Intestines with the Spleen and Liver; upon which he died immediately. This extremely mortify'd and astonish'd the Eusebians [who S. L. 2. c. 29. bury'd him,] and impudently call'd his Death a T. L. 1. c. 14. Piece of Witchcraft;] but it had that good Effect upon the Emperor, as to engage him entirely in the Interest of the Nicene Confession.

certainly had) to believe Arius had play'd a Trick in that first Confession, and this too notwithstanding the Bishops at Jerusalem had clear'd him; for, though, according to Vales. that Council was longè unanimum celeberrima, & cum Nicænâ Synodo comparanda, (Observ. Eccl. L. 2. c. 2.) yet, it is plain, Athanasius did by no means think it so; nor himself oblig'd to acquiesce in the Determinations of it, from what he says in the beginning of his History of the Arians, but more at large in his 2d Apology, ἐκ ἡσέδισσαν τοιαύτα γράφοντες καὶ λέγοντες τάς τε δευτέρως φρονεῖν ὡς πάντα ἡ ἀγκυρωτική συνόδος ἀνεθεμάτισε, καὶ ἐκ ἐφεσέδισσαν τὴν πλεονεύτην σὺν δυνάμει ἐν ζωῇ αὐτοῦ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, οἱ πάντα λέγοντες καὶ πράττοντες ἐν χειρῶν, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς δὲ τῆς συκο-

φαντίας ἐπὶ πλεοναυτῶν τὴν πονηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσεβίαν πρὸς θεὸν δεικνύουσιν; 'tis not for such an insufferable rash Assembly, in a Corner, to pretend to cancel what has been so unanimously decreed in a general Council, and pronounce those Orthodox, which the other has anathematiz'd; besides the horrid Aggravation, that all Things were carry'd by Bribery and Corruption, and shameless Subornations and Forgeries. And therefore in reply to the 4th Objection; Athanasius, I conceive, might affirm upon very good Grounds, or at least such in his Judgment, that Arius whom the Council at Jerusalem acquitted and receiv'd to Communion, dy'd nevertheless excommunicate; and Alexander might refuse to communicate with him upon the same Exceptions.

H h

[YET

[YET it did not put an End to those Divisions ;
S. L. 2. c. 31, nor to the Emperor's Displeasure against *Athanasius*,
 32. which, confirm'd by the Sentence of the *Tyrian* Synod,
 * lay so deep, that no Importunity nor Application
 from the *Alexandrians*, both Clergy and Laity, nor from *Antony*
 the Ascetick, could prevail with him to recall the holy Man ;
 though he was, at the same Time, so impartial as to banish *John*,
 the Successor of *Meletius* ; who, he was sensible, had obstructed as
 much as any Man that good Agreement and Union which he so
 passionately desir'd ; and which indeed he pursu'd the regular and
 true way to establish, except in the particular Case
T. L. 1. c. 33. before us, wherein [(as the wisest and best Man in
 the World may be circumvented by a Combination
 of subtle, accomplish'd Villains)] he happen'd to be impos'd upon ;
 for he was, in his Inclinations, so far from countenancing any Here-
 ticks or Sectaries, when they profess'd themselves of any such Deno-
 minations, (as the *Montanists* or *Cataphrygians*, the *Valentinians*,
Marcionites, *Paulians*, and, among the rest, the *Novatians*,) though
 these had always been a very numerous Faction, (with Men of consi-
 derable Character and Understanding at the Head of them, and free
 from all Heterodoxy, in reference to the Divinity and Incarnation ;
 and though *Acefus*, their Bishop at *Constantinople*, was, for his
 Austerity of Life, much valu'd and belov'd by him) that finding
 there was nothing to be done by Lenitives, he prohibited, in a legal
 way, their Meetings, either publick or private ; by which Means he
 broke their several Factions, and, which was more, recover'd very
 many deluded Souls to the Communion of the Church ; and that
 not so much neither by the Execution, as by the Terror of the Edict,
 especially in his Management of the *Novatians*. But these Proceed-
 ings of the Emperor, though they † restrain'd *Eusebius* and *Theog-
 nis* from declaring openly against the Consubstantial Faith, yet were
 not sufficient to discourage them from drawing up a new Creed,
 that is to say, the *Nicene* Creed enlarged by their Comments and
 Explications.]

* *Theodorit* (*L. 1. c. 32.*) says he recall'd
Athanasius before his Death, all *Eusebius's*
 Interest and Endeavours proving not of
 Force enough to prevent it.

† This explains *Sozom. L. 2. c. 32.* where
 he says that the *Arians* were not yet (even
 after the Council of Tyre) a distinct Commu-
 nion ; that is to say, the *Eusebians* were not
 yet declar'd *Arians*.

IT was now the Sixty-fifth Year of his Age, when the Emperor, having, twenty Years before, vested the Government of the *Western* Provinces in his eldest Son *Constantine*; and, ten after that, deputed his second Son *Constantius* to govern the East; and, at his *Tricennialia*, created *Constans*, his third Son, *Cæsar*; fell into an Indisposition; which requir'd that he should be carry'd to *Helenopolis* for the Benefit of the hot Springs there; but these not relieving him, he remov'd from thence to *Nicomedia*, where he receiv'd

Christian Baptism [which he deferr'd till now, *T. L. I. c. 32.* designing to have receiv'd it in the River *Jordan*.]

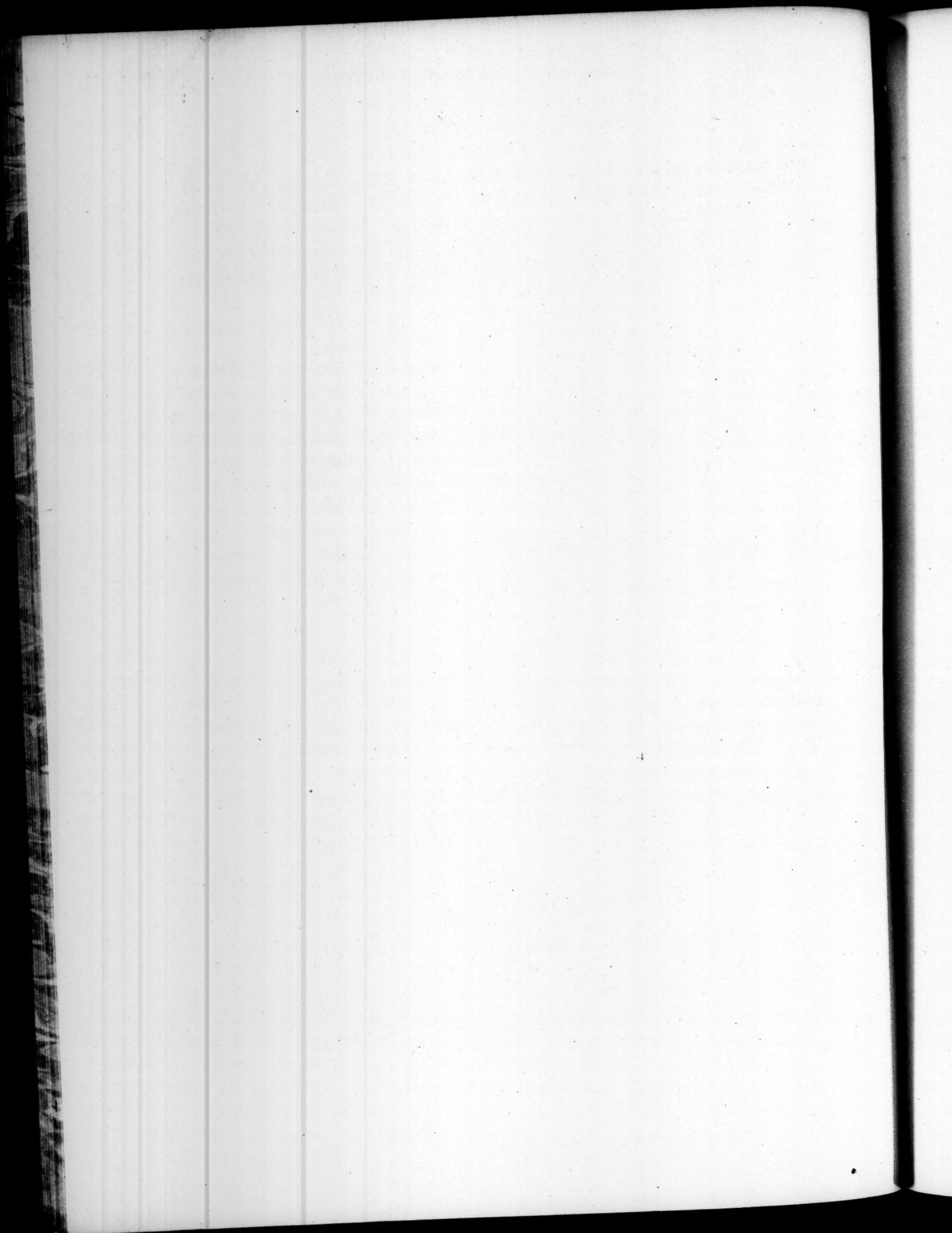
At the same Time he made his Will, wherein he made a Partition of the Empire between his three Sons, and * left it in the Custody of the Presbyter that had perswaded him to recall *Arius*, with Orders not to deliver it to any one but his Son *Constantius*, then in the East; and within a few Days after † dy'd. His Body was carry'd in a Coffin of Gold to *Constantinople*, where he lay in State, till the Arrival of *Constantius*, who bury'd him with all the Splendor and Magnificence imaginable, in the Church of the Apostles, which his Father had design'd to be a Place of Interrment for Emperors, and for [those, whose Authority *S. L. 2. c. 34.* within the sacred Walls is superior to that of Emperors, their spiritual Fathers] the Bishops.

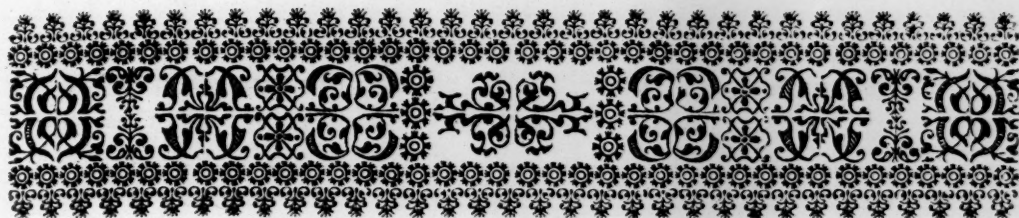
CONSTANTINE liv'd Sixty-five Years, and reign'd Thirty-one; which is the Space of Time comprehended in the History of this first Book.

* See *Valesius* upon the Place.

† Whoever will see the Proofs laid together of *Constantine's* dying in the Communion of the *Catholic Church*, let him peruse *Natalis Alexand. 23d Dissertation in Sæc. 4. Pars 2.*







T H E
Ecclesiastical HISTORY

O F

Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit.

B O O K II.



UPON the Death of *Constantine*, *Eusebius* and *Theognis* being sensible how fair an Opportunity they had now before them, to subvert the Consubstantial Faith, and establish the *Arian* Heresy, apply'd themselves with all imaginable Industry to make their Advantage of it; and [they *S. L. 3. c. 1.* did not in the least despair of carrying their Point, if they could but keep *Athanasius* abroad, and supply his Place with a Man for their Purpose.] In order to this they employ'd the Presbyter, with whom the late Emperor had entrusted his Will; which bequeathing the Dominions of the East to *Constantius*, the most acceptable Legacy his Father could leave him, endear'd the Person that deliver'd it so much to the young Emperor, that he soon became the Favourite and Confident of the Court, and drew into the *Arian*

Arian Interest and Persuasion, first the Eunuchs that were about the Empress, and then the Empress herself; and so the Controversy crept to the Emperor, and after that soon spread thro' the Court, thro' *Constantinople*, thro' all the Cities and Provinces of the East, which were turn'd, as 'twere, on a sudden, into one great School of Disputation, where Men, Women, and Children, of all Conditions and Qualities, mingled their Metaphysicks; while Peace and Union and the *Nicene* Faith were triumphant in the West,

T. L. 2. c. 1. from whence [after * an Absence of two Years and four Months] *Athanasius* (to the Confusion of the *Eusebians*, who by the Favour of this blessed Juncture of Tumult and Distraction, were more encourag'd than ever to attempt the bringing in a new Bishop over his Head) return'd to *Alexandria*, arm'd with Letters from *Constantine* the Younger; wherein he acquaints the *Alexandrians*, ' That he restor'd to them their Bishop, ' as his Royal Father, if he had liv'd long enough, *S. L. 3. c. 2.* ' would have done, [(and 'tis said had order'd in ' his Will)] having banish'd him into the West on ' Purpose to rescue and preserve him from the Malice and Violence ' of his Enemies, which had otherwise unavoidably overwhelm'd ' him.' *Athanasius* was receiv'd with great Joy at *Alexandria*, which very much exasperated the *Arians* there, from whose Mutinies and Commotions, the *Eusebians* took Occasion to censure *Athanasius* for returning and repossessing himself of his Bishoprick without a Synodical Licence.

ABOUT this Time *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* dy'd, and was succeeded by his Scholar *Acacius*, who wrote his Master's Life, *S. L. 3. c. 2.* and other Treatises, [and was indeed a very understanding, eloquent Man.] And soon after, *Constantine* the Younger, invading the Territories of his Brother *Constans*, lost his Life in the Expedition.

Now also dy'd † *Alexander* of *Constantinople*, having arriv'd at the Twenty-third Year of his Episcopat, and the Ninety-eighth of his Life; and in reference to a Successor, *S. L. 3. c. 3.* [when his Clergy apply'd themselves to him about the Choice,] recommended two Persons to the Opinion of the Electors, the one, which was *Paul*, a young Presbyter,

* See *Valesius* upon the Place.

† See *Valesius* upon the Place.

conspicuous for his exemplary Life and excellent Parts ; the other (*Macedonius* a Deacon) of a venerable Aspect, and an old Man ; [the former, if they would have a *S. L. 3. c. 3.* Man of extraordinary Piety and an excellent Instructor ; the latter, if they desir'd one well-qualify'd to bustle in the World, and to deal with the great People of it ; and indeed the Event sufficiently prov'd *Paul* to be far from being such an one.] This Election kindled a Flame in the Church of *Alexandria*. The *Arian* Faction, which in *Alexander's* Time had been inferior to the Orthodox, but were since grown equal to them in Power and Numbers, [taking him to be a Brother, *T. L. 2. c. 6.* because * he deny'd the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, tho' afterwards they found their Mistake] contended for *Macedonius*, [and to this Day pretend that *Paul* *S. L. 3. c. 3.* usurp'd the Chair, in an uncanonical Opposition to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theodorus* of *Heraclea*, † who ought to have ordain'd him by the Right of Neighbourhood ;] but the Consubstantialists ordain'd *Paul*, the Person whom *Alexander* seem'd to prefer ; who nevertheless was soon after depriv'd by *Constantius*, upon the Sentence of an *Arian* Council call'd for that Purpose, [nor is it to be wonder'd at, that the Em- *T. L. 2. c. 5.* peror should then and afterwards hate and persecute one, whom his Favourites represented as an Incendiary, and a very wicked Man ; which was their everlasting Insinuation against the Champions of the Faith.] *Paul* thus remov'd, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* is translated to *Constantinople*, [con- *T. L. 1. c. 19.* trary to Canons, which himself had been instrumental in the compiling of.] Yet neither had this Promotion any good Effect upon him ; for the next Thing he did was to contrive a Council to meet at *Antioch* in *Syria*, upon pretence of dedicating a Church, begun by *Constantine*, and now finish'd by his Son, but in Truth with Design, as far as lay in him, to abrogate and explode the *Nicene* Faith. This Synod, at which the Emperor himself was present, met five Years after the Death of *Constantine*, and in the Time of *Flaccillus*, who succeeded *Euphronius* in the Chair of *Antioch*, and consisted of § [Ninety Bishops, *S. L. 3. c. 5.* among whom was the *Nicomedian* *Eusebius*, *Acacius*

* Here *Theodorit* must be in an Error, if he did not broach his Heresy 'till some time after.
 † See *Valesius* upon the Place.
 § *Sozomen* (*L. 3. c. 5.*) says Ninety-seven.

of *Cæsarea*, *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*, *Theodorus* of *Heraclea*, *Eudoxius* of *Germanicia*, *Dianius* of the *Cappadocian Cæsarea*, and *George* of *Laodicea*.] *Maximus* of *Jerusalem* would not come, remembering by what Artifices he had been already drawn in to subscribe *Athanasius's* Deposition; * neither was *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* there, nor any

* The learned Annotator, from those Words of our Historian καίτοι κανόνος ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καλέοντες, μὴ δὲν παρὰ τὴν γνώμην τῶ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης τὰς ἐκκλησίας κανονίζειν, infers great Things in Favour of the Bishop of *Rome*; particularly, that no Canons affecting the Church Universal, could or can be valid without his Consent and Approbation. But this is running away with the Text too fast: For first, No such Canon as *Socrates* speaks of, is to be met with in *Scriptis*, and *Baronius* (an. 325. n. 13.) does not pretend to produce it; only he tells us very pleasantly, that the Historian's not naming the Canon *plane declarat id firma regula in Ecclesia Catholica inviolabiliter servari solitum*, plainly shews it was an establish'd and inviolable Rule or Prescription in the *Catholic Church*; Whereas all the Records and Monuments of the primitive Church evidently and universally attest the contrary, and particularly those three famous Canons, the 35th of the Apostolick, and the 4th and 6th of the Council of *Nice*. Secondly, This Canon, if any such were to be found, would not be of Divine but only Ecclesiastical Authority, and therefore could not supersede that Oeconomy which stands establish'd by Divine Authority, viz. the Spiritual Sovereignty of every Bishop in his own District; the Primacy of every Metropolitan in his Province, and the Authority of Councils and Synods over single Bishops and Metropolitans. Thirdly, παρὰ τὴν γνώμην must signify without the Consent and not against it; (and accordingly *Baronius*, making use of this Passage to the same Effect as *Valesius*, translates it *absq;*) for it does not appear that *Julius* had forbid the convening of that Synod; and then the utmost that could be infer'd, would be that there was an Ecclesiastical Canon which requir'd the Bishop of *Rome's* Consent and Approbation to be ask'd, but yet did not extend to the allowing him a Negative. And it is plain from the Story before us (not to mention many other Instances) that he was not allow'd it; for, as the Reader will find in the Sequel, the *Antiochian* Bi-

shops insisted upon it in their Answer to his first Letter, that he had no more Authority to meddle in the Proceedings of foreign Bishops, than they to tamper in the Affairs of his Church at *Rome*; and *Valesius* elsewhere, scil. in his last Note upon Chap. 17. L. 2. *Socr.* ingenuously observes, that Pope *Julius* himself, in his Reply to the *Antiochian* Bishops, extant in *Athanasius*, takes no Notice of any such Canon; which he could not have avoided, had there been any such. He might further have observ'd, that that Epistle was a Synodical one, only drawn up by *Julius*, as *Athanasius* tells us in the Paragraph immediately before it, and in that which immediately follows it; nay, as *Baronius* himself is forced to confess an. 343. n. 28. and which further appears from that Expression at the latter End of it, εἰς ἡμῶν γραφῆναι πᾶσιν ἡμῶν, you ought to have written to us all. Fourthly, There could not be at that time any Canon requiring the Bishop of *Rome's* Consent to be asked; inasmuch as those were Privileges much inferior to these which the *Sardican* Council afterwards vouchsafed Pope *Julius*, (for that Time see *Dr. Cave's* 2d Vol. of *Lives*, Appen. p. 21.) in their 3d, 4th, and 7th Canons, according to the Order of *Dionysius Exiguus's* Code. To be short; it is plain that by our Historian's Ecclesiastical Rule, is meant the Right and Custom of a later Council examining and judging the Decrees of a former, which the *Eusebians*, very inconsistently with their own Practice, excepted against, and that too after they had referred their Cause to *Julius*, as *Athanasius* informs us they had already done. Now such Re-examinations were certainly all along the Practice of the Primitive Church, τὸ ἔδος παλαιόν, (as *Julius* calls it) and grounded upon the very Nature and Reason of the Thing; and in regard the Re-examination of this particular Case had been, by a voluntary Reference, submitted to the Bishop of *Rome*, our Historian's Meaning in those Words, καίτοι κανόνος ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καλέοντες, μὴ δὲν παρὰ τὴν γνώμην τῶ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης

any Proxy from him, [nor any of the *Italian* or *Western* Bishops.] The first Business they enter'd *S. L. 3. c. 6.* upon, was Accusations against *Athanasius* for resum- ing his Episcopat without a Synodical Permission, and contrary to a Canon of theirs; * for the Destruction of a great many Persons that perish'd in a Tumult, when he enter'd *Alexan- dria*; [for the ill Consequences of that Insurrection *S. L. 3. c. 5.* to those who were judicially call'd to account for it] and for his beating and prosecuting several others; besides all the old *Tyrian* Story over again.

UPON the Footing of these Allegations, [they determine to place a new Bishop in the Chair of *Alex- andria*; and the Man whom *Eusebius* of *Constantino- ple* pitch'd upon, as the fittest to alienate the Affections of the *Alex- andrians* from *Athanasius*] was *Eusebius Emisenus*, who (says *George* of *Laodicea* in his Life) was descended of a noble Family in *Edeffa*, and conversant from a Child in the Holy Scriptures and the Liberal Arts. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* and *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis* were after- wards his Tutors in Theology. He liv'd some time with *Eufronius* at *Antioch*; from whence his Modesty (says Bishop *George*) carry'd him to *Alexandria*, to avoid taking Orders; where, after he had spent some Time with the Philosophers of the Place, he return'd to *Antioch*, and liv'd with *Flaccillus*; 'till his Namesake, now of *Constantinople*, got him elected into *Athanasius's* Bishoprick, but he never would attempt to take Possession, well-knowing how ill a Welcome he should meet with; and when he was sent to the *Emi- seni*, they were all in an Uproar upon his Ordina- tion, [being prejudic'd against him, as a Person *S. L. 3. c. 6.* much addicted to Astrology]; nor could they in a long Time be prevail'd upon to let him live amongst them. After this he was charg'd with † *Sabellianism*, and then the Emperor, who

* *Πάντες τὰς ἐκκλησίας κανονίζεν*, must be, that according to the Practice of the Church, and the Nature of her Government, they could not come to any Synodical Determinations, without first applying themselves to the Bishop of Rome for his Concurrence and Approbation, after they had thought fit to refer themselves in this Matter to him.

* See the Falsity of these Allegations in the Synodical Epistle of the Egyptian Bi- shops in *Athanasius's* Second Apology.

† Whether pretended or real, cannot ve- ry easily be determined: Though it is not likely if it had been the former, I mean the Doctrine of Consubstantiality so called, that the Emperor would have been so fond of him; not to say how much his Character is blemished by *Eusebius* of *Constantinople's* Confidence in him. Besides, *St. Jerom* and *Theodorit* have expressly pronounced him an *Arian*.

valu'd and pity'd him, and look'd upon him to be a Worker of Miracles, carry'd him along with him in his Expedition against the *Barbarians*.

EUSEBIUS declining to take the new Preferment, they constitute *Gregory* Bishop of that City, and then apply themselves wholly to the Work of modelling (in their Way) the Primitive Faith † by little and little, into *Arianism*, and that, without making any Exceptions to the *Nicene* Confession, by assembling Synods upon Synods, and advancing Creeds upon Creeds. In their Synodical Epistle they tell the World, 'they did not follow *Arius*, but receive him; for that they were Bishops, he no more than a Presbyter; and that they held no other Faith than what was deliver'd from the Beginning; that they believ'd in one only begotten Son of God, subsisting before all Worlds, and abiding with the Father who begot him: By whom all Things were made; King and God for ever. But presently this grows stale with them; and they start another Creed; wherein they profess to believe in one Lord *Jesus Christ*, the only begotten Son of God, by whom all Things were made; Begotten of the Father before all Worlds; God of God, the Whole of the Whole, the Only-one of the Only-one, King of King, Lord of Lord; the living Word, Wisdom, Life, true Light, the Way of Truth, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Door; Unalterable and Untransmutable; the Express and Perfect Image of his Father's Divinity, Substance, Power, Counsel, and Glory; the First-born of every Creature; who was in the Beginning with God, and was God the Word, by whom all Things were made, and by whom all Things subsist, the Prince of Life; and that they believe in the Father as truly such; in the Son as truly such; and in the Holy Ghost as truly such; One in Consent or Harmony, (συμμετρία ἐν) and three Persons; and that whosoever shall affirm that there was a Time before the Son was begotten, or that the Son was a Creature as one of the Creatures, they anathematiz'd him: [But not one Word of his Consubstantiality. And S. L. 3. c. 5. they spread a Report, that they had found this Creed

† They took care to hide the cloven Foot; as the *Sardican* Council have expressed it in their Epistle (*Theod. L. 2. c. 8.*) τὰς ὑμετέρας ἀκοὰς ἐπεχείρησαν παρασκεῦσαι, ἵνα κατὰ μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἃ λέγονσι πισύνηται, τὴν, ὅτι τις μωχθρεῖς αὐτῶν αἰρέσεως ὑπόνοιαν

ἐπαχύνουσιν: No doubt they have filed your Ears with Arguments, Affirmations, Interpretations, and I know not what all, to make you believe their Allegations against innocent Men, and to keep their own abominable Heresy out of Sight.

in the very Hand-writing of *Lucian* the Martyr, a Man that had been most remarkably conversant and skill'd in the Sacred Writings.] These and the like Creeds were the Product of the *Antiochian* Council, and were subscrib'd by *Gregory*, as Bishop of *Alexandria*, before he had yet been there; and when they begun to be fatigu'd with the great Work of Altering and Mending, the Synod separated. About this Time the *Franks* broke into *Gaul*, and there were terrible Earthquakes in the East.

* Soon after came *Gregory* to *Alexandria*, guarded with a Body of Five thousand Soldiers under the Command of *Syrianus*, and the *Arians* immediately join'd them. *Athanasius* was then with his People in the Church, where they were late at their preparatory Devotions, in order to the receiving the Holy Sacrament the next Day; and understanding the Danger they were in, he order'd a Psalm to be sung, during which the Guards were quiet, and the Congregation withdrew peaceably out of one of the Church Doors, and *Athanasius* in the midst † of them, who convey'd himself directly to *Rome*; while *Gregory* took Possession of the great Confessor's Throne. The *Alexandrians* were so enrag'd at these Proceedings, that they burnt down the Church of *St. Denny*s.

AND now, when he had thus finish'd his Plot, *Eusebius* § refers the Cognizance and Determination of *Athanasius*'s Cause to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*; but did not live along enough to see the Event of his Reference, for he dy'd soon after the breaking up of the Synod; and then the *Constantinopolians* restore *Paul*, and the *Arians* ordain *Macedonius*, at the Instigation and by the Help of *Eusebius*'s five Executors in Villainy, *Theognis* of *Nicea*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Theodorus* of *Heraclea*, *Ursacius* of *Singidunum*, and *Valens* of *Mursa*; tho' ere long the two last repented, and after they had been the

* See *Valesius* upon the Place.

† Not of the whole Congregation, whose Safety, he himself tells us, he had consult- ed for before his own, but of certain Monks and some of his Clergy, who pulled him from his Seat, and forced him to go along with them. V. *Theodor. L. 2. c. 13.* This Story (by the way) is certainly mis-timed, and ought to have come in much later, at least after the Council of *Milan*, and with it a more copious Account of the barba-

rous Proceedings of the *Arians* at *Alexandria* and *Athanasius*'s Recess, than all our three Historians afford us. Whoever is curious, may find them very particularly and elegantly related out of *Athanasius*, by Dr. *Cave, L. of the P. E. V. 2. p. 138, &c.*

§ This he and his Party had done before, as appears from *St. Athanasius* in his 2d Apology in the Paragraph immediately preceding *Julius*'s Epistle.

Authors of such Confusion, and so many Combuſtions in the Church, (particularly of that diſmal one at *Constantinople*, in Favour of *Macedonius*, which coſt ſo many of the Inhabitants their Lives) ſubſcrib'd the Conſubſtantial Faith, and were receiv'd to Communion. Upon Notice of theſe Things, the Emperor ſends *Hermogenes*, Maſter of his Horſe, to *Constantinople*, to drive out *Paul*; which he no ſooner attempted, but the People, who upon his entring the City were all gather'd in a Body to protect their Biſhop, ſet fire to his Apartment, and kill'd him, dragging him by the Legs along the Streets. *Constantius*, who had juſt before reduc'd the *Franks*, and was then at *Antioch*, receiving this News, poſts away to *Constantinople* with a Body of Horſe, expells *Paul*, and to chaſtize the City, retrenches their Allowance of Corn, which was a Donation of his Father's, from almoſt Eighty Buſhels to leſs than half that Quantity; but deferr'd placing *Macedonius* in the Chair, becauſe he had been averſe to his Ordination, and becauſe the Infurrection and the bloody Effects of it happen'd as much upon his Account as *Paul's*: However he allow'd him the Liberty of the Church where he had been conſecrated, and return'd to *Antioch*.

* At the ſame Time the *Arians* remove *Gregory* from the See of *Alexandria*, as having been remiſs in ſupporting their Intereſt, and the Perſon that occaſion'd the burning of the Church in that City; [and thoſe other Evils which accompany'd his Entrance †] and they § ſubſtitute one *George*, a leading [and a very active] *Arian* in his Place.

** *ATHANASIUS* was no ſooner got to the End of his Journey with much Difficulty, but there arriv'd alſo at *Rome* *Paul* of *Constantinople*, *Aſclepas* of *Gaza*, [(whom they accus'd of having overturn'd an Altar, and gave his Biſhoprick to *Quintianus*] *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and †† *Lucius* of *Adrianople*, having reſpectively upon ſeparate Impeachments been thruſt out of their Sees; and repreſented their Caſe to *Julius* Biſhop

* *V. Valeſ.*

† *Theodorit* ſays, (L. 2. c. 4.) that after *Gregory* had tyrannized ſix Years, they tore him to Pieces.

§ They did not do this 'till ſome Years after. See *Valeſ. on Socr.* B. 2. c. 14. n. 1.

** *V. Valeſ. in Socr.* L. 2. c. 15. n. 1.

†† This *Lucius* was laid in Chains more than once by the Adverſaries of the Faith, and at length dy'd in them. *Theod.* L. 2. c. 15.

of Rome, from whom * receiving Letters, wherein he demanded their Restitution, and reflected very severely upon their Deposers, they return'd into the East, and took Possession again of their Bishopricks, and sent *Julius's* Epistles as they were superscrib'd; but the Pretensions and high Language of them so incens'd the Bishops, that convening Synodically at *Antioch*, they tax *Julius*, *Nemine Contradicente*, with his high Presumption in taking upon him to interpose his Authority in the Case of those Bishops whom they had depriv'd, which the Eastern Bishops had not the Hardiness to do, when *Novatus* was excommunicated, [and admonish him, ' That tho', it is true, the See S. L. 3. c. 8. of Rome is a very illustrious and eminent one, as
' having been an Apostolical School and a Metropolitcal City from
' the Beginning; not but those Apostles and first Converters of it
' came out of the East; yet they were as much superior to him in
' the Equity of their Proceedings, and the Excellency of their
' Merit, as he to them in the † Grandeur of his See, and the Extent
' of

* As from an Arbitrator, to whom the contesting Parties had voluntarily referr'd themselves, as upon other Accounts, so in regard of the Grandeur and Lustre of that See. That is the utmost that could be made of this Passage, if the Matter of Fact were true; which it certainly is not, for *Athanasius* did not return 'till after the Council of *Sardica*, and it was that Council that acquitted him, demanded his Restitution, and depos'd *Gregory*. *Valesius* himself observes this. See his 2d, 3d, and 4th Note upon this Chap.

† This clearly explains, notwithstanding *Valesius's* Rhodomontade in his second Note upon this Chapter, those Words of *Sozomen* a little before, δια δὲ τῆς πάντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θεῆς, the conducting of this whole Affair belonging to him, because of the Dignity or Grandeur of his See; for so it did, after it was referr'd to him. And to whom should it rather be referr'd, when the three great Patriarchs of the East were now thrown out and banish'd, but to the Patriarch of the West, at least on the Part of the Plaintiffs? As *Sozomen* observes in the Chapter before, περὶ κατελιμμένων τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων θεῶν, Ἀλεξανδρείας τῆς κατ' Αἰγυπτίον, καὶ Ἀντιοχείας τῆς ἐν σελείᾳ, καὶ τῆς παρὰ τὴν ἐλλήσποντον ἐσπλίδος πόλεως, πεισιμένους ἔχον τοὺς ἀνὰ τὸ δε

το ὑπάρχον ἐπισκόπους. ὁ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἐπηρεάζων, καὶ ἐν ἀνὰ τὴν δύσιν ἱερεῖς, ὕβρει δικαίαν ταῦτα ἠρῶντο; when they had now overturned the three great Thrones of Alex. Antioch, and Constant. they had all the Eastern Bishops at their Devotion. This the Bishop of Rome and the Western Bishops as highly resented, as if the Indignity and Injury had been offer'd to themselves; and he adds, that they receiv'd *Athanasius* very kindly, and that they look'd upon themselves as condemn'd and oppress'd in him, and made his Case their own, which I take to be the proper Meaning of those Words, περὶ αὐτῶν τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν ἔλκον δίκην; tho' if *Valesius's* Construction be allow'd, it will do his Cause no good, because there was a Reference antecedent. And here, by the Way, 'tis observable that the other Bishops of the West were equally concern'd in all this Affair with the Bishop of Rome: Accordingly, as I said before, *Julius's* Epistle was a Synodical one; and *Athanasius ad Solit.* says, that *Julius* desir'd the Affair might be Synodically agitated, ὁ δὲ ἐπισκοπὸς Ῥώμης Ἰέλιος ἐγγράφε χρήναι γινώσκοντες ἐν δα ἀν ἐθελήσωντο, &c. nor does the learned Annalist deny it, only he translates ἐγγράφε, jussit, he commanded. From the whole we may gather, that the Reference was properly to the Western Church, tho'

‘ of his Metropolitcal and Patriarchal Jurisdiction, that in receiving
 ‘ *Athanasius* and the other Bishops to Communion, he had put a
 ‘ Contempt upon no less Authority than that of a Council, and
 ‘ had the Confidence to reverse the Decrees of it, contrary to the
 ‘ Laws and Rights of the Church ; in a Word, that he had very
 ‘ notoriously injur’d and affronted them ; but that nevertheless, if
 ‘ he would quit the Communion of the ejected Bishops, and admit
 ‘ that of the new ones, they would forgive him, and not ex-
 ‘ communicate him ; otherwise he must expect no Favour from
 ‘ them.]

* *ATHANASIUS* was no sooner return’d to *Alexandria*, but the Party of *George* was so enrag’d, that they flew out into an open Insurrection, and Blood and Slaughter ensued ; all which *Athanasius*’s Enemies charg’d to his Account, not considering, or at least concealing, on the other Hand, how barbarously *Athanasius* and the rest of the Catholick Church had been us’d by the *Arians* and their Brethren, and in how many Synods they had complain’d of these Enormities and Injuries to no manner of Purpose.

THE Emperor being inform’d that *Paul* was return’d to *Constantinople*, dispatches his Commands to *Philip*, his principal *Præfectus Prætorio*, [and a furious *Arian*] to expel him, and fix *Macedonius* in the Chair. The Prefect, to prevent any Disorders, kept his Instructions to himself, till taking his Opportunity, under a Shew of publick Business, to go to *Zeuxippus*’s Bath, as ’tis call’d, he sent a very handsome Message to *Paul*, desiring his Presence upon an extraordinary Occasion ; and when he came, shew’d him the Emperor’s Order, to which he

tho’ ’tis said to be to the Bishop of *Rome*. Indeed it is evident from that Passage which Pope *Julius* himself has left us in his Epistle, *γνωστέτω υμῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὅτι εἰ καὶ μὴ ὁ ἕως ἄρτι, ἀλλ’ ἐκ ἐμῶς μόνου ἐστὶν αὐτῇ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ὧν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇσι πρὶς μέρεσιν ἐπισκόπων, &c.* by which it appears, that as the *Eusebians* expected a Synodical or Conciliar Arbitration, not that of the Bishop of *Rome* alone ; so *Julius*, instead of looking upon himself as chosen to be the sole Judge of the Matter, or intimating that they had made him so, tells them, they had what they expected, in such

a Manner as discovers that they had it of Right, not of Courtesy ; and he himself has before declar’d the Matter of Fact, that they had apply’d to him for a Synod, *ἡξίωσαν ἡμᾶς, ὥστε σύνδον σύγκλησθαι* ; and that it was a Synodical Trial, to which they had been desir’d to come before they had made that Motion, *πεπετρεῖσθαι εἰς σύνδον ἀπαντῶντων*. As for the Motive that induc’d the *Eusebians* to put the Cause upon the Judgment of the Western Church, consult Bishop *Parker*’s *Religion and Loyalty*, Part 1. p. 422.

* *V. Vales.*

submitted,

submitted, as became a good *Christian* and a loyal Subject; and so was quietly convey'd out of the Reach of the People, who were already alarm'd, to the Palace, and from thence on Ship-board, and banish'd to * *Theſſalonica*, the Place of his Nativity, with a ſtrict Injunction not to ſet his Foot again within the Territories of the Eaſtern Empire. *Paul* being thus diſmiſs'd, immediately the Prefect appears in his Chariot, and with him *Macedonius*, like a Man dropt from the Clouds, attended by a Guard of Soldiers with their Swords in their Hands. At this Appearance both Orthodox and *Arians*, a vaſt Multitude, made all the Haſte they could to the Church, each Side to ſecure it for themſelves; and ſo croud'd up the Paſſage to it, that it was impoſſible for the Prefect to come forward. Upon which the Guards beat and thruſt the People, 'till they were wedg'd ſo cloſe together, that they could move neither backward nor forward; and then ſuppoſing they kept the Ground on purpoſe, fell in upon them, and ſo a thouſand one hundred and fifty of them were either put to the Sword, or ſqueez'd to Death. And then *Macedonius* wiped his Mouth, and was inthron'd by the Prefect in open Deſiance to the Rights and Canons of the Church. About the ſame Time the Emperor erected the great Church contiguous to that of *St. Irene*, and both together are now call'd the Church of *St. Sophia*.

By this Time the *Arians* had form'd a freſh Indictment againſt *Athanaſius*; which was, that he had embezzel'd the Allowance of Corn, which the Emperor's Royal Father had ſettled upon the Church of *Alexandria* for the Maintenance of their Poor. This, with their Outcries againſt him, as a ſeditious turbulent Man, and the Occaſion of the bloody Commotions which had lately happen'd at *Alexandria*, kindles ſuch an Indignation in the Emperor, that he vows his Death; and *Athanaſius* is forc'd to † fly and abſcond; 'till *Julius* underſtood where he was, and § invited him to *Rome*, having receiv'd *Eufebius* the late Biſhop's Letters, and others from the Council at *Antioch*; and again, others from the *Egyptian*

* It ſhould certainly be *Cucusus*, V. *Valeſius*:

† He fled (ſays *Ruffinus*, L. 10. c. 19) into the Dominions of *Conſtans*, and the Reaſon he gives for his doing ſo, was not any Summons from *Rome*, or the like, but becauſe *nihil ſibi ultra jam tatum in Conſtantini regno preſumpſit*.

§ See *Valeſius* upon the Place, and a Conſutation of his Miſtakes as to this Part of the Hiſtory, in Biſhop *Parker's Religion and Loyalty*, Part 1. pag. 439. *Sozomen*, L. 3. c. 10. ſays, that *Julius* repreſented the Matter to the Emperor.

Bishops in *Athanasius's* Favour : And these irreconcilable Accounts perplexing him, he writes an Answer to the Bishops at *Antioch*, wherein he complains of the Virulency and Rancour of their Expressions, of their not summoning him to the Synod, * in Defiance to a Rule and Practice of the Church, and of their secret Purposes and Methods to sophistificate the Faith ; and upbraids them with all the foul-dealing in the Synod of *Tyre*, and the Plot of *Arsenius's* Hand, [and the Game they play'd in *Mareotis*, upon the Advantage of *Athanasius's* unavoidable Absence.] *Sabinus* the *Macedonian* has been pleas'd to leave this Epistle of *Julius* out of his *Acts of the Councils*, tho' he has favour'd us with that of the Bishops at *Antioch*, according to his wonted Ingenuity and Impartiality.

At length *Paul* leaves *Thessalonica*, and goes into *Italy* ; where himself and *Athanasius* having acquainted the Emperor *Constans* with the History of their Troubles, [and with Sighs and Tears, represented to him the flagitious Practices and Proceedings of the *Arians*, and the Dangers that threaten'd the Church and Faith ; and, on t'other Hand, in very lively Colours, the Example of his great Father, and the Authority of the *Nicene* Decrees, arm'd and abetted too by a secular Sanction, they rais'd such a generous Concern and Zeal in him,] *T. L. 2. c. 4.* that he sent Letters to his Brother, [conjuring him, as he hoped for his Father's wonderful Successes and Felicity, to be true to the Faith which his Father had profess'd ;] and desiring him to appoint some Delegates to come and inform him rightly about the Deposition of *Paul* and *Athanasius*. Accordingly *Narcissus* of *Cilicia*, *Theodorus* of *Thrace*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, and *Mark* of *Syria*, were sent ; but when they came, † would by no means be brought to enter upon *Athanasius's* Cause, but instead of

* What this Rule and Practice was, I have consider'd in a former Note. If it be objected here that *Socrates* speaks of *κανόνες* in the Plural, I answer, that the Arguments urg'd before against one such Canon make more strongly against more ; and again, that *κανόνες* here in the Plural, respects, besides a Rule of Discipline, the *Nicene* Determinations concerning the Faith, as appears from the latter Instance,

wherein he accuses them as *πολλὰς παρὰ κανόνες*, namely, ὅτι τὴν πίσιν λεγόμενους παραχρᾶτίζουσιν.

† *Sozomen* (*L. 2. c. 10.*) tells us on the contrary, that they begun in general to justify what the Council of *Antioch* had done, and particularly their Sentence against *Athanasius*, and that they attempted to reconcile the Emperor to it.

that,

that, and of their *Antiochian Creed*, [(which, it seems, they thought fit to conceal)] they present the S. L. 3. c. 10. Emperor with a new Model; wherein they profess to believe in the only begotten Son of God, *Jesus Christ*; who was begotten of the Father before all Worlds; God of God; Light of Light; by whom were made all Things in Heaven and Earth, visible and invisible; who is the Word and Wisdom, the Life and true Light; and that the *Catholick Church* renounces those who affirm that the Son of God deriv'd his Existence out of that which once was not; or out of any Substance but God; or that there had been a Time when he was not. And having dispers'd their Copies of this Creed, they return'd without taking the least Notice of the Concern that brought them thither; or, more probably, according to *Sozomen*, (L. 3. c. 10.) were sent Home by the Emperor; who, instead of being impos'd upon and abus'd by them, saw very plainly thro' all their wicked Purposes.

THREE Years after, a Council of the Eastern Bishops send *Eudoxius* of *Germanicia*, *Macedonius* of *Mopsuestia*, and *Martyrius*, to the Bishops in *Italy*, with another Creed, wherein, beside what the former contain'd, [but without mention of the Divine Substantiality,] S. L. 3. c. 11. ' They condemn
' all those who affirm the Son to be equally unbegotten with the
' Father; or that there is a Plurality of Gods; or (with the Disci-
' ples of *Paulus Samosatenus*) that *Christ* after his Incarnation be-
' came God ἐκ προορισμοῦ, by Progress or Advancement, but that
' otherwise he had been naturally no more than Man; or who assert
' (with the Followers of *Marcellus* and his Scholar, *Photinus* of
' *Ancyra*, who was Bishop of *Sirmium*, and had begun to spread his
' Heresy there three Years before) that *Christ* is a mere ordinary
' Man, and only the *Logos* or Word of God, as *Logos* signifies literally either an articulate Sound, or a mental Purpose and Meaning;
' and that he was not *Christ* and the Son of God before all Worlds,
' but began to be so at his Incarnation; and that then his Kingdom
' commenc'd, and shall end with the Day of Judgment; or who
' maintain (with the *Patripassians*, call'd *Sabellians* in the East) that
' the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are only three different
' Appellations of one and the same Entity or Person, and consequently, that the Father was incarnate; or who teach that the
' Son was begotten of the Father by a forc'd and involuntary Generation: And they further declare, that the Text where it is said,

'the Lord created me the Beginning of his Ways before his Works of old, does not imply the Son, by whom those Works were created, to be a Creature; and again, that, when they affirm the Son to be a Person by himself, they do not mean that he is locally separate or distant from the Father;' and at the End of their Confession they excuse the Particularity and Prolivity of it, from the Necessity that lay upon them to remove Suspicions and Calumnies, and to set their Faith in as clear a Light as possibly they could.

BUT the Western Bishops rejected this tedious Form of Confession, and insisted upon the Sufficiency of the *Nicene* Creed; and *Paul* and *Athanasius*, when the Emperor's Letters in their Behalf had no effect, demand the convening of another General Council, which accordingly both Emperors concurring in an Approbation of it, met at *Sardica* in *Illyricum*, eleven Years after the Death of *Constantine* the Great, consisting (according to * *Athanasius*) † of three hundred Western Bishops, and (according to *Sabinus*) of Seventy-six Eastern; among whom appear'd the *Mareotick Ischyras*. Many of the Eastern Bishops pleaded Weakness of Body and Want of Health in Excuse for their absenting; and others the Shortness of the Warning, § which they imputed to ** *Julius's* Management; tho' a Year and a half had past since the Time when the Resolution was publish'd for their Meeting. And now the Bishops from both Empires being arriv'd at *Sardica*, the Easterns will not so much as see the Westerns 'till †† *Paul* and *Athanasius* be excluded the Liberty of sitting in the Countil, which *Protogenes* of *Sardica* and *Hosius* of *Corduba* vigorously opposing, the Eastern Bishops §§ retire to *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*, where they form a separate Council, S. L. 3. c. 11. [confirm their Decrees against *Athanasius*, *Paul*, *Marcellus* and *Asclepas*, depose *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* for giving the first Example of admitting them to Communion, and with him *Hosius*, *Maximin* of *Treves*, *Protogenes*, and *Gaudentius*,

* V. Val's.

† *Theodorit* says (L. 2. c. 7.) of two hundred and fifty in all.

§ V. Val's.

** By whom, as Principal, this Council, says *Baronius*, (an. 346. n. 5.) was summon'd, tho' 'tis plain the two Emperors appointed the Meeting of it, from those Words of *Socratus*, γνώμη τῶν δύο βασιλέων, τὸ μὴν διὰ

γραμμάτων ἀποσιντ, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνης ἐπιμώς ὑπακούσιν. L. 2. c. 20.

†† *Theodorit* tells us, (L. 2. c. 5.) that the People of *Constantinople* would not suffer *Paul* to be carry'd thither, being apprehensive of very barbarous Designs against him. See moreover *Val'sius* upon the Place.

§§ See the learned Dr. *Cave's Lives of the Prim. Fathers*, V. 2. p. 113, 114.

as those that were involv'd in *Julius's* Crime, and had been always good Friends to their Enemies, and avow'd Enemies to their Friends; and send out their Circular Letters to the Bishops of the Catholick Church, requiring them neither to communicate with the Persons aforesaid themselves, nor to suffer others to do it. Then they anathematize the Word *Consubstantial*, and * assert, in express Terms, the *Anomean* Heresy or Doctrine of Dissimilitude or Disparity between the Father and the Son; whilst the Westerns at *Sardica*, and many of the Eastern Bishops among them, [*Hosius* and *Protogenes* presiding in the Council, ac- S. L. 2. c. 12. quit very honourably *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, *Asclepas* and *Lucius*; the first as a Man design'd to be sacrific'd by his Enemies (witness the Council of *Tyre*); the second as basely misrepresented by them; the third as having been re-instated in his Bishoprick by the Vote of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* and many other Bishops; the fourth, because his Accusers had withdrawn themselves; and dispatch Letters to the Churches of *Alexandria*, *Ancyra*, and *Gaza*, requiring them to receive and re-unite themselves to their old Bishops; and no longer to communicate with, nor so much as to give that Title to *Gregory*, *Basil*, and *Quintianus*, nor even to look upon them as *Christians*.] Then they condemn those at *Philippopolis* for deserting the Council, [or T. L. 2. c. 8. rather, for not obeying their Citations] degrade *Athanasius's* Accusers, *Theodorus*, *Narcissus*, *Acacius*, † *Stephen* of *Antioch*, *Menophantus* of *Ephesus*, *Ursacius*, and *Valens*, and *George* of *Laodicea*, [tho' he had not the T. L. 2. c. 8. Courage to come to *Sardica*, especially remembering that *Alexander* of *Alexandria* had heretofore stripp'd him of the Authority of a Presbyter;] and they not only degrade, but excommunicate them, [both as Criminals T. L. 2. c. 8. and Hereticks, upon these Articles, that they asserted an absolutely Separate Subsistence of the Son from the Substance of the Father; and that they communicated with those who had been depriv'd for espousing the *Arian* Heresy and Interest, and were so kind to them, as to promote them to § higher Offices in the Church than they had held before; and by Circular Letters they notify to the Bishops of the Catholick Church, ' That the Enemies of the Truth,

* A Mistake. See *Valesius* upon the Words ἐπιστάς συγκαταγινώσκων.

† V. Vales. Not. in Theod. L. 2. c. 8. ad verba οἱ αὐτοὶ Εὐσεβίου καὶ Μάρκου καὶ Θεοδοσίου.

§ See *Valesius* upon the Place.

' and the Accusers of the Brethren, had despis'd their repeated
 ' Citations, when call'd upon to make good what they had pre-
 ' tended against *Athanasius* and his Fellow-Sufferers, being not only
 ' unable to prove their Allegations, which they were challeng'd
 ' and provok'd to do by the Persons accus'd ; but also to confront
 ' that Cloud of Witnesses, who were ready to convict them of
 ' sundry Villainies, and, among others, of most impious and inhu-
 ' man Outrages against the Orthodox, and among them against
 ' *Theodulus* a Bishop, whom they were determin'd to have sacrific'd;
 ' nay, even of burning Churches, and stripping the Holy Virgins,
 ' and all this because they refus'd to communicate with known
 ' *Arians* : They further inform them, that they had examin'd the
 ' Indictments of these Men against their Collegues, *Athanasius*, &c.
 ' to the Bottom ; that *Arsenius* was still living ; that themselves,
 ' and *Julius* their Fellow-Bishop, had undoubted and abundant
 ' Evidence that the Story of *Macarius's* breaking the Chalice was a
 ' Lye ; that it appear'd in those Synodical Acts which they so much
 ' boasted of, that several of their Witnesses were either Pagans or
 ' Catechumens ; that of the latter one had own'd he was not upon
 ' the Place at that Time with *Macarius* ; and another, that *Ischyas*,
 ' who pretended to have been there when the Fact was committed,
 ' lay then sick in Bed ; and that *Ischyas* himself had confess'd it ;
 ' whence they might judge what Credit his Story deserv'd of *Atha-*
 ' *nasius's* burning the Bible ; that tho' his Patrons had rewarded this
 ' Wretch with the Title of a Bishop, yet there were two Presbyters,
 ' at first in Communion with *Meletius*, but afterwards with *Alex-*
 ' *ander*, who had attested that *Ischyas* had never been a Presbyter,
 ' and that *Meletius* had not so much as one Church, or Ecclesiastical
 ' * Person in *Marcotis* : Further, that they had found *Marcellus's*
 ' Book to be very Orthodox, his seeming Assertions being, in
 ' reality, only problematical Questions ; that the Ringleaders of the
 ' Adversaries had hinder'd some People, who came along with them
 ' out of the East, from attending the Council, and oblig'd them to
 ' retire as soon as ever they should come within the City ; whereas
 ' there were many Orthodox Men amongst them, who were only
 ' detain'd from joining themselves to the Council, either by Promises,
 ' or Menaces, or absolute Restraint ; and that † *Macarius* of *Palestine*

* And therefore *Ischyas* could not have been ordain'd by him or any of his Frater-
 nity.

† It should be *Arius*. V. Vales.

' and *Asterius* of *Arabia*, who had got away from them, had in-
 ' form'd the Council of these and the like Practices: After this,
 ' they conjure their Collegues every where not to communicate with
 ' these Children of *Belial*, nor to give them communicatory Letters,
 ' or receive any from them; but to concur with the Council in
 ' their Determinations, and to maintain the Faith they asserted,]
 ' which, in the next Place, they confirm and illu-
 ' strate, [adding * by way of Explication to the *T. L. 2. c. 8.*
 ' *Nicene* Creed, That they believe the Substance of
 ' the Father and the Son to be one; and that the Father never
 ' was, nor ever can be, without the Son, nor the Son without the
 ' Father, according to the Words of *Christ* himself in the Gospel
 ' of *St. John*, *c. x. v. 30.* and *c. xiv. v. 10, 11*: 'That at the same
 ' Time they were so far from denying his Generation from the
 ' Father, that they asserted he was begotten of him before any
 ' Creature existed, visible or invisible, and that he gave the Universe
 ' its Being, as it is said, *Wisdom which is the Worker of all Things*
 ' *taught me*, *Wisd. c. vii. v. 22.* † and in the Gospel of *St. John*,
 ' *c. i. v. 3*; that he is from everlasting the Word, Wisdom, and
 ' Power of the Father; really and truly God; and not figuratively
 ' and improperly, but substantially the Son of the Father; the only
 ' begotten Son, because he is from Eternity in the Father; and the
 ' First-born, with regard both to his Incarnation and Resurrection;
 ' that the Divinity of the Father and the Son is one; that never-
 ' theless the Father is greater than the Son, not in respect of Sub-
 ' stance or Nature, but of Relation; that the Son has reign'd with
 ' the Father from all Eternity, and shall reign with him for ever
 ' and ever; that they believe in the Holy Ghost; and that he was
 ' sent from Heaven, according to *Christ's* Promise; denying that
 ' he either did or could suffer upon the Cross, and affirming that it
 ' was the human Nature of *Christ* which underwent that Passion;
 ' that *Christ* rose the third Day, not God in Man, but Man in
 ' God; that he presented human Nature as an Oblation to his
 ' Father, after he had rescu'd and purify'd it from Sin and Cor-
 ' ruption; and that in the appointed Time he shall come to judge
 ' the Quick and the Dead;] and they declare their Abhorrence of

* *V. Vales. Not. ad verb. ἡγορευτὴν δακτύ-
 λου.* And *Baron. An. 347. n. 43.* and *Dr.
 Cave's Lives of the Prim. F. V. 2. p. 115.*

† It does not follow from this Quotation

out of an *Apocryphal* Book, that the Fa-
 thers thought it *Canonical*. It shewed the
 Sense of an *Early* Writer, tho' not a *Canoni-
 cal* one.

* the

T. L. 2. c. 8. ‘ the *Anomean* Blasphemies, [excommunicating those who assert that *Christ* is God, but not really and truly God; that he is the Son of the Father, but not really and truly so; and that he was not begotten before he was created; and condemning what *Valens* and *Ursacius* maintain’d, that the Divinity of *Christ* and the Holy Spirit were crucify’d, slain, and rose from the Dead; and also those execrable but reigning Tenets, that the Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity are three distinct and separate Substances, and that those Words, *I and my Father are one*, imply no more than an Unity of Judgment and Will; as if it were possible that the Father and the Son should thwart and quarrel with one another; which the Hereticks were not asham’d to suppose; or as if the Analogy held, which they also pretended, between those two Expressions, *I and my Father are one*, and *Let them*, that is, the Apostles, *be one in us*; whereas the latter Union can signify no more than an entire Consent in Faith, Piety, and Communion, and a common Interest in the Benevolence and Grace of the Father and the Son towards them; unless any one will dare to say, that the Apostles were not inspir’d by the Holy Ghost, but that they were the Holy Ghost; or that they were the Eternal Word, and the Wisdom, Power, and only begotten Son of God.’ This was the Substance of their Encyclical Epistle;] after the Dismission of which they return’d home, as did the Members of the Synod at *Philippopolis*, when they had made an End of their Business.

AND thus these Diffensions were grown up to such a Height as to * put a Stop to all Communion between the Western and Eastern Churches, and to limit it on either Side by the *Sucian* Mountains; [for ’till now, these Churches themselves, though they differ’d in Opinion, yet they took no Notice of the Disagreement, and communicated, as by common Consent, with one another; though after the Council of *Antioch*, it must be confess’d, too many of the Easterns begun to swerve plainly from the proper Sense of the *Nicene* Faith, while

* i. e. To that publick, constant, and general Communion, which before had been between them; for, I think, it is not to be doubted, but that there still continued a Correspondence by communicatory Letters, as between the Catholick, so

between the Dissenting Bishops, Western and Eastern. And this Restriction, I humbly conceive, belongs more properly than the learned Annotator’s to this Passage. See his Note upon the Place.

they

they persisted in a zealous and obstinate Opposition to the Word *Consubstantial*; and indeed not a few accommodated and shaped their Principles to their secular Interests, and their private Humours and Inclinations. And yet, I am persuaded, the Generality of them were Orthodox in their Meaning, and believ'd the Son to be begotten of the Substance of the Father.]

AND now the Emperor *Constans* sends an Account of all that had pass'd in the Council of *Sardica* to his Brother *Constantius*, and advises him to restore *Athanasius* and *Paul*; which *Constantius* neglecting to do, his Brother, † by a second Letter, assures him that unless he promises to restore them, and to make Examples of their Persecutors, he will come with Strength enough to do both himself. Upon these Menaces, and the Advice of a great many Eastern Bishops, who apprehended nothing but the Restitution of *Athanasius* could prevent a Civil War, *Constantius* thought fit to recall him. And at the same Time *Constans* sends *Paul* to *Constantinople*, very handsomely attended, and arm'd with Letters both Synodical and Imperial.

[BESIDE the Motives now mention'd, there was
T. L. 2. c. 9, an Accident at this Time, which did not only help
10. to induce *Constantius* to take new Measures, but
convinc'd him, at least for the present, that he had
been impos'd upon and abus'd in those he had before so warmly
pursu'd. The Letters which the Western Emperor sent to his
Brother, then at *Antioch*, were brought by the Hands of two of
the *Sardican* Bishops, *Euphratas* and *Vincentius*; whose Errand
being extreamly unacceptable and vexatious to *Stephen*, the hete-
rodox, excommunicated Bishop of the Place, he resolves to ruin
them, and immediately sets at work one of the many Agents
who serv'd under him, as the Ministers of his Malice, and
the Executioners of his Fury against the Catholics. The
Fellow he made Use of was one *Onager*, a profligate desperate
young Man, who repair'd to a common Strumpet, and having
told her there were two Strangers in the Town who desir'd her
Company for a Night, he conducted her in the Dark, and, with
her, several of his Accomplices, to the House where the two Bishops

† V. Vales.

lodg'd; and the Doors being left open by the Perfidy of a corrupted Servant, he order'd her to enter the Chamber where *Euphratas* lay; who hearing some-body tread, ask'd, *Who was there?* And being answer'd by a Woman, apprehended it to be an evil Spirit assuming a counterfeit Voice, and with all Devotion address'd himself to *Christ* for Protection and Succour; When *Onager* and his Companions rushing into the Room, and bawling out, *That now the Inquisitors themselves were notorious Criminals*, *Vincentius* and his Servants came in upon them; but could seize only seven of them, and the Woman. The rest, with their Leader, slipt away. Next Morning *Salias* (whom the Emperor *Constantius* had sent along with the two Bishops, and who was one of his Generals) came accompany'd by the injur'd Parties to Court, where they made their Complaint to the Emperor, and earnestly press'd for immediate Satisfaction, urging that the Matter of Fact was so evident and notorious as to need no judicial Scrutiny; and *Salias* cry'd aloud, repeating it often, that the Crime was of such a Nature, as to fall under the Cognizance of the secular Power, without staying for the Judgment of the Ecclesiastical; and propos'd that the Clergy who belong'd to the Retinue of the two Bishops should be first examin'd, even by the Torture, upon Condition those of *Stephen* might be afterwards brought to Confession in the same Manner. But *Stephen* exclaiming against any such Process as the greatest Indignity that could be offer'd to the Persons of Clergymen, the Emperor thought fit to have the Examination private; and first the Woman confess'd all she knew of the Plot, and after her, one of the seven that had been taken gave a full, unextorted Account of it, and impeach'd *Onager*; and *Onager* declar'd he was put upon it by *Stephen*: For which it was left to the Bishops then present to depose him, and when they had done so, his Church was taken from him.

BUT notwithstanding all this fair Weather, *Athanasius* had a Jealousy of *Constantius's* Intentions, and deferr'd returning, till the Emperor, by Letter upon Letter, had acquainted him, ' That he was very sensible how till he had been us'd, and was heartily ' sorry for it; that to remove those Fears and Apprehensions, which, ' as he suppos'd, detain'd him so long abroad, he sent him his most ' importunate Desire, subscrib'd with his own Hand, that he ' would make all the haste home he possibly could; that he had ' solicited his Brother not to obstruct his returning; that he had ' Liberty to make Use of the publick Caravans; and that one of his
own

‘ own Presbyters had been sent, and afterwards a Deacon, to encourage and forward his coming.’

ATHANASIUS having receiv’d these Letters at *Aquileia*, * carry’d them to *Rome*, and shew’d them to *Julius*, who rejoyc’d, with his Church, at the Prospect of *Constantius*’s quitting the *Arian* Interest, and sent an Epistle by *Athanasius* to the Church of *Alexandria*; ‘ congratulating the good Success of their Prayers to God for the Restitution of their Bishop, and their heroical Adherence to the orthodox Faith; and observing how happy their Bishop was in having a Flock so dutiful and so devoted to him, and how happy they were in a Bishop that had so eminently approv’d and signaliz’d himself, not only as to his Probity of Manners, and Sanctity of Life, but in such a vigorous and resolute Vindication of the *Nicene* Faith, and such an Apostolical Contempt of all the Dangers and Difficulties that presented themselves, as at length to triumph over the *Arian* Heresy, and to return to them with all his Vertues refin’d and improv’d, like Gold from the Furnace, and with all those Advantages of Character, which the unanimous Determination of so numerous a Council, in his Favour and Defence, could give him; that it is a Pleasure to him to form in his Imagination all that Scene that was approaching, of Rejoycing and Jubilee, when their Bishop, attended by the Companions and Partners of his Sufferings, should arrive among them, and with his Presence scatter all Animosities and Dissensions; and that himself cannot but be more sensibly affected with this Idea, having by the Providence of God been so happy as to enjoy a personal Acquaintance with the great *Athanasius*; and then he concludes with a Prayer, That the Divine Goodness would graciously continue to them and their Posterity the Blessing now vouchsaf’d them, and add to it all other Rewards of that Faith in *Christ*, and that Fidelity to their Bishop, in which, to their immortal Glory, they had so nobly persever’d.’

UPON the whole, the Emperor’s repeated Invitations and Summons, and these Encouragements from his Friend and Colleague the Bishop of *Rome*, prov’d so satisfactory to *Athanasius*, that he

* Not that he was oblig’d to do so, but (in the Words of Dr. Cave) he took his Journey by *Rome*, that he might take his Leave of Pope *Julius* and his Friends there, and thank them for the Civilities wherewith he had been treated in that Place. *Lives of Pr. F. V. 2. p. 122.*

ventur'd to return into the East ; where *Constantius* receiv'd him very kindly ; only at the Suggestion of the *Arians*, he desir'd him to allow those *Alexandrians* that refus'd to communicate with him, the Use of one Church in that City. To which *Athanasius* immediately reply'd, *Your Majesty may command and do whatever you please, and I ought to be obedient ; but at the same time permit me to make a Proposal on my part to your Majesty.* Upon which the Emperor assuring him he would deny him nothing, *Athanasius* requested that those who refus'd to communicate with the *Arians* might have a Church to themselves in every City, or rather, as *Theodorit* says (*L. 2. c. 12.*) only at *Antioch*.

This stopp'd the Mouths of the Emperor's *Arian* *S. L. 3. c. 20.* Counsellors, [who knew very well that their obtaining a Church at *Alexandria* would not, at least, as long as *Athanasius* liv'd, turn half so much to the Advantage of their Cause, as their allowing one to the Orthodox at *Antioch* would do it a Prejudice ; where the *Eustathians* were a Body, numerous and formidable enough, and not afraid in their Processions to close their *Psalms* and *Hymns* with a Doxology, wherein they gave Glory, in equal Terms, some to the Father and the Son, others to the Father in or by the Son ; intimating by the Preposition, the Subordination of the Son to the Father ; insomuch that *Leontius*, the *Arian* Bishop there, durst not forbid them this Liberty for fear of Tumults, and us'd to say, clapping his Hand upon his grey Hairs, *Whenever this Snow melts, there will be abundance of Dirt* ; by which he meant that his Successors would never have so much Patience with the People as he had, and consequently would exasperate them into Madness and Tumult.] This *Leontius* succeeded *Stephen*, who was Successor to *Flaccillus*. *Constantius* advanc'd him to the *Antiochian* Chair, after he had been degraded from the Dignity *S. L. 3. c. 20.* of a Presbyter for castrating himself. [*Athanasius* would not communicate with him, but join'd himself to the *Eustathians* in their private Congregations.]

AND now the Emperor dismisses *Athanasius* [very *T. L. 2. c. 12.* kindly and respectfully,] and restores also to their respective Bishopricks *Paul* and *Marcellus*, and with them *Asclepas* of *Gaza*, and *Lucius* of *Adrianople*. At *Ancyra* there happen'd a Tumult upon the removing of the Intruder *Basil* and re-instating *Marcellus* ; but the Chair of *Constantinople* was peaceably quitted to *Paul*, and *Macedonius*, for some time, quietly held his Congregation in a private Church or Chapel.

NOR

NOR did the Emperor only restore *Athanasius*, but issued out Letters directed * to the Bishops and Clergy of the Catholick Church, acquainting them, ' That the good Providence of God had ' now brought back *Athanasius* from Exile, and restor'd him to ' the Possession of that Jurisdiction, and the Exercise of that ' Authority, which he held only from God; that he requir'd ' that whatever Calumnies had been spread about *Athanasius*, or ' Decrees had pass'd against those that had adher'd to him, should ' be stifled and forgotten; and that it was his Pleasure not only ' to indulge, but encourage the *Athanasian* Communion': Which he likewise signify'd to the Prefects of the Provinces of *Augustanica*, &c. and sent another Letter to the Church of *Alexandria*, telling them, ' That being sensible † how long they had had no

L 1 2

' Bishop

* According to Sozomen (L. 3. c. 21.) he seems to have wrote to no other Bishops and Clergy but those of Egypt.

† That is to say, how long they had been depriv'd of their rightful Bishop; for tho' Gregory was now dead, and the *Eusebians* had not yet ordain'd a Successor in his room, and so some People may be apt to extend the Emperor's Meaning in the Word ἐπισκοπῶντι to an Antibishop or Intruder; yet this Expression of his ought to be explain'd by another in the Synodical Epistle of the *Sardican* Fathers to the Church of *Alexandria*, (especially considering that the Occasion of his Letter was the Judgment of that Council) where they inform them, that they had unanimously depos'd Gregory, εἰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἐδεσπότοτε ἐσθὲ ὡς ἐπίσκοπος ὅλως γενόσθαι ἐνομίσθη, if they might be said to depose a Man from his Bishoprick, who was never, nor in any Sense, look'd upon to be a Bishop. For the Primitive Church never acknowledg'd any Intruder or Usurper to be so, while he was such, tho' he were ever so Orthodox, as has been largely and fully prov'd, even in the very Instances before us of the *Eusebian* Intruders, in a learned Collection intituled, *Ἐκλογαὶ* or *Excerpts from Ecclesiastical History*, &c. London, Printed An. 1704. from § 32. to § 40. But because this is a Point of the highest Importance, I shall give the Reader, out of many, an Authority or two of a more ancient Date, relating to it. *Tertullian de*

Præscrip. Heretic. c. 32. distinguishes plainly between a true and regular Succession, and Purity of Faith or Doctrine; and evidently discovers that he understood the former to be in it self necessary to the Being of a Church; and even so necessary, that elsewhere, *adv. Marc. L. 4. c. 5.* he insists that we cannot be determin'd without it, which are the Authentick Books of Holy Scripture; alledging this excellent Reason for it, *Quia veritas falsum præcedat necesse est; & ab eis procedat, à quibus tradita est; because as it is certain, that Truth must have been older than Falsity and Error, so it cannot descend to us but in a direct Tradition from those who first deliver'd it; it being a Depositum committed to the Church, and therefore not to be pretended to or look'd for in a wrong Succession, because that is indeed no Succession, and no Succession cannot convey any Tradition.* The same Father, in the same Treatise, c. 41. among other Enormities incident to Hereticks, upbraids them with this, *Alius hodie Episcopus, cras alius, that they were for changing their Bishops often; to Day they would have one, to Morrow another.* St. Cyprian writing to *Antonianus* (Ep. 55th Ed. Oxon.) distributes his Matter, according to this Distinction, into two Heads; for first he goes upon the Schism of *Novatian*, a Second or Usurping Bishop, that arrogated to himself the Bishoprick of Rome, in Opposition to *Cornelius*, who had been regularly ordain'd

‘ Bishop among them, he sends to them again their Bishop
 ‘ *Athanasius*, and requires all Bishops in *Alexandria* obediently and
 ‘ chearfully to receive him, and communicate with him; and lets
 ‘ them farther understand, that he had sent Orders to the Officers
 ‘ and Magistrates to prosecute and punish all Persons that shall
 ‘ behave themselves undutifully and disorderly upon this
 ‘ Occasion.

THESE Letters being * put into *Athanasius*’s Hands, he takes his Way homeward through *Syria* and *Palestine*; and at *Jerusalem* having acquainted *Maximus*, the Bishop there, with all that had pass’d in the *Sardican* Council, and how far *Constantius* had conform’d himself to their Decrees; he makes a Motion to him to call a Provincial Synod, which accordingly he did; and both he and the Council resolv’d upon acknowledging *Athanasius*’s Right, and communicating with him,
S. L. 3. c. 21, [and they acquaint the *Alexandrians* with it by a
 22. Synodical Epistle.] This sudden Change of Judgment in *Maximus*, after having subscrib’d *Athanasius*’s Deposition, gave occasion to his late Brethren to play their Satire upon him, [tho’ he was not singular in it; for a great many Bishops, who had been *Athanasius*’s Enemies, were now become his Friends, and readily

dain’d into it; and, in the second place, upon his *Heresy*. Accordingly in reply to *Antonianus*’s Inquiry, What *Heresy* *Novatian* taught? his first Words (*Seet. 12.*) are. *Scias nos primo in loco nec curiosus esse debere quid ille doceat, cum foris doceat. Quisquis ille est, & qualiscunque est, Christianus non est, qui in Christi Ecclesia non est, &c.* That is not the first thing that we ought to be curious in examining into, what he teaches, since he teaches out of the Church. Whoever, or whatever he is, he is no Christian, who is not in the Church of Christ; that is, so long as he continues out of it; and he will not allow him to be a Bishop, as having been ordain’d into a full See, but says (*Ibid.*) he is an Adulterer, Adulter atq; extraneus Episcopus; and a Stranger, as our Blessed Saviour calls that Thief and Robber, who comes not by the Door into the Sheepfold, but climbs up some other Way, *St. John c. 10.* And

whereas, says he, Christ has establish’d one Universal Church branch’d out into many particular ones, and one Episcopate diffus’d thro’ a numerous Body of Bishops governing their Flocks in Harmony and Concert; *Novatian*, in contradiction to the Divine Appointment, and in violation of Catholick Unity, is for setting up humanam Ecclesiam, a Church of his own making. Accordingly he has sent abroad his new Apostles, and altho’ all the Metropolitick and Episcopal Chairs have been since fill’d with Bishops venerable for their Age, sound in the Faith, approv’d in Trials, and proscript by the Persecutors, is not afraid to ordain alios Pseudoepiscopos, his own spurious Bishops over their Heads— And therefore, if he had been rightly ordain’d, he had forfeited his Episcopal Authority by deserting his Fellow-Bishops, and breaking off from the Unity of the Church.

* So I render ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιστολαῖς ἐχρηστέας.

communicated

communicated with him :] Among others *Ursacius* and *Valens* (Men that understood themselves better than to be true to a sinking Cause !) thought it high time to subscribe the Consubstantial Faith, and declare themselves ready to communicate with *Athanasius* [which they did, not only *S. L. 3. c. 24.* by an humble and fawning Letter to *Athanasius* himself,] but in a penitential Recantation, which they presented to *Julius* [and wherein they assur'd *S. L. 3. c. 23.* him that whatever they had charg'd *Athanasius* with, was a Forgery and a Lye, and that now they seriously and solemnly anathematize the *Arian* Heresy.] In the mean time *Athanasius*, where-ever he pass'd, made it his Business earnestly to exhort the People to communicate only with the Professors of the Consubstantial Faith, and ordain'd in several Churches ; which was afterwards objected against him as an Encroachment upon other Mens Rights and Jurisdictions ; [and *S. L. 3. c. 21.* when he arriv'd in *Egypt*, he depos'd and ejected such of the Clergy as he found *Arians*, and fill'd the Vacancies with Men, whose Orthodoxy and Integrity he could confide in.]

SCARCE did now the Wounds of the Church begin to close, when the State found itself strangely embarrassed and batter'd by Attacks from without, and Convulsions within. *Constantius* had receiv'd a Blow from the *Persians* ; and *Magnentius*, having murder'd his Master *Constans*, assumes the Title of Emperor, seizes on *Italy*, *Africk*, and *Gaul*, and ravages all the other Provinces of the Western Empire : Whilst *Vetranio* usurps the Purple in *Illyricum* ; and *Nepotianus*, Nephew to *Constantine*, does the same at *Rome*, but is cut off by the *Magnentians*. All these Hurricanes of War and Rebellion happen'd within the Space of one Year, under the Consulat of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, and employ'd the Emperor's utmost Application and Power, to suppress them.

THE Enemies of *Athanasius*, encourag'd by so favourable an Opportunity, started a new Accusation against him, even before he could reach home, and inform'd the Emperor that he had put all *Egypt* and *Libya* into Confusion, and ordain'd in the Churches of other Bishops. Upon these Complaints the Emperor fell into a Rage, and revers'd his late Condescensions ; *S. L. 4. c. 2.* and so *Paul* of *Constantinople* is banish'd, and, [as

'tis

'tis generally reported,] * strangled upon the Road, at *Cucusus* in *Cappadocia*; *Marcellus* is driven from *Ancyra*, and *Basil* again takes Possession there; *Lucius* of *Adrianople* is laid in Chains, and dies in Prison; *Athanasius* was no sooner arriv'd at *Alexandria*, and had call'd a Council of *Egyptian* Bishops, who approv'd the Decrees of the Council of *Sardica*, and the Synod of *Jerusalem*, but the Emperor issu'd out Orders to kill him, and not only him, but *Theodulus* and *Olympius*, two *Thracian* Bishops, where-ever they should be found. But *Athanasius* made his Escape, and the *Arians* very plentifully bestow'd all the little Invectives upon him for flying, which Malice and Disappointment could suggest; among others, *Leontius* of *Antioch* was particularly censorious. To what has been before said of this *Leontius*, we shall here annex what *Theodorit* has left upon Record of him. This † Historian having observ'd that he broke thro' the *Nicene* Canons to come at the Episcopat, in regard of his being guilty of the Fact above-mention'd, informs us from *Athanasius*, that the Reason why he committed that Violence upon himself, was, that he might the better continue an Acquaintance and Converse with a young Woman, which had affected his Reputation, and which his Superiors had forbidden: But this Expedient was so far from doing him any Service, that he was degraded for it from the Office of Presbyter. He was an egregious Trimmer and Coward, as appears from hence, that some People wording the Doxology with the Conjunction *And*, and others with the Preposition *By* before the second Person, and *In* before the third, to oblige both, and avoid that Indignation which the Emperor had express'd against the Doctrine of Dissimilitude, he utter'd all, except the last Words *For ever and ever*, with so low a Voice, that no body could hear distinctly what he said. But then he explain'd himself, to his Infamy, by discountenancing those who were sound in Faith, and admitting none of them into Orders; whilst he did not only ordain, but encourag'd to the utmost Degree of Licence, *Arians* and Atheists, and among the rest *Aetius* himself, (of whom hereafter) 'till *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, two Asceticks, and Champions of the Faith, by threat'ning to go over to the Communion of the Western Church, and discover all his foul dealing, so frightened him, that he suspended *Aetius*, but yet abated nothing of his per-

* *Theodorit* (L. 2. c. 5.) confirms the Truth of the Fact from *Athanasius*, and says the Prefect *Philip* was the Executioner.

† L. 2. c. 24.

sonal Favour and Affection to him. *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* at this Time introduc'd the way of singing the Psalms alternately, which is since become universal, and, while they were yet Laicks, had their Chorus's and Consorts of the more devout Sort of People, with whom they sung their Night Anthems and Hymns to God in the Chapels of the Martyrs. *Leontius* was nettled at it, but, not daring to forbid or hinder it, he pretended to be very well pleas'd with it, and order'd them to make use of the Church for these Offices; which accordingly they did, to the secret Mortification, as they very well knew, of that obliging Gentleman. His Clergy, at the same Time, carry'd on the Cause as cautiously and privately as himself; and hence it was, that, by God's good Providence, the Laity were not generally corrupted. But elsewhere the Apostates reign'd triumphantly, and their Affairs were forwarded with a high Hand.]

THUS in *Constantinople* and all the other Cities of the East, at the Instigation of the Usurper *Macedonius*, [(when he had made his Interest sure and strong enough, by *S. L. 2. c. 4.* building religious Houses, and insinuating himself into the Favour of the neighbouring Bishops)] the Professors of the Consubstantial Faith are persecuted with severe Edicts and military Execution; and no Methods omitted of Cruelty and Violence to force them to communicate with the *Arians*; as Proscriptions, Beating, Scourging, Marking with red-hot Irons, Banishment, Tortures, and Death itself; [which *S. L. 4. c. 2, 3.* were such Ways of converting, as even the Emperor was ashamed of, and therefore charg'd them all upon *Macedonius's* Account.

AMONG those who dy'd, were the two Bosom-Friends of *Paul*, *Martyrius* and *Marcianus*, the first a Subdeacon, the second a Chanter and Reader. They were accus'd by *Macedonius* to the Prefect, as Incendiaries; and he alledg'd that they had been Parties in the Murder of *Hermogenes*, and the Tumult that had happen'd upon his Enthronization. Their Sepulchre, and the Church that was built over it in honour of their Memory and Martyrdom, by the two Bishops, *John* and *Sisinnius*, are fam'd for clearing the Place where they stand, and which formerly had been made use of for the Execution of Malefactors, from the Spectres and evil Spirits that infested it, and for many other Miracles, particularly curing of
Demoniacs;

Demoniacks; all which there are those living who can attest upon their certain Knowledge.]

* *GEORGE* was carrying on at the same Time the Cause (as *Athanasius* informs us) with no less Violence and Fury at *Alexandria*, and continu'd so to exert himself for several Years; *S. L. 4. c. 10.* [tho' not without Oppositions and Interruptions, at first from the *Athanasians*, so long as they were able to keep Possession of any of the Churches; and afterwards from the *Alexandrians* in general, who abhorr'd him to such a Degree, as to make a violent Attempt upon his Life; and lastly from the Monks, when he had made them his Enemies too by several insupportable Provocations.] In the mean time, upon his Account, and by his Procurement, the Virgins were put in Prison, the Bishops laid in Chains, Widows and Orphans robb'd of their Subsistence, the Houses of the Orthodox were broke open, and they † thrown out of the Windows, or from the Tops of them; the Doors of others had a Seal set upon them, and 'twas dangerous for one Christian to harbour another; especially a Clergyman. *T. L. 2. c. 14.* *Sebastianus* [a Manichee,] and his Soldiers came upon the *Athanasians* at their Devotions, and us'd them very barbarously. They kindled a Pile, and dragg'd the Virgins to it to scare them into a Renunciation of the *Nicene* Faith; in which when they fail'd, they beat and bruis'd their Faces: And forty of the Men were so inhumanly lash'd with Palm Branches, that some of them lay a great while under the Surgeons Hands, and some dy'd. The rest, and with them a certain Virgin, were sent into Exile. Nor would they for some Time suffer the Relations of those that dy'd to bury them. Fifteen Bishops and two Presbyters were banish'd out of *Egypt* and *Libya*, and dealt with so severely upon the Road, that several of them lost their Lives; besides above thirty other Bishops that were murder'd outright. Such was now the miserable Condition of the Eastern Churches; while *Greece* and *Illyricum*, and the whole Western Empire, adhering unanimously and firmly to the *Nicene* Creed, retain'd hitherto the *S. L. 4. c. 8.* Blessings of Concord and Peace; [and might have done so afterwards, had not *Constantius*, when he

* *V. Vales. not. in Sozom. L. 4. c. 4.*

† So I interpret the Word *καταβύβρω*, which *Valesius* has render'd *ad tumultum deportati*; I think very improperly and groundlessly.

found himself free from the Awe of his Brother, and the Rebellion of *Magnentius*, (of which hereafter) set himself, with all the Resolution imaginable, to oblige the Western Church to quit the Doctrine of Consubstantiality, and concur with the Easterns in that of bare Similitude.]

By this Time *Vetranio*, being deserted by his Forces, who proclaim'd *Constantius* sole Emperor upon his coming to *Sirmium*, was in his Majesty's Hands; who, upon his humble Submission, having taken from him his Robe and Diadem, very mildly admonish'd him to spend the Remainder of his Life in a dutiful and peaceable Privacy, and assign'd him a large Revenue for his Maintenance, out of the publick Duties. And *Gallus*, the Emperor's Nephew, having first receiv'd the Title of *Cæsar* from him, is sent to guard and cover the Eastern Provinces; where, at his entring *Antioch*, he was surpriz'd with the Representation of an erected Cross, which appear'd very visibly in the Heavens: *Sozomen* tells us it was seen at *Jerusalem*, and that it was of such a prodigious Extent and Brightness, that it struck into all People an unusual Consternation; put them upon special Exercises of Devotion; gave Occasion to *Cyril*, the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to write a particular Account of it to the Emperor; * and was look'd upon as the Completion of a Prophecy in the Holy Scriptures; and that it made such an Impression upon a great many *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as to bring them over to the *Christian* Faith. The rest of the Emperor's Generals were march'd against *Magnentius*, whilst himself took up his Quarters at *Sirmium*. Whither he summon'd a Synod upon Occasion of the Disturbance which *Photinus* made at this Time by asserting his Doctrine more explicitly and insolently than he had hitherto done. † Accordingly there came thither, among the Eastern Bishops, *Mark* of *Arethuse*, *George* the *Arian* Wolf of *Alexandria*, *Basil* the Usurper of *Ancyra*, *Pancratius* of *Pelusium*, and *Hypatianus* of *Heraclea*; among the Westerns, *Valens* of *Mursa*, and, by meer Compulsion, *Hosius* the good old Bishop of *Corduba*; [whose *S. L. 4. c. 6.* Assent they knew would give great Authority and Credit to their Decisions; and therefore, when he afterwards refus'd to subscribe their new-fangled Propositions, they tortur'd him by

* In a famous Epistle still extant in his Works.

† See *Valesius* upon this and the next Chapter of *Socrates*, and Bishop *Parker's Religion and Loyalty*, Part I. Page 476, &c.

the most barbarous Cruelties * into a Compliance.] This Assembly was no sooner met, but with very little Difficulty they came to a Resolution of deposing *Photinus*; and so far they did what the Church has always approv'd. But, it seems, they had a great deal of other Business behind, and that was to draw up
S. L. 4. c. 6. some more new Creeds; [which neither in Expression nor Meaning agreed with the old ones; no, nor with one another.] † And first of all *Mark of Arethuse* gives in ' a Confession of Faith, attended with a long Train of *Anathema's* ' against the Doctrine of the Son's Non-eternity, and of his not ' being truly and properly the Son of God; or that, as Man, he ' was not of the Substance of the Blessed Virgin; or that the second ' Person in the Holy Trinity was chang'd into Flesh; or that it ' was God the Father, or a Part of him, that appear'd to *Abraham*, ' and wrestled with *Jacob*; or that the Father and the Son are not ' two Persons; or that they are two Gods; or that the three Persons in the Blessed Trinity are but one Person; or that they are ' three Gods; or that the Holy Ghost is either the Father or the ' Son, or a Part either of the Father or the Son; or that the Father ' involuntarily begat the Son: *Sozomen's* Account of
S. L. 4. c. 6. ' this Creed is, [that they anathematiz'd those who ' held that the Son is unbegotten, and without Origin- ' gination; or that he results from the Substance of the Father, ' under the Notion of Expansion or Diffusion; or that he is ' united or equal with the Father, and not subordinate to him; ' but not a Word of his Consubstantiality, or so much as his Similitude.]

IN another Creed, (for they advanc'd two more, which were *Latin* ones, and § the last of them was afterwards produc'd by *Ursacius* and *Valens* at *Ariminum*) ' They forbid the Use of the ' Words, *Substance*, *Consubstantial*, and *Like in Substance*, because ' they are unscriptural, and because the Generation of the Son is ' above human Comprehension or Knowledge; adding, that the ' Father is greater than the Son in Honour, Dignity, and God- ' head; and that the Son is subjected unto the Father, together

* See the Mistakes of the Historians about this Matter discover'd and corrected; and *Hofius* vindicated, in *Religion and Loyalty*, Part 1. Page 487.

† See Dr. *Cave's* Lives of the Pr. F. V. 2. p. 129.

§ This last was also *Mark's* Handywork; *Valesius* supposes it was writ in Greek. See his second Note upon *Socr. L. 2. c. 30*

' with

‘ with all those Creatures which the Father has put in Subjection
 ‘ under the Son; that the Father is from Everlasting; that the Son
 ‘ is the Begotten of the Father, God of God, Light of Light;
 ‘ that he took Flesh of the Substance of the Virgin *Mary*; and that
 ‘ the Doctrine of the Trinity is the very Root and Foundation of
 ‘ the *Christian* Faith, and ought to be most religiously receiv’d and
 ‘ eternally maintain’d, according to the Enumeration in that Text,
 ‘ Go, and baptize all Nations in the Name of the
 ‘ Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ S. L. 4. c. 6.

[This new Scheme of Faith was agreed upon in the
 Emperor’s Presence.]

AND they were instant with *Photinus* to subscribe it, promising, if he would do so, and renounce his own Opinion, to restore him to his Bishoprick; but instead of accepting this Proposal, he challenges them to a Disputation; which being admitted, and *Basil* of *Ancyra* engaging him on the Part of the Council, he is, after a great many Words and Arguments on both Sides, in the Presence of the Bishops and of several of the Lay Nobility whom the Emperor had sent thither, confuted, and again condemn’d, and then banish’d. In his Exile he employ’d his Time in Writing, and compos’d, among others, his Book against all Heresies, where, and every where else, he allows no Creed but his own to be Orthodox.

SOME time after, the *Sirmian* Bishops perceiving their new Creed contain’d several Inconsistencies and Contradictions, begun themselves to like it as little as *Photinus* had done, and labour’d to have all the Copies of it call’d in, the Emperor by an Edict vehemently threatening those that should conceal them; but they were too generally dispers’d to be all retriev’d.

By this Time *Magnentius* having very barbarously murder’d not a few of the Senators and Citizens of *Rome*, had been oblig’d to retire into *Gaul*, and there, after several Actions with various Success, at length he was driven, with considerable Loss, into *Mursa*, where delivering himself in an encouraging Oration to his dispirited Soldiers, they answer’d him, in their Acclamations, by a surprizing Mistake, under the Stile of *Constantius Augustus* instead of *Magnentius*. This struck him with such a Terror that he resum’d his Flight, in which being overtaken by *Constantius*’s Forces at the Mountain *Seleucus*, and having lost all his Army in the bloody Battle

fought there between them, he fled, without any Companion, to *Lyons*, where (upon the fifteenth of *August*, in the sixth Consulat of *Constantius*, and the second of *Gallus*) he violently put a Period to his Mother's Life, to a * Brother's, (whom he had created *Cæsar*) and to his own; and soon after his Brother *Decentius* hang'd himself. This Rebellion was attended by that of *Silvanus* in *Gaul*, to which *Constantius's* Men soon put an End, together with his Life; and also by an Insurrection of the *Jews* in *Diocæsarea*, who making Excursions into the *Roman* Territories, were suppress'd by *Gallus*, and their City demolish'd. But this Success of *Gallus*, as much as it ought to have deterr'd him from it, excited him also to Rebellion; for which, before he could bring his Designs to Perfection, he was timely dispatch'd by the Emperor's Order, in the seventh Consulat of *Constantius*, and the third of his own; and the Year after, *Julian* was created *Cæsar*. Of which more in the next Book. About the same Time dy'd *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, after he had held that Chair fifteen Years, but according to *Sozomen* (*L. 4. c. 8.*) † twenty-five, and *Liberius* succeeded him.

Now it was that *Aetius*, a Native of *Antioch*,
S. L. 3. c. 15. furnam'd the Atheist, [from the blasphemous Licence he assum'd in his Discourses and Argumentations about the Nature of God,] begun to make a
S. L. 3. c. 15. Noise in the World. This Fellow [set up, at first, for a Physician at *Antioch*, but afterwards remov'd to *Alexandria*,] where having had an Opportunity of picking up a little Shew of Learning, he brought it home with him to *Antioch*, where *Leontius*, to welcome him, ordain'd him Deacon; and then he thought it high Time to let the World see his wonderful Attainments in Logick and Metaphysicks; in the Strength of which he was pleas'd very warmly to dispute against the same Doctrines which the *Arians* also oppos'd; and to assert their very
S. L. 4. c. 12. Notions and Opinions; but so darkly [and uncertainly,] and so very unintelligibly, (being indeed no more than an illiterate Wrangler; and neither skill'd in the Scriptures, nor diffident enough of himself to consult the antient and

* His Name was *Desiderius*. *Zonaras* (*L. 13. c. 9.*) has it, that his Wounds did not prove mortal; but *Socrates's* Authority, being much more antient, ought to take Place.

† See *Vales.* upon the Place, and upon *Socr. B. 2. c. 34. n. the last.*

§ *Sozomen* (*L. 3. c. 15.*) makes him a considerable Logician and a ready Disputant, and says, he was thoroughly acquainted with all *Aristotle's* Philosophy.

learned

learned Interpreters of it) that the *Arians* excommunicated him for a Heretick; upon which he endeavour'd to make the World believe he had renounc'd their Communion, because they receiv'd *Arius* after such scandalous Tergiversations and foul Hypocrisy. [His Pretences to Devotion, and his Dexterity in using and commenting on the Scriptures, had recommended him soon to *Gallus*, at that Time *Cæsar*; and probably the Encouragement he then receiv'd, turn'd his Thoughts altogether to Polemical Studies.] He wrote several Epistles to *Constantius* and others, full of his Sophistical Jargon, and left his Sect to the Custody of *Eunomius*, his *Amanuensjs* and Pupil; from whom they deriv'd the Name of *Eunomians*. S. L. 3. c. 15.

THE Emperor having summon'd a Council to sit at *Milan*, there appear'd there about this Time an Assembly * of three hundred Western Bishops, more or less, but not so many Eastern. They were no sooner met but the latter, S. L. 4. c. 8. [not content with what they had done some time before in a Synod at *Antioch*; where *Narcissus* of *Cilicia*, *Theodorus* of *Thrace*, *Eugenius* of *Nice*, *Patrophilus* of *Scythopolis*, *Menophantus* of *Ephesus*, and about thirty more, had declar'd *Athanasius's* Return to *Alexandria*, before his Sentence had been Synodically taken off, an Infraction of the Canons; and warn'd the Episcopal College against communicating with him,] now again very earnestly urg'd the taking of such Measures as would keep him out of *Alexandria* for ever; [and herein they † all concurr'd, some wanting Courage, and others being either impos'd upon or unacquainted with the Merits of the Cause.] Only [§ the great *Hofius*] ** *Paulinus* T. L. 2. c. 15.

* *Sozom.* (L. 4. c. 9.) says there were more. V. *Vales.* in loc.

† *Theodorit* (L. 2. c. 15.) says that the *Arians* put the Emperor upon calling this Council; and that the Orthodox Part of it rebuk'd him to his Face for requiring such Compliances from them as subscribing *Athanasius's* Deposition, and a new Confession of Faith.

§ See *Vales.* upon the Place.

** Whose Character *Theodorit* (L. 2. c. 15.) gives us from *Athanasius*, πειρὸν τὸ μέγα καὶ ἐννεστέρα καὶ ὁμολογητὴς ἀληθῶς ὄντα, &c. Why need I mention the great Confessor *Hofius*, that old Man of happy venerable

Years? Every body knows they had him banish'd. For his Name is so far from being obscure, that the Church has not another so renown'd. For where has been the Council, in which he has not presid'd or appear'd at the Head of? How justly and closely did he argue in those Assemblies, and how universally were those Arguments assented to? Who that ever came to him melancholy, was not fill'd with Satisfaction and Joy before he came away? Who ever made their Suit to him, and was deny'd? And yet because he would not subscribe my Destruction, even he too has felt their Violence.

S. L. 4. c. 9. of *Triers*, *Dionysius* of * *Alba*, *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ*, [*Rhodanus* of *Elusa*, and *Lucifer* of *Calaris*] who very well understood their Purpose, broke out into loud Exclamations against their Malice and Inhumanity towards him, and † their wicked Intention of stabbing *Christianity* itself thro' the Sides of so great and good a Man; upon which S. L. 4. c. 11. the Council broke up, [without coming to any final Resolutions.]

[AND here the Chain of our History brings us to S. L. 4. c. 10. a View of the present State of *Athanasius's* Affairs, in which the Interpositions of Divine Providence were always very wonderful. When he understood at this Time what new Trains of Mischiefs his Enemies had laid for him at Court, he did not think fit to go to the Emperor himself, but delegated five Bishops, (among whom was the pious and eloquent *Serapion* of *Thmuis*) with three Presbyters, to retrieve and sollicit the Church's and his own Interest there; who were no sooner set out upon their Journey, but *Athanasius* receiv'd a Summons from the Emperor to appear in Person; and upon his § neglecting to obey that Citation, in which he conceiv'd the *Nicene* Faith not a little concern'd, was the next Year commanded to leave the City by his Majesty's Officers, and his Clergy treated with all Severity; and this so incens'd the People, that it was found necessary to quarter upon them a good Number of Troops, who understanding *Athanasius* lay conceal'd in a Church, came unexpectedly and broke it open. But *Athanasius*, who at this Time, among many others, receiv'd from God an extraordinary Admonition of the approaching Danger, convey'd himself out of the Church, and was scarce gone, before the Soldiers enter'd it. As wonderful was that Delivery which he obtain'd by an immediate Revelation from Heaven, in the Time of his former

* See *Vales.* upon the Place, and Mr. *Reading's* Note.

† To the same Effect *Sulp. Severus Hist. Sacra* L. 2. *Ea tempestate Ariani perfidiam suam occultabant, non ausi palam erroris sui dogmata predicare: Catholicos se gerebant, nihil sibi prius agendum rati, quam ut Athanasium Ecclesia submoverent, &c.* At the same Time the *Arians* were very careful not to shew themselves, for it was not

Time yet to blazon abroad their Herefy; and therefore they carry'd the Outside of true Catholics, thinking it necessary, before they made any further Steps, effectually to disarm the Church of her Shield *Athanasius*.

§ See this Part of the Story as far as to the Words [and this so incens'd] confuted by *Baronius*, an. 354. n. 21. See also Dr. *Cave* to the same Purpose, *L. of Pr. F. V. 2.* p. 138.

Sufferings, when he took up his Residence in a * Place under Ground, which heretofore had been full of Water, and was just upon the Point of being betray'd by a Servant who had Orders to attend him : For it pleas'd the Divine Goodness to impart the Design to him ; upon which he fled ; and so the Traytoreſs suffer'd as a false Informant against her Master, and the Family, to whom the Vault belong'd, and whose Case had otherwise been, at that Time, as desperate as *Athanasius's*, for concealing him. Another Instance of the Fore-knowledge communicated to him by that Divinity whose Cause he asserted, was this. As he happen'd † at *Alexandria* to pass along the Streets, a Raven flew croaking over his Head. Several Heathens that were near, ask'd him, What the Raven said, and whether he understood his Prediction. *Yes*, says he, *the Bird cries Cras, Cras, to Morrow, to Morrow ; and his Meaning is, that you must not hope to celebrate that Festival of yours which falls upon to Morrow.* And the Event soon answer'd his Interpretation ; for the next Day the Magistrates receiv'd the Emperor's express Order not to suffer the Continuance of the Pagan Worship and Solemnities. In a Word, so conspicuous was this Gift in him, that his Enemies, both Infidels and Hereticks, had no other Way to evade the Authority of it, but by giving it the Name of Magick.]

LEONTIUS of *Antioch* dying about the Time of the Council of *Milan*, *Eudoxius* of *Germanicia*, then at *Rome*, under Pretence of being wanted in his Diocese ; or, as *Sozomen* says, (*L. 4. c. 12.*) of taking care of the *Antiochians* during the present Vacancy, obtain'd (what, it seems, he was oblig'd to ask) the Emperor's Leave to return into *Syria* ; where, by the Interest and Management of the [Eunuchs and] People at Court, who were all *Aetians*, he found means to put himself in Possession of that See, [without the Consent of those Bishops, who had the Right of ordaining into it ;] and there convening a Council, [in which were *Acacius* of *Cæsarea* and *Uranius* of *Tyre*,] propos'd the Restitution of *Aetius* to his Deaconry, but could not compass it. [However, they threw out both the Words *ἐμοῖσι* and *ἐμοῖσι*, and made

S. L. 4. c. 12.

S. L. 4. c. 12.

S. L. 4. c. 12.

S. L. 4. c. 12,

13, 14.

* *V. Vales. in Sez. L. 4. c. 10. n. 1.*

† So I interpret *ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν* ; for if our Historian had meant another City, he would rather have express'd himself by *ἀνὰ τινὰ πόλιν*.

this

this an Argument for it, that the Western Bishops had done so before them, meaning * *Hosius*, and some others, who had been brought by Methods already mention'd to comply so far, in hopes to stop the Mouths of *Valens*, *Ursacius*, and *Germinius*. To these therefore *Eudoxius* now return'd publick Thanks, and ascrib'd the glorious Conversion of the West.

AFTER this he gave the full Rein to his Malice and Passion against the Orthodox *Antiochians*, and depriv'd all his Opposers in that Patriarchate; who receiving Letters from *George* of † *Laodicea*, repair'd to *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, where *Basil* presented them to an Assembly of Bishops, whom he had invited to assist in the Dedication of a new Church which he had built there. These Letters were directed to *Macedonius*, *Basil*, *Cecropius*, and *Eugenius*, beseeching them, and as many others as could meet together, to consider of the dangerous and sad Condition of the Church of *Antioch*, and how far the Fate of it must affect the Church Universal; and to use their Interest and Endeavours to oblige *Eudoxius* to send *Aetius* out of it, and to degrade those Presbyters whom he had ordain'd from his School. Upon this § the Bishops at *Ancyra* acquaint the Emperor by their Delegates, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*, *Eleusius* of *Cyzicus*, and one *Leontius*, (who from a Gentleman of the Bedchamber had been ordain'd Presbyter) with *Eudoxius*'s Innovations and Insolencies; and earnestly urge him to defend the Doctrine of *Similitude according to Substance*. And the Delegates just arriv'd in good time; for *Aspbalus*, a Presbyter of *Antioch*, and an *Aetian* Bigot, was just upon his Departure with good News for *Eudoxius*, and kind Letters to him from the Emperor, when, upon hearing the Story from *Ancyra*, he condemn'd *Eudoxius* and his Faction, recall'd *Aspbalus*'s Packet, and sent his Letters to the Church of *Antioch*, wherein he declares, ' It was not he that translated *Eudoxius* to them, but that Avarice and Ambition which ' possess'd him and his Party; and professes his Abhorrence of the ' Principles and Practices of the *Aetians*, his Indignation at them ' for representing him as their Friend and Patron, and his firm

* See *Hosius* vindicated in *Religion and Loyalty*, Part 1. p. 437.

† This *George* and *Basil*, they thought, (as Heterodox as they were) would act in their behalf against *Eudoxius*, who had discarded

the Word *εὐνοίας* as well as *εὐνοίας*.

§ *Theodorit* (L. 2. c. 25.) says, only *Basil* and *Eustathius* inform'd the Emperor of *Eudoxius*'s Behaviour by Letters.

‘ Assent and Adherence to the Decrees of the *Sardican* and *Sirmian* Councils ; and adds, that their scandalous Proceedings being too plain to be either veil’d or excus’d, particularly their infamous Ordinations, he forbids them all manner of Meeting or Assembling ; not without Menaces of something much worse, unless they reform’d themselves ; that it is now high Time the banish’d Bishops and Confessors should return, and those that had usurp’d their Places, make room for them ; that he earnestly advises the Followers of this Heresy, even the most Veteran Assertors of it, to embrace those Doctrines and Conclusions which had been already Synodically pass’d ; and that he conceiv’d it was every honest Man’s Duty to retain the Faith of his Forefathers, and to explain it, or expatiate upon it, but by no means to go any further :’ [And as for *Eudoxius* himself, he commanded *T. L. 2. c. 26.* his Expulsion, and that he should appear in order to a Spiritual Condemnation, at *Nice* in *Bithynia* ; whither he had summon’d a Council, and made Choice of that Place at the Motion of *Eudoxius*’s own Friends ; some of whom were at his Elbow.]

THUS we have so far laid together the Story of *Eudoxius*, as our Three Historians have given it us, in one general View, without Order of Time ; but shall yet have Occasion to concern ourselves further with him hereafter. Mean time, let us look back to those Transactions, which more immediately followed the Council of *Milan*.

THAT Synod was no sooner separated, but the Emperor banish’d the Bishops that had deliver’d themselves so freely in it, [together with * *Hilary* the Notary ;] and *S. L. 4. c. 9.* summon’d two Councils, the one Western, which was to meet at *Ariminum*, the other Eastern, which was to have met at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, and afterwards at *Nice*, and then at *Tarsus* ; but an Earthquake (of which more in the Sequel) prevented their sitting at the first of the three Places, and other Reasons their choosing either of the latter ; *S. L. 2. c. 16.* [particularly, *Basil* and his Friends disapprov’d of

* And yet this *Hilary* had been sent, with his Brother Notary *Diogenes*, to drive away *Athanasius* from *Alexandria*. Val.

Nice, for fear it should refresh some People's Memories too much; though afterwards when the Emperor was pleas'd to consult him about this Matter, he propos'd this very Place, because he knew the Emperor, who at first intended they should meet there, would like his Choice; and then the Reason he gave for it was, *That the Question might be decided in the Place where it had been first canvass'd.* Hither therefore the Emperor summons a general Council, requiring those Bishops, whom Age, or Infirmities, should detain, to send their Proxies; and ordering them to depute ten Delegates for the West, and as many for the East, to notify their Determinations to him, that he might examine whether their Decrees and Conclusions were conformable to the Holy Scriptures, and know what he had to do as to the Executive Part. But afterwards he again prevented their coming to *Nice*, understanding there had been also an Earthquake there, and order'd *Basil* to write to the Bishops in their several Provinces, to agree among themselves upon a Place; which when they could not, *Basil* thought it necessary to go to the Emperor then at *Sirmium*, and * there he meets with *Valens* and his Friends soliciting zealously the *Anomæan* Cause, (for that was what they now professedly espoused) and endeavouring to procure the Subscriptions of the Bishops about the Court, and to have two Councils instead of one; in which they should have the Advantage of a double Chance against a double Enemy, the *Orthodox* and the *Homoiousians*.] And this, if not principally, yet at least in Conjunction with that other Inducement which *Socrates* intimates, that the Emperor promis'd himself Distance of Place, would conduce to a good

Understanding of Parties, [and with some secondary
S. L. 4. c. 17. Reasons, as that it would be less expensive to the
 Publick, and save the Bishops of either Empire the
 Trouble of a longer Journey, produced the two Councils] of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*.

IN the Council of *Ariminum* (according to *Sozomen*, *L. 4. c. 17.*)
 appear'd more than four hundred Bishops. There
S. L. 2. c. 17. were some Easterns there, [*Athanasius's* Enemies,]
 who, upon the opening of the Council, signify'd,
 that it was neither their Design nor Desire that his Cause should be

* *V. Valef. in Soz. L. 4. c. 22. n. 2.*

touch'd upon; [and the Emperor had notify'd to both Councils, that it was his Pleasure they should settle Matters of Faith before they meddled with the Complaints either of the People against the Bishops: as for Instance, of the *Egyptians* against *George*; or of the Bishops against one another;] and therefore it was no Wonder, that herein *Ursacius* and *Valens* concurr'd with them; as did also *Germinius*, * *Auxentius*, *Demophilus*, *Caius*, *Ursacius*, and *Valens*; who propos'd the Revocation of all former Creeds, and the Receiving a new one, which they had in a Readiness at the *Sirmian* Council, but thought fit, at that Time, to reserve to themselves, and now presented the Form of it; [adding, that his Imperial Majesty had declar'd he approv'd of it.] In this Creed, 'after
' they have affirm'd the Son to be the Only-begotten Son of God,
' and to be God of God, they say, that he is like to the Father
' according to the Scriptures, and that the Words *Sub-*
' *stance*, [and *Consubstantial*,] as being Unscriptural, *S. L. 4. c. 17.*
' and neither sufficiently explain'd by the Fathers,
' nor distinctly understood by the People, are to be rejected.' In answer to this, Those that disapprov'd their Project, told them, 'That they did not come thither to receive their Faith, which they had done already from their Forefathers, but to suppress those Novelties which had been propagated to its Prejudice; and being apprehensive that there was too much of that kind in the Confession now recited, they requir'd the Friends of it expressly and openly, to anathematize the *Arian* Heresy.' *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Auxentius*, *Germinius*, *Caius*, and *Demophilus* refusing to do this, were depos'd; but found, nevertheless, a considerable Party that embrac'd their new Creed; which was a very remarkable one, as in other Respects, so particularly for the Title and Date prefix'd in these Words, *The Catholick Faith deliver'd at Sirmium in the Presence of our [Eternal August] Lord Constantius, in the Consulship of the most Illustrious Flavius Eusebius, and Hypatius, upon the † Eleventh of the Calends of June.* This certainly afforded much Matter of Reproach and Derision;

* He had been always a diligent Promoter of the *Arian* Cause, and was now perch'd in the Chair of *Milan*. *Soz. L. 3. c. 13.* He took Possession of it upon the Banishment of the rightful Bishop *Diony-*

fius. So says *Sulp. Severus* (*H. f. Sacra L. 2.*) *Dionysius, quia non esset offensus, urbe pellitur: Statimque in ejus locum Episcopus (Auxentius) subrogatur.*

† May the 22d.

and *Athanasius* is particularly severe upon these Innovators ; ‘ for
 ‘ representing the Christian Faith, as defective, and their own Ac-
 ‘ count of it, as unknown, ’till that Year ; and he tells them, that
 ‘ they must not hope to vindicate themselves by the Examples of
 ‘ the Prophets ; for that it was one Thing to set down the Time
 ‘ when such a Person liv’d and wrote, or when such an Event
 ‘ should come to pass ; and another to place the Commencement of
 ‘ the very Fundamentals of the true Religion, so late as in such a
 ‘ Year or Consulship of the Emperor *Constantius*’s Reign ; that
 ‘ their Affixing the Title of the Catholick Faith to a Creed which
 ‘ was not a Day old by their own Confession, was an Insolence
 ‘ equal to the Enthusiasm of the *Montanists* ; and that their stiling
 ‘ the Emperor *their Lord* in the Front of a Declaration that con-
 ‘ tained the Object of their Faith, look’d as if they intended to
 ‘ ascribe that Divinity to him which they derogated
 S. L. 4. c. 17. ‘ from the Son of God.’ [Nor was the Council
 unappriz’d of this Absurdity, when they condemn’d
 this new Form along with the Authors of it, and after a Recital of
 the *Nicene* Creed, and of all the others that followed it, confirm’d
 the first, and ordain’d, that no Body should solicit the Convening
 of any more Councils for the Correcting or Improving of it : And
Valens and *Ursacius* they depos’d.

BUT *Ursacius* and the other five convey’d themselves and their
 Creed with the utmost Expedition to the Emperor ; and the Council,
 at the same Time, dispatch’d a Letter to him, informing him, ‘ That
 ‘ they had determin’d neither to make Additions to, nor Alterations
 ‘ in, that Antient Faith, which they had received from the Pro-
 ‘ phets, Evangelists, Apostles, and from Christ himself ; and which,
 ‘ in Opposition to *Arianism* and every other Heresy, had been so
 ‘ fully and distinctly express’d in the *Nicene* Creed ; and deliver’d
 ‘ down through such a Succession of Saints and Confessors and
 ‘ Martyrs, and profess’d by his Imperial Majesty’s Father upon his
 ‘ Death-bed ; that *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who had been excommu-
 ‘ nicated once before for their Affection to *Arianism*, but were
 ‘ restor’d in the Council of *Milan*, had now, in Conjunction with
 ‘ *Germinius*, *Auxentius* and *Caius*, recommended a new Model of
 ‘ Faith, which the Council disapproving, those Innovators had
 ‘ moulded and alter’d several Ways to render it more acceptable ;
 ‘ and that for these impious Proceedings, and the better to preserve
 ‘ the

‘ the Peace of the Western Church, the Council had again depos’d
 ‘ them ; that they besought his Clemency to afford a favourable
 ‘ Reception to the Persons who brought him this Letter ; to protect
 ‘ and vindicate the Antient Apostolick Faith ; and to permit them to
 ‘ return to their respective Diocesēs, not only upon their own
 ‘ Account, in regard of the Poverty of some and the great Age of
 ‘ others, but for the sake of the People committed to their Charge,
 ‘ and that they might be more at Leisure to offer up their Prayers
 ‘ for his Imperial Majesty.

THIS was the Substance of their Letter, which had by no means
 that Success they might expect ; for *Ursacius* and *Valens* first reach’d
 the Emperor, prepossess’d in favour of *Arianism*, who having
 receiv’d them and their Scheme of Faith very kindly, heap’d Marks
 of his Favour upon them, express’d his Displeasure at the Determinations
 of the Council, and having detain’d the Bishops they had sent
 to him a considerable Time, return’d this Answer to their Letter,
 ‘ That the Purpose of his Expedition against the *Barbarians* had so
 ‘ engross’d his Time and Thoughts, that he had not had a vacant
 ‘ Hour to admit the Bishops that came from them to an Audience ;
 ‘ that therefore he had appointed them to meet him at *Adrianople*, in
 ‘ his Return, when he hoped to be more disengag’d from his Secular
 ‘ Affairs ; and that he desir’d the Council, as they wish’d the Pro-
 ‘ sperity of the Church, to stay where they were ’till then.’ In
 Reply to this, the Council wrote again to him, assuring him, ‘ That
 ‘ they were fully resolv’d not to depart from the Conclusions and
 ‘ Sentence they had pass’d, and praying him to peruse their Papers,
 ‘ to admit their Messengers, and to dismiss themselves upon the
 ‘ same Motives as before ; adding to the rest the Approach of
 ‘ Winter.

THE Emperor taking no Notice at all of this last Letter, after
 some Time they agreed to break up and go Home ; which he
 pretended to be an intolerable Affront, and under that Pretence let
 loose *Ursacius* and his Party against the Church, sent Copies of
 their new Creed to all the Churches of *Italy*, and
 issued out Orders [(which *Ursacius* and his Brother *S. L. 4. c. 19.*
Valens, those sanctified Villains, were empower’d
 and injoin’d to see executed)] for depriving all the Bishops and
 Clergy that refus’d to subscribe it, and putting others in their
 Places :

Places : * Pursuant whereunto *Liberius* Bishop of
S. L. 4. c. 11. *Rome* is driven from thence an Exile [into *Thrace*]
S. L. 4. c. 11. and *Felix*, one of his Deacons, an *Arian* [at least
in † Communion, if not in Principle,] is handed
by the *Ursacians* into his Chair, or, as some will have it, compell'd
by an irresistible Power (*βία καὶ ἀνάγκη*) to embrace
S. L. 4. c. 11. both the Herefy and the Preferment [But yet the
Emperor so far favour'd *Liberius* as to have a
Personal Conference with him before he banish'd him, in which he
endeavour'd 'to persuade him to communicate with the Bishops
'then in his Court, (among whom was *Eudoxius*) and to renounce
'the Communion of *Athanasius*, as a Man that had brought
'Confusion upon the Church, and been the Author of his Brother
'§ *Constantine's* Death, and of the Quarrel between his own
'Brother and himself, and stood condemned by the Judgment of
'this and that Synod, particularly by the Council of *Tyre*.' The
Bishop reply'd, 'That whatever had pass'd in those Assemblies to
'the Prejudice of *Athanasius* was wholly owing to Personal Piques,
'or to Motives of Interest or Fear, and therefore not valid; that
'he requir'd the Hands of all the Bishops in the World to the
'*Nicene* Creed; that those who had been banish'd for maintaining
'it should be call'd Home; that then a general Council should
'meet at *Alexandria*, and the Bishops not make use of the State-
'Caravans or the Publick Money, but bear their own Charges;
'and that when they were assembled there, and both the injur'd
'and injurious Parties before them, the Evidences on both Sides
'might be thoroughly examin'd and consider'd, and the whole
'Matter fairly and effectually clear'd.' Then he shew'd the
Emperor the Penitential Recantation which *Valens* and *Ursacius*
had presented to his Predecessor; 'Solliciting his Majesty neither
'to condemn *Athanasius* unheard, nor approve the Judgment that
'had been concerted against him by Men whose evil Intentions

* *V. Vales. in loc. & in Sox. L. 4. c. 19.*
n. 1.

† According to *Theodorit* (*L. 2. c. 17.*)
and *Ruffin. L. 10. c. 22.* he only commu-
nicated with those who would have sup-
planted the *Nicene* Creed, but religiously
asserted and maintain'd it himself; and yet
no Christian at *Rome* would communicate
with him. They did not apprehend how

an irresistible Force or bare Possession could
dissolve or transfer that Relation and Union
which *Christ* has establish'd between every
Bishop and his Flock.

§ 'Tis unaccountable, as the Learned
Annotator observes, that the Emperor
should charge *Athanasius* with his Bro-
ther's Death.

‘ had so plainly discover’d themselves ; and as to what his Majesty
 ‘ had objected about his Brothers, he besought him to try that
 ‘ Cause in a proper Court, and to forbear making use of the
 ‘ Spiritual Power to do himself Right in a Secular Concern.’
 This Constancy was such an Obstinacy, in the Emperor’s Con-
 struction, that he gave him only two Days Time to make his
 Choice between Complying and Banishment. But *Liberius* told
 him, *It would be Time lost, and he was ready for his Journey.* His
 Resoluteness however had that Effect, that he [and
 the Empress] sent him a Present of a considerable *T. L. 2. c. 16.*
 Sum of Money, which the Bishop refus’d, and bad
 the Messenger tell his Master, *That it would be much better bestow’d*
upon his Parasites and Buffoons, to whose insatiable Avarice ’twould
be a very acceptable Morsel ; for that Christ would
abundantly supply all his Occasions. [And when *T. L. 2. c. 16.*
Eusebius the Eunuch was sent to him afterwards
 upon the same Errand ; *What, says he, do you bring your Charity to*
me as to a miserable Criminal, after you have brought such a Desolation
upon the Catholick Church ? No, pray, be gone, and let me hear you
are a Christian before I see you again.

BUT because this Interview between the Emperor and *Liberius*
 will afford us a true Idea of the noble Courage, the steady Conduct,
 and the pious Integrity of the Primitive Ecclesiasticks, I shall set
 down * the Dialogue at full length, as we have it in *Theodorit*,
L. 2. c. 16. ‘ *CONSTANTIUS.* Understanding † you are a
 ‘ Christian, and Bishop of one of our Principal Cities, we thought
 ‘ it proper to send for you, and to admonish you to renounce
 ‘ the execrable Communion of the impious *Athanasius*. For this
 ‘ Advice we have the Judgment and Authority of the Universal
 ‘ Church, which by a Synodical Sentence has thrown him out of
 ‘ her Communion. *LIBERIUS.* May it please your Majesty ;
 ‘ all judicial Determinations of the Church ought to be strictly just
 ‘ and impartial. If your Goodness will admit *Athanasius* to a fair
 ‘ Trial before equal Judges, and he shall then be cast, in God’s
 ‘ Name, let him receive the Sentence of the Church ; but we
 ‘ cannot condemn a Man unheard. *CON.* All Mankind have

* *V. Vales. in Theod. L. 2. c. 16. n. 1.*

† He does not say that you are infallible, or that you are the Head of the Church.

' pronounc'd him a wicked Wretch, and declare he has try'd their
 ' Patience, and abus'd them too long. *LIB.* None of Those that
 ' fet their Hands to the Sentence against him, were Witnesses of
 ' the Facts they laid to his Charge; and they had never subscrib'd
 ' but for their Ambition, and their Fears, especially that of
 ' incurring your Majesty's Displeasure. *CON.* What Fears do you
 ' mean, what Ambition, what Apprehension of my Displeasure?
 ' *LIB.* There are some Men, in the World, who have valu'd
 ' your Majesty's Favours and Benefactions beyond the Glory of God;
 ' and these are they that have pass'd Sentence upon a Man whom
 ' they had never seen: Is this the Practice of Christians? *CON.* The
 ' Council of *Tyre* condemn'd him: That was a general Council,
 ' and he appear'd in Person there. *LIB.* His Adversaries never
 ' yet brought on his Cause whilst he was upon the Place;
 ' particularly at that Time they stay'd 'till he was gone, and then
 ' immediately condemn'd him. Here * *Eusebius* the Eunuch stept
 ' in with a Blunder; *Athanasius*, says he, was prov'd to be a
 ' Heretick in the Council of *Nice*. *LIB.* Properly speaking it was
 ' not a Council that had the Trial of his Cause, but a Cabal of
 ' Five of those Commissioners, who were sent into *Mareotis* to
 ' pick up Informations against him. Of those Five two dy'd
 ' some time after, *Theognis* and *Theodorus*. The other three, *Maris*,
 ' *Valens*, and *Ursacius*, are yet living, and were condemn'd by the
 ' Council of *Sardica*, for that very Exploit. After which they
 ' came and presented their Penitential Recantations in a Synod,
 ' confessing the Partiality and Villainy of their Practices in *Mareotis*
 ' against *Athanasius*; and those very Papers I have here in my
 ' Hand. Now then; whether would your Majesty have me
 ' concur and communicate with those Men, who condemn'd
 ' *Athanasius*, and afterwards begg'd Pardon for it, or with those
 ' who have condemn'd them? Here *Epictetus*, a Bishop, put in
 ' a Word: 'Tis not (said he) may it please your Majesty, for
 ' the Sake of the Faith, or out of a Zeal for any Rights of the
 ' Church, that *Liberius* troubles your Majesty with so many
 ' Words; but only that, when he comes home, he may brag
 ' among the Senators, that he has baffled the Emperor. *CON.* I

* *Stultus Stultæ loquitur.* Val.

‘ beseech you, Sir, † what wide Jurisdiction is yours (πόσον εἰ
 ‘ μέγας τῆς ἐκουμένης) that you pretend thus, upon your own single
 ‘ Strength, to vindicate that scandalous Man, and involve the
 ‘ Roman Empire and all the World in Confusion? *LIB.* My being
 ‘ alone does not weaken at all the Merits of my Cause. There
 ‘ was a Time, when only a single Triumvirate had the Courage
 ‘ to fear God more than Man. Upon which *Eusebius*, the Eunuch,
 ‘ told him, He made his Majesty by that Expression, another
 ‘ *Nebuchadnezzar*. No, said *Liberius*. But you, Sir, (to reci-
 ‘ minate) are, for your part, for condemning a Man unheard.
 ‘ Now, instead of that, I demand a universal Subscription to the
 ‘ *Nicene Faith*: Then to have all my Brethren recall’d from
 ‘ Exile, and restor’d to their Sees; and when the true Authors of
 ‘ the present Combustion have receiv’d the Apostolick Faith,
 ‘ let us all meet together at *Alexandria*, the Defendant, the
 ‘ Plaintiffs, and their Patron present; and so bring Matters to a
 ‘ final Issue. But (said *Epictetus*) the Emperor has not Caravans
 ‘ enough to carry so many Bishops. *LIB.* The Church will do
 ‘ her own Business without Caravans. Every Diocese can afford
 ‘ to bear the Bishop’s Charges to the Sea-side. *CON.* There is no
 ‘ reversing the Sentence of a competent Judicature, as that of so
 ‘ many Bishops certainly is. There is no body besides your self,
 ‘ that will vindicate that worst of Men. *LIB.* May it please your
 ‘ Majesty, I never heard of a Judge who declar’d the Prisoner
 ‘ guilty, when he was not before him: that looks like private
 ‘ Rancour and Prejudice. *CON.* He has abus’d and injur’d all
 ‘ Mankind, but no body so much as my self. He was my eldest
 ‘ Brother’s Murtherer; and that did not satisfy him, but he must
 ‘ engage my Brother *Constans*, of happy Memory, in a Quarrel
 ‘ against me, the worst Effects of which nothing could have
 ‘ prevented but Pliancy and good Temper, on my Part, as well
 ‘ towards the Incendiary as the Incens’d. Upon these Accounts
 ‘ I never gain’d so considerable a Victory, no not in defeating
 ‘ *Magentius* and *Sylvanus*, as when I rid the Church of that

* *Baronius* has attempted to translate away the Evidence of this Period against the modern Pretensions of the Roman Chair. He turns the first Part of it thus. *Tanta ne orbis terra pars, Liberi in te residet.* As if the Emperor ask’d *Liberius*, whether he was all Mankind, and not whether he

thought the Bishop of Rome’s Authority weigh’d any thing against that of so many other Bishops? Which ’tis plain was his Meaning from what he had told him a little before, *The Council of Tyre condemn’d Athanasius, &c.*

‘ Monster. *L.I.B.* Have a Care, Sir, of making the Church a Tool
 ‘ to your Spleen and Resentment. The Clergy have another sort
 ‘ of Office, which is that of deriving Benediction and Sanctification
 ‘ from the God of Truth and Peace. And therefore let it please
 ‘ your Majesty to place the Bishops in their former Circumstances;
 ‘ and that the College having first expressly declar’d their Assent
 ‘ to that Faith and Creed, which *Athanasius* contends for, we may
 ‘ meet in a Body, and enter upon healing Measures, and retrieve
 ‘ the Reputation of those, who now lie under the Reproach of
 ‘ persecuting an innocent Man. *CON.* That is not the Business
 ‘ between us, at this Time, but whether or no you will return to
 ‘ the Communion of the Church, as a true Lover of Peace and
 ‘ Moderation ought to do (*πεῖσθης τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*) subscribe the
 ‘ Judgment against *Athanasius*, and so return Home. *L.I.B.* I have
 ‘ taken my Farewel of my Brethren at *Rome*. And the Rights
 ‘ and Canons of the Church are much more to be consider’d and
 ‘ valu’d than my living there. *CON.* I give you three Days to
 ‘ choose, whether you will subscribe, and be restor’d, or else what
 ‘ Part of the World you’ll choose for a Place of Exile. *L.I.B.*
 ‘ Neither three Days, nor three Months, will produce any
 ‘ Alteration in me; and so your Majesty may send me whither
 ‘ you please.’ Thus ended their Discourse; which neither had
 ‘ any ill Effect at that Time upon the Bishop, nor any good one
 ‘ (except what was lately mention’d) upon the Emperor.

AND now a very melancholy Scene of Innovation, Confusion,
 and Violence overspread the Western Church too; the Emperor
 turning out and banishing as many Bishops as he pleas’d, and
 substituting new ones in their Places; and this without any
 Intermission or Abatement of the same tyrannical and unchristian
 Methods in the East.

BUT tho’ the Persecutors had it in their Power to separate the
 Persons of the Spiritual Fathers from their Children; yet, for the
 most part, they found themselves as little able to fright as they
 were authoriz’d or qualify’d to absolve the latter from their
 Obedience to the former. As for Instance; it was not long
 ere the People of *Rome*, having first tumultuously
S. L. 4. c. 15. [and not without Bloodshed] displac’d *Felix*,
S. L. 4. c. 11. [and by their Importunities and Clamours necessitated
 the Emperor to have recourse to a Synod of his
 own

own Bishops, upon the Point of restoring *Liberius*, (which when he had call'd, approv'd of his Return upon no other Terms than the Emperor would have permitted him to stay;)] were not satisfied, nor could be, 'till they had oblig'd his Majesty to call him Home, and consent to his re-assuming the Exercise of his Episcopal Authority. [Which yet *T. L. 4. c. 15.* he did not vouchsafe to do, till he had circumvented and perverted him; for some Time after returning to *Sirmium*, he sent for *Liberius* from *Beræa*, and in the Presence of the *Ancyran* Delegates, and other Bishops that attended his Person, compell'd him to deny the Son's Consubstantiality. This the Emperor did at the Instigation of his three great Favourites, *Basil*, *Eustathius* and *Eleusius*; who, in the End, effected their Purpose by laying together the Decrees of the *Antiochian* and *Sirmian*, Councils against *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Photinus*, and the Creed promulg'd in the late Council of *Antioch*, when there was a Church consecrated there; and bringing over *Liberius* (as they did also four *African* Bishops at the same Time) to drop the Word *Consubstantial*, as an Heretical Term, and subscribe the Scheme which they had now contriv'd for him; which was no sooner done, but all the Eastern Bishops too, that were there, particularly *Ursacius*, *Germinius* and *Valens*, set their Hands to it. And then, on their Part, as it serv'd to balk *Eudoxius* and his *Aetians*, who, * upon receiving Letters to their Mind from *Hosius*, had spread a Report that *Liberius* had condemn'd the Word *Consubstantial*, and declar'd for the Son's *Dissemblance*, they subscrib'd a Condemnation of the *Anomæans*, which they receiv'd from *Liberius*, and not only of the *Anomæans*, but of all those that asserted that the Son was not like unto the Father both in Substance and in all Things. And, the Matter thus adjusted, the Emperor sends him Home, and the Court-Bishops their Letters along with him, to *Felix* and his Clergy, requiring them to receive him, and directing that all past Miscarriages should be forgotten, and that the two Rivals should now amicably hold and exercise an equal Authority; which they did till, a little Time after, the Death of *Felix* put an End to an Oeconomy so absurd and repugnant to the Constitution of the Church. †]

O o 2

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* No doubt, themselves forg'd them. See *Hosius* vindicated in *Rel. and Loy.* Part 1. p. 487.

† The Learned Annalist (*An. 359. n. 47.*) tells us, that *Liberius* was afterwards remov'd, tho' not banish'd, a second time; finds

So *Sozomen* tells the Story, [but in *Theodorit* (*L. 2. c. 17.*) it runs quite otherwise, entirely to the Honour of *Liberius*; for he informs us, that, upon the Emperor's coming to *Rome* two Years after *Liberius's* Banishment, the Ladies of Quality were very urgent with their Husbands to petition him for the Bishop's Restoration, and told them, if they refus'd, they wou'd leave them and repair to *Liberius*. Their Husbands answer'd, They might do it themselves, if not with better Success, yet at least (which the Men could not) with Safety. They acquiesced in and approv'd the Suggestion, and came to the Emperor with an Equipage, and in a Dress, that discover'd an Eminency of Condition, and intreated his Majesty, upon their Knees, to have Compassion upon such an illustrious City, depriv'd of its Pastor, and expos'd to the Wolves. The Emperor reply'd, That *Rome* had a Bishop in it, very worthy of the Office (meaning *Felix*); but, it seems, in Conclusion he yielded to have *Liberius* recall'd, and order'd that he and *Felix* should hold the Jurisdiction in common; which being so ridiculous and absurd a Project, that, upon reading the Emperor's Order in the *Circus*, all the People (such was their Piety * and Constancy) cry'd out, *One God, One Christ, One Bishop*; the great *Liberius* was restor'd, and *Felix* left the City]. †

THE *Ursacians* (for, upon every Digression, we must be sure to remember where we left those Sycophants, and how employ'd) having no farther Business at present in the West, after they had

finds fault with *Ruffinus* and *Socrates* for confounding his Removal with his Banishment, and observes that *Sozomen* has distinguish'd them: But I cannot find *Sozomen* has done so, either in the Places which *Baronius* has refer'd to in the Margin, or elsewhere. Neither do I see it follows that, if *Milan* were the Place where the Emperor then was, when he had the Conference (above-recited) with the Bishop, therefore *Liberius* was three Years after sent out of the City of *Rome* into the Suburbs. Much more, I think, might be offer'd, upon this Head, against the Cardinal; but I would not crowd the Margin.

§ The Historian lets us know here, that he thinks it but Justice to them to set down their very Words, *αὐτὰς δὲ ναίτας τὰς φωνὰς ἐπέλαβον δῖνατον*. *Felix* profess'd the *Nicene* Faith, as I observ'd before. But what was his Orthodoxy to the People of *Rome*? They had an Orthodox Bishop already, and Two Bishops in the same Chair was to them like Two Gods or Two Christs.

† That *Liberius* repented and recanted whatever false Steps he had made, or whatever Errors he had subscribed to, no one will question that reads over what *Natalis Alexander* has concerning this Matter in his *Ecclesiastical History*, *Sæcul. 4. c. 3. p. 6.*

brought

brought such dreadful Desolation and Calamities upon the Churches there, made a Tour to *Nice* in *Thrace*; where having conven'd a Council, they translated their new Creed into *Greek*, and publish'd it under the Character of the Creed of the Council of *Nice*, by which they hoped to impose upon weaker People, and make it pass for that of the Council of *Nice* in *Bithynia*; but this Artifice was very easily laid open, and render'd them extreamly ridiculous.

HERE *Sozomen*, who gives us two Relations of the Issue of the *Ariminum* Council, that which we have given the Reader already, and another, which he makes to be equally Authentick, but which I think can scarce be reconcil'd with *Socrates*; for [he tells us, That the Bishops were so tired by the S. L. 4. c. 19. Emperor's Procrastinations, and so wrought upon by the Persuasions of some *Arian* Emissaries and Sollicitors, who made them believe the Eastern Bishops would never agree to the Word *Substance*; and O! what a Pity it was, the Sacred College should be divided for the Sake of one Word, whereas if the Westerns would be contented with asserting the Son to be like the Father, that would end the Dispute; and that at the same time, the *Ursacians*, being sensible that otherwise the Lyes they had told the Emperor, upon their first arriving at his Court from *Ariminum*, about the Western Church, as if it were very flexible and complying, must, of necessity, be confuted, and their whole Plot unravel'd, detain'd the * Delegates of the Council, at *Nice* in *Thrace*, upon Pretence of bad Ways and Winter-Weather, till they had prevail'd with them to translate their new Creed into *Greek*, and send it to the Eastern Bishops; designing, by that Artifice, the more securely and effectually to establish a general Belief, that the Council of *Ariminum* found themselves oblig'd to recede from the Word *Substance*, in Compliance and Obedience to the Eastern Church; which yet was so far from being probable, that there were but very few, who deny'd the Son to be like the

† *Theodorit* (L. 2. c. 21.) says, Most of the Western Bishops were carry'd thither from *Ariminum* against their Wills; and that there, some were cheated and others frighted into a Defection from the *Consubstantial Faith*, and an Admission of *Like in Substance*. *Ruffinus* has it, That the Easterns put a Trick upon them, by asking them which God they had rather serve, *Christ* or *Homousius*, to which they answer'd not *Homousius*, but *Christ*. *Ruf.* L. 10. c. 21. But this seems incredible.

Father in Substance; the general Controversy being about those two Words *ὁμοῦσι* and *ὁμοιούσι*, whether he was of *the same* or of *like Substance* with the Father.]

WHICH-EVER of these Accounts is the true one, the Emperor's Activity and Zeal in their Favour had encourag'd the *Arianizing* Bishops to fly out into the most extravagant Insolencies. *Acacius* and *Patrophilus* had taken upon them to depose *Maximus* of *Jerusalem*, and § place *Cyril* on his Throne; and *Macedonius* had ordain'd a new Set of Bishops, well qualify'd for the wicked Work in Hand, * thro' all the Cities and Provinces round *Constantinople*; particularly at *Cyzicus* *Eleusius* already mentioned,

S. L. 4. c. 20. [a Creature of the Court,] and at *Nicomedia* *Marathonius*, formerly a Deacon under him, a great Promoter of the Erection of Monasteries, [and a mighty popular Encourager of Hospitals and such Societies.]

There was no Cruelty so dreadful and inhuman, which *Macedonius* did not practise upon the Catholics, and upon the *Novatians* too (whose Bishop *Agelius* made his Escape) well knowing they were both equally Asserters of the Consubstantiality; and as their common Sufferings gave Occasion at this Time to † their praying together in the same Churches; so that Exigency had united them absolutely into one Communion, had it not been for S. L. 4. c. 20. the Obstinacy of the *Novatians*; [or perhaps the invidious Temper of a few ill-dispos'd Persons among them;] yet in all other Instances they were so well reconcil'd, as even to expose their Lives for one another. Many Persons of most exemplary Piety were put to the Torture, and when that did not prevail with them to communicate with the Usurper, they were gagg'd, and the Elements thrust down their Throats, which was

§ *Theodorit* says, that *Cyril* came not into that See 'till after the Death of *Maximus*. *Eccles. Hist.* l. 2. c. 26. and styles him a strenuous Champion and Defender of the Apostolick Faith. Which indeed is much more probable; for in an Epistle which he wrote to the Emperor *Constantius*, when he was now a Bishop, and at a Time when he was very warmly charg'd with, or at least very much suspected of *Arianism*, he declares to him, that he believes in and worships *την ἀγίαν & ὁμοῦσιον τριάδα*.

* See *Vales.* upon *Socr. B. 2. c. 38. n. 1.* Though, I must confess, there is no certain arguing from the Practice of a Man of *Macedonius's* Character to the Right of the Bishop of *C. S.*

† See what *Vales.* upon the Place, and the Learned Author of the *Ecclesiastical Excerpts*, (from pag. 100. to pag. 108.) have alledg'd, first, to shew the Matter of Fact incredible, and secondly, how it must be understood, and what Force it will have, if allow'd to be true.

the most exquisite and insupportable Part of their Sufferings. Infants were violently hurry'd away in the Arms of their Mothers to the heretical Fonts, there to be baptized; and if they struggled, were most unmercifully beaten and abused, and when they could not be brought to partake of the Cup of Devils, at the rebellious Altars, had their Breasts either squeez'd into a Box and cut off, or burnt away with red-hot Irons, or else shrivel'd with scalding Eggs; an Invention to which the witty Malice of the Heathens themselves had never arriv'd. These Particulars I receiv'd from *Auxanon* already mention'd, who, with *Alexander* the *Paphlagonian*, had his Share in this Persecution, and surviv'd the Severity of it, which the latter did not. A great Number of Churches were demolish'd by the * Emperor's and *Macedonius's* Order; among the rest, that of the *Novatians* at *Constantinople*, which (as I learn'd from *Auxanon*) was no sooner pull'd down, but a very numerous Multitude of *Novatians* and others, Men, Women, and Children, set themselves to work, and soon carry'd away all the Materials to *Sicæ*, another Ward of the City, and rais'd themselves a new Church out of them there; which they afterwards brought again to the Ground it stood upon at first, when *Julian* restor'd it to the *Novatians*, and having built it more beautiful and magnificent than before, they gave it the new and apposite Name of *Anastasia*. Nor did the Consubstantialists meet with better Usage elsewhere. *Elenus* exercis'd his new Authority at *Cizycus*, and burnt the Church of the *Novatians* in that Place. And *Macedonius* sent four Troops of Soldiers, by the Emperor's Order, to *Mantinium* in *Paphlagonia* (where he heard the *Novatians* were superior in Number and Strength to his Ecclesiasticks; [not but *S. L. 4. c. 21.* that Country too had sufficiently smarted under their Tyranny]) to fright them into *Arianism*; but they were so warmly receiv'd, that though several of the *Paphlagonians* lost their Lives in a tumultuous Encounter that happened upon this Occasion, yet scarce any of the Soldiers escap'd with theirs. For this I have the Witness of many of the *Paphlagonians*, and particularly of one that was in the Action. By these Outrages *Macedonius* incurr'd even the Odium of those who were once his Admirers, and of the Emperor himself, whom he yet further incens'd by removing the Corps of his Father *Constantine* from the Church where it had been repositied,

* *Sozomen* (*L. 4. c. 20.*) says, the Emperor's Order was only a pretended one.

because

because it was ready to fall, into that of St. *Acacius*, and by the dreadful Consequences of it, the People being divided into two Factions, of whom the one (and among these the
S. L. 4. c. 21. Catholicks, [venerating the Memory of that Orthodox Emperor]) exclaim'd against this Translation,
S. L. 4. c. 21. [and insisted, that it was no better than digging up the Dead,] and the other were as eager for it; and in the Conclusion, (when *Macedonius* had gratify'd the latter, by following the Council of his own Will) they fell upon one another so furiously in the Church, whither the Corps was remov'd, that not only the Porch and a Well that was in it were full of Blood, but it flow'd over into the Church-yard. These Disorders oblig'd *Constantius* to commit the Care of the West to *Julian*, and to return into the East.

AND thither let us follow him to take a View of what pass'd in the other great Council, that of *Seleucia*, which met in the same Year with that of *Ariminum*, and where there sat *an hundred and fifty Bishops; *Leonas* a Courtier, and a Favourite of the Emperor, being likewise present, and indeed presiding there by his Master's Appointment; and with him *Lauritius*, Commander of the Forces that were quarter'd in *Isauria*, having receiv'd Orders from the Emperor to be ready upon the Spot, in case there should be Occasion for his Military Interposition. The first Day
S. L. 4. c. 22. of their sitting *Leonas* gave a general Liberty of Speech, [and required them to enter immediately upon Matters of Faith] but they declar'd themselves averse to that, 'till they should see some Bishops There that were not yet come, meaning *Macedonius*, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Patrophilus*, and others, who upon various Pretences and Excuses, (as, particularly, *Patrophilus* sent them Word his Eyes were sore, and *Macedonius*, that he was indispos'd) absented themselves, apprehending, if they appear'd, they should be call'd to Account. *Leonas* over-ruling this Exception, *Acacius* of *Cæsarea*, *George* of *Alexandria*, *Euranius* of *Tyre*, *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, and thirty others had recourse to another Expedient, and insisted upon enquiring immediately into the Lives and

* *Sezom.* (*L. 4. c. 22.*) says an hundred and sixty; *Theod.* (*L. 2. c. 26.*) an hundred and fifty. He that would have a lively Account of the wild Proceedings in this Assembly, may find it in *St. Hilary's* Book against *Constantius*.

Morals of several Bishops, who lay under old Accusations; but *George* of *Laodicea*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis*, *Eleusius* of *Cyzicus*, and others, to a Majority, oppos'd this Motion, and were for entring immediately upon Matters of Faith: As for the Emperor's Letters, they recommended, in one Place, this before that, and in another, that before this. Now then the *Acacians*, upon the Question, were for utterly abolishing the *Nicene* Creed, and setting up a new one; but the Majority voted the retaining of it, only with the Omission of the Word *Consubstantial*; and a vehement Dispute arising hereupon, when it grew late, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus* propos'd the ratifying of the *Antiochian* Creed. At this the *Acacians* [were so angry, that they] quitted the Place. The *Antio-* S. L. 4. c. 22.
chian Creed was triumphantly read, and the next Day the *Silvanists* lock'd themselves into the Church, where, after it had been read a second Time, it was confirm'd and subscrib'd; but *Acacius* and his Friends clamour'd against these Proceedings as irregular and scandalous, in order to introduce a Creed of his own, which he had submitted to the Inspection of *Lauritius* and *Leonas*; [as well as to prevent all S. L. 4. c. 22. enquiring into their own Behaviour, which *Sozomen* supposes they were principally concern'd about, for that they had before, in Letters they had writ to *Macedonius*, acknowledg'd the Son to be in all Respects like the Father, nay, and of the Father's Substance *.] The third Day, when *Leonas* had press'd them earnestly to come to a right Understanding and good Agreement, the *Acacians* being inform'd that *Macedonius* and *Basil* of *Ancyra* were now present, demanded that such Bishops as had either been depos'd or inform'd against, should be oblig'd to withdraw; else they declar'd they would not come thither. When they had gain'd this Point, [which their Adversaries S. L. 4. c. 22. the less contested, lest they should make it a Pretence

* But not ὁμοῖον, of the Same Substance with the Father. For the Words ὁμοῖος ἐστίν will admit of a lower Construction, as they follow the Profession of only *Similitude*, and might signify no more than that he was as like him in Substance as 'twas possible for a *Similitude* to be. What they meant by such a Jargon as this (if I represent them right) is more than any Metaphysics will enable a Man to understand. And I find I am not the

only Man that has been puzzled with the Forms and Terms of this *Seleucian* Council; for *St. Hilary* of *Poitiers*, who happened to be upon the Spot, very justly and smartly exposes the strange Absurdities that then flew about; as the curious Reader may see in *Sulpitius Severus's Ecclesiastical History*, L. 2. In short, it is plain these Men did not understand themselves; and then how should any one else understand them?

for dissolving or breaking up the Council] they took their Places ; and *Leonas* acquainted them all, that *Acacius* had put a Paper into his Hand, expressing himself as if he knew nothing of the Contents ; which being read, prov'd to be, what was little expected, *Acacius's* Propositions of Faith, importing, ' That the great End of ' their coming together, which was to settle the Faith exactly ' according to the Holy Scriptures, having by the Insolence and ' Impetuosity of those who stiled themselves Bishops, tho' either ' depos'd, or unduely ordain'd, been hitherto defeated, as the most ' illustrious *Leones* and *Lauritius* could witness ; the *Acacians* did ' hereby signify that they approved the *Antiochian* Creed, desiring ' at the same Time, that both the Terms *ὁμοῦσι* (Consubstantial) ' and *ὁμοιῶσι* (like in Substance) might be abrogated as Unscriptural, and that the latter Doctrine of *ἀνόμοι* (unlike the Father) might be anathematiz'd, and the Assertors of it excommunicated ; for that the Son was to be acknowledg'd like the Father in the Sense of the Apostle's Words, *that he is the Image of the invisible God* ; after which followed their Creed, declaring *Jesus Christ* to be God, the Word, the Only-begotten of the Father ; begotten without any sort of Passion and before all Worlds, and that by him were all Things made in Heaven and in Earth, Visible and Invisible ; and that he was made Man, and suffer'd for our Sins, &c. and that according to his Promise he sent the Holy Spirit ; whom he call'd the Paraclete ; and by whom he sanctifies all Christian People ; and that whoever propagates or professes any other Creed or Faith besides or over and above this, is pronounc'd and shall be reputed an Alien from the Catholick Church.' This all the *Acacians* subscrib'd. But *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis* stood up, and urg'd, that this broaching so many new Forms of Faith would leave them none at all in the Conclusion ; and undoubtedly it had been well for the Church if this Argument had induc'd these People long before to acquiesce in the Council of *Nice*. The next Day, which was the fourth, *Acacius* observ'd that there would be no more Harm in departing this Time from the *Nicene* Creed, than there had been in qualifying and reforming it so often before ; to which *Eleusius* of *Cyzicus* reply'd, that their Business there was not to learn or receive a new Faith, but to vindicate and confirm the Standard they had already ; meaning the *Antiochian* Creed : As if the Bishops of the *Antiochian* Council had not been guilty of the same Impiety and *Parricide* against the *Nicene* Fathers ; and that too, notwithstanding they had receiv'd their Ordinations from them,

as from Catholick and Orthodox Bishops. In the next Place, the *Silvanists* put the Question, *Wherein the Father was like the Son?* The *Acacians* told them, only in *Will*: Themselves asserted a Similitude of *Substance*, objecting it to *Acacius*, that he had formerly maintain'd the same in his Writings; to which *Acacius* answer'd, that no Man's Books were to be his Judges. And when they had wrangled out the Day in this Dispute, *Leonas* dismiss'd them, and, [though call'd upon,] refus'd to come near them any more [upbraiding them with their Divisions, and alledging, that his Commission did not oblige him to concern himself with them or their Business any longer than they agreed among themselves. But the true Cause was his Affection to the *Acacians*, and some of them were found in his House by the Messengers that came to desire his Presence.] So that it is no Wonder this * Conduct of *Leonas* pleas'd the *Acacians*, or that they followed his Example in absenting themselves. But yet the *Silvanists* hang upon their Rear, and cite *Acacius* to assist in the Matter of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, who having been † deposed for Contumacy, in not appearing upon several Citations, which he durst not obey, had, contrary to Canon, appeal'd to the Emperor, but now referr'd himself to the Judgment of this Council; to which several Bishops of the *Acacian* Side were also requir'd to render themselves. None of the Parties cited appearing, [after they had dally'd with the Council some Time, between demanding a Conference in *Leonas*'s House, and insisting that they had such a Commission from his Majesty as constituted them a Judicatory Superior to those who cited them,] the Council depos'd *Acacius* himself, *George* of *Alexandria*, *Uranus* of *Tyre*, *Theodulus* of *Cheretapa*, *Theodosius* of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia*, *Evagrius* of *Mitylene*, *Leontius* of *Tripolis* in *Lydia*, *Eudoxius* and *Patrophilus*, and they pronounc'd *Asterius*, *Eusebius*, *Abgarus*, *Basilicus*, *Phœbus*, *Fidelius*, *Eutyckius*, *Magnus*, and *Eustathius*, Excommunicate, 'till they should recant. Then in the room of *Eudoxius* they constitute *Anianus* Bishop of *Antioch*; who being seiz'd by the

* *Theodorit* (L. 2. c. 26.) says, *Acacius* quitted the Council, because *Cyril* would not submit to leave it, at his Motion; that he went off to *Eudoxius*, assur'd him of all his Interest and Assistance, bad him turn his Back upon the Council, and brought him to the Emperor at *Constantinople*.

† See *St. Cyril* vindicated as to this and other Things, by the learned *Dr. Cave*, in his Second Volume of *Lives*, and by the learned *Dr. Milles* (now Bishop of *Waterford*) in the Preface to his Edition of that Father's Works.

Acacians, and deliver'd up to *Leonas* and *Lauritius*, is banish'd. Against this Usage the *Silvanists* present their Proteftations to those two Officers, and when they found the Grievance was not like to be redress'd that Way, the *Complainants* went to *S. L. 4. c. 23.* *Constantinople* to the Emperor himself, [and with them ten Deputies to represent Things to his Majesty, according to his Command aforefaid.] But the *Acacians* had been too nimble for them, and made his Majesty believe * that their Adversaries had exploded his own dear Confular Creed; which provok'd him to some Severities, and had like to *S. L. 4. c. 23.* have brought worfe upon them. [Though the Truth of it is, the *Acacians* had his Heart, being recommended to his best Affections by the Men of Interest at Court, whom they either found their Friends, or else made them so, corrupting some with Money, and drawing-in others with fine Words and celebrated Names. *Acacius* himself was a Man of Character, of excellent Parts, and indefatigable Affiduity. He was *Eusebius's* Successor, as he had been his Scholar, and (by the way) thought that a sufficient Reason to pretend to more Learning than other People.

THE Deputies of both Councils and all the Bishops being assembled that were then in the City, *Honoratus*, the Governour of it, assisted by several Senators, is order'd first to take Cognizance of *Aetius's* Cause; and then the Emperor, and the Chief of his Ministry and Magistracy with him, try it over again, and, in the Conclusion, condemn him for an Heretick. When the *Acacians* found themselves disappointed, for they had contriv'd to make his Majesty think them ignorant of *Aetius's* Devices, and at the same Time to bring the Controversy before the Emperor and his Privy-Council, in hopes that the Sophistry and Rhetorick of the Defendant would prevail, they declar'd in all haste for the *Ariminum* Confession, and demanded the Subscriptions of the *Seleucian* Deputies to it: Who professing, that they would never let go the Word *Substance*, the *Acacians*, for their Satisfaction, very solemnly declar'd themselves ready to condemn the Heresy of *Unlike in Substance*, and withal, that they most cordially embrac'd the *Ariminum* Creed, where the Word *Substance* was omitted; and the Reason they gave

* So I understand this Place with *Valesius*.

for it was, because with *Substance Consubstantial* must of course be dropp'd ; which the Authority of the Council of *Nice* had render'd so Sacred to the Western Church. And the Emperor, as well out of Regard to the Number of the Bishops in the Council of *Ariminum*, as because he thought * *being in the Form of God*, which is a Scriptural Expression, was equivalent to *Consubstantial*, a Word not found in Scripture, commanded the *Seleucian* Bishops to subscribe that Creed, and would not give over disputing with them 'till they did it. And now the *Acacians*, having thus artfully work'd up their Plot, form a new Council of fifty Bishops, including those whom they thought fit, upon this Occasion, to call in to their Assistance, *Maris of Chalcedon* and the rest of the *Bithynians*, and they confirm the *Consular Creed*, adding, ' That no Mention ought to be made, ' not only of the *Substance*, but of the *Hypostasis* or ' *Personality* of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ;' S. L. 4. c. 24. [with an Abrogation of all former, and a Prohibition of all future Creeds.] This *Confession* was embrac'd by *Ulfla* Bishop of the *Goths* ; who 'till now was true to the *Nicene*, which had been subscrib'd in that Council, by his Predecessor *Theophilus*. And this *Constantinopolitan Creed* was the ninth since that.

HERE it will be very well worth our while to T. L. 2. c. 27. halt a little, and look back to *Acacius's* Arrival at 28, 29, 30. *Constantinople*, when he left the Bishops at *Seleucia*, because *Theodorit* gives us a more † perfect Relation of *Aetius's* Condemnation than our other two Historians ; and besides, he has painted *Eudoxius's* Knavery to the Life. He tells us, that when *Acacius* had by his Lyes and Invectives incens'd the Emperor to a high Degree against the Council, and render'd *Cyril* more-especially odious to him, by the Story of the Sacred Vestment, his Friends at Court perswaded the Emperor to summon Ten of the Principals in the Council, not the whole Assembly, to avoid the Inconveniencies of so great an Authority, if they should happen to be Unanimous. Accordingly *Eustathius*, *Basil*, *Silvanus*, and *Eleusius*, with six others were sent for ; and this Committee press'd the Emperor to let *Eudoxius's* Principles and Manners be first enquir'd into. But the

* This I conceive to be meant by these Words, 'Εν ἰσοδυναμίᾳ τῇ καὶ ἀναμνησίᾳ ὁμοῦται τὸ ὅμοιον.

† And a Different, as the Reader will soon find.

Emperor,

Emperor, at the Suggestion of *Eudoxius's* Friends, will have Matters of Faith take Place; upon which *Basil* presuming, in confidence of his usual Intimacy and Freedom with his Majesty, to tell him he seem'd to be contriving the Subversion of the Apostolick Faith, his Majesty, in much Passion, reply'd, the Combustion was bad enough already, without his Breath to make it worse, and so enjoyn'd him Silence. Then *Eustathius*, producing *Eudoxius's* Creed, told his Majesty, since it was his Pleasure to have Matters of Faith consider'd in the first Place; he humbly desir'd that Paper might be read. The Emperor consented, and having heard out all the Blasphemy of it, among the rest his wonderful Argument, *Productions express'd in different Terms imply the Producents to be Substantially distinct and different from one another; but the Term Of Whom, and the Term By Whom are different Terms; therefore God the Father, of whom are all Things, is distinct and different in Substance from our Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all Things*, he ask'd *Eudoxius*, in a great Passion, whether he was the Author of that Confession. *Eudoxius* deny'd it, and laid it upon *Aetius*, who being brought into the Presence, and ask'd the same Question, was proud to own it, as being, he thought, a Performance which would infinitely oblige the Emperor; but it seems he met with a Reward of a very different Nature from what he expected, and that was the Sentence of Banishment. *Eustathius* still insisted, 'that this was certainly *Eudoxius's* Faith; that *Aetius* living in his House (where, it seems, *Eunomius* and he were, at that Time, very kindly entertain'd, and led an idle, luxurious Life,) had thrown it into Form for him; at least, that his having been admitted, and, as far as appear'd, he only, into the great Secret of the Author's Name, plainly shew'd he had a Share in it.' The Emperor said all this amounted to no more than Conjecture and Probability. *Eustathius* then desir'd *Eudoxius* might clear the Doubt by anathematizing *Aetius's* Paper; and the Emperor commanded him to do so, but could not presently bring him to it, whilst he try'd for some Time, to shuffle and dally it off; till the Emperor told him, in plain Terms, if he trifled any longer, he should follow *Aetius*; and then he presently anathematiz'd his beloved Heresy, but without any Quarrel with or ill Will to it, for he solicited and bustled for it afterwards as vigorously as before. And now *Eudoxius* thought it was his Turn to challenge Concessions, and so he moves, that *Eustathius* may be oblig'd to condemn the Word *Consubstantial*, as being Unscriptural. *Silvanus* replies, that he and his Partizans ought, for the

the same Reason, to renounce those Terms, *a Creature, of that which was not, of another Substance.** The Emperor clos'd with this, and commanded the *Eudoxians* to do it; but that not sufficing, he threaten'd and frighted them into a Compliance: After which it is no Wonder that they renew'd *Eudoxius's* Motion with double Vehemence. † *Silvanus* very rightly argued, *If God the Word had no Beginning of Existence, if he is not a Creature, nor of another Substance from the Father, then he is Consubstantial with the Father, who begot him.* But their Antagonists over-rul'd all this with clamorous Repetitions of their Demand, and the Emperor let *Silvanus* and his Brethren know, if they did not yield to it, he would turn them out of their Bishopricks: Which Menace produc'd this observable Answer from them, *It belongs to your Majesty to inflict on us what Secular Punishments you please; but we are the proper Judges of all Spiritual Matters; and, by the Grace of God, we will never prostitute or give up that Faith which was once deliver'd to the Saints.* So happily were these Men constrain'd not only to have Recourse to that Faith against which, and the Professors of it, they had made such a long and vigorous Opposition, but to protest against those Uncatholick and Schismatical Principles, Pretences, and Practices, which themselves had so much encourag'd and promoted to obtain their own Ends.

THIS resolute Deportment however made no Impression upon the Emperor; who yet, on the other Side, was so true to the Indignation he had conceiv'd against *Aetius*, that he had him formally condemn'd *in scriptis*; and he found the Blasphemer's Disciples as ready as himself to cry shame on their dear Master; as they did particularly in a Synodical Epistle which they sent to *George of Alexandria*. There they tell the Usurper, ' They had very justly ' degraded and excommunicated his Deacon *Aetius*, for his abominable Writings, and the dismal Calamities he had brought upon ' the Church; that they had prohibited the reading of that prophane, unprofitable Miscellany, his Epistles; and pronounc'd him ' and his Followers *Anathema*, if they persisted in their Atheism;

* In like manner he compell'd the Bishops, in a Council at *Antioch*, to condemn the Terms *Consubstantial* and *Of another Substance*. Theodor. L. 2. c. 21.

† See *Relig. and Loy.* (Part 1. pag. 524.)

beginning at those Words, *Thus after all our tedious and long Travel, are we just where we were at the beginning, for this was the very Argument approv'd by the Council of Nice for settling the Word $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$, &c.*

' that

‘ that nevertheless there were Some amongst themselves, upon whom
 ‘ hitherto neither angry nor friendly Expostulations, neither gentle
 ‘ Exhortations, nor earnest Importunities, had prevail’d to concur
 ‘ with them in these Resolutions, particularly *Serra*, *Stephen*, *Heli-*
 ‘ *odorus* and *Theophilus*; tho’ as for *Serra*, he had inform’d them
 ‘ that *Aetius* was not ashamed or afraid to pretend to new Revela-
 ‘ tions, and those even such extraordinary ones as God had never
 ‘ vouchsafed to the Apostles themselves; lastly, that, all other
 ‘ Methods proving ineffectual, they had been oblig’d to declare the
 ‘ Non-subscribers depriv’d and excommunicate, if they did not
 ‘ come into their Measures within the Term of six Months; and
 ‘ they conclude with requiring him, in the Matter of Communion,
 ‘ to conform himself to their Decrees.’

EUNOMIUS was so great an Admirer of *Aetius*, that in his Writings he calls him *the Man of God*; and yet, at the same Time, was so much in the Favour of those who had voted and sign’d *Aetius*’s Condemnation, that he receiv’d his Episcopal Ordination from them: Which, when he had obtain’d, *Eudoxius*, who knew very well the Zeal of the People of *Cyzicus* for the Faith, and how much the Emperor abhorr’d the Notion of the Son’s being a Creature, advis’d *Eunomius* (ere this advanc’d to that Bishoprick) to cover his Doctrine, and reserve it for a better Opportunity, when they might not only instruct the People, but force them to receive it. Accordingly *Eunomius* disguis’d his impious Hypothesis with great Subtilty and Success, ’till some learned Men, who perceiv’d his Drift, came upon a Visit to him, and giving broad Hints as if they were Hereticks in their Hearts, not only got his true Meaning out of him, but engag’d him to publish it frankly and openly in his Sermons, which he had no sooner done, but they drew up a Charge against him, and gave it in to *Eudoxius*; and he rejecting it, they represented it, and *Eudoxius*’s Partiality too, to the Emperor himself; who commanded *Eudoxius* to call *Eunomius* to account, and if what was alledg’d against him were prov’d, to deprive him. *Eudoxius* notwithstanding, tho’ continually teas’d by the Prosecutors, warded off the Blow as long as he could from his dear Brother; but they renewing their Complaints at Court, and the Emperor threatening to banish him if he neglected any longer to obey his Commands, he sent *Eunomius* Word that he must leave *Cyzicus*, and might thank his own Folly for it, in not following a Friend’s Advice. *Eunomius* accordingly withdrew, but not without bitter Invectives against
Eudoxius,

Eudoxius, as who had abus'd and betray'd both himself and *Aetius*; and upon this Provocation, * he form'd his own Sect out of those who so much resented his ill Usage that they would have nothing more to do with *Eudoxius*. How little there was of Principle, and how much of Ambition and Pride in *Eunomius's* Designs, appears from his presuming to consecrate Bishops and Presbyters after he had been Synodically Depriv'd; tho' he cou'd not find in his Heart to stand by his Man of God, after the Emperor had condemn'd him to Banishment.

† ABOUT this Time it was that the great *James* of *Nisibis*, formerly mention'd, preserv'd that City from falling into the Hands of *Sapor* King of *Persia*. He had besieg'd it Seventy Days, and having try'd, in that Time, all the ordinary Methods and Engines against it to no purpose, he stopp'd the Course of a River which run thro' it, and by throwing up vast Mounds to receive it, rais'd the Water to such a prodigious Height, that the Violence of the Torrent, as soon as he gave it Passage, broke down the Wall, not only on the Side where the River us'd to flow into the City, but afterwards on that over-against it. Upon this he thought the Place his own, and lay quiet that Day, waiting the subsiding of the Water, and the drying of the Mud, and the next Day march'd up with his whole Army to the Walls, in order to enter the Breaches; but found them, to his Amazement, repair'd, and withal such a brisk Reception from them, that he was forc'd to retire; a miraculous Turn of Affairs, which nothing but God's extraordinary Blessing upon the Prayers of *James*, in enabling the Hands of the Garrison and Citizens to rebuild so soon what the Enemy's Stratagem had overturn'd, could have produc'd. Nor was *Sapor* less surpriz'd at what presented it self to his View, at the same Time, upon the Ramparts; a Man adorn'd with the Imperial Robes and *Insignia*, which he taking to be *Constantius*, devoted those to Death, who had told him the Emperor was at *Antioch*: But they standing to it, that their Information was true, *Then*, said their Master, 'tis God that is fighting for the Romans; and, at that Instant, the Wretch,

* Socrates (L. 4. c. 13.) dates *Eunomius's* Separation from *Eudoxius*, and setting up for himself, much later under *Valentinian* and *Valens*. Sozom. (L. 6. c. 26.) does not determine the Time, tho' he relates the Fact within the History of that Reign. How far their Account of this Affair differs from this of Theodorit, will appear when we arrive at those Times.

† See *Vales.* upon Theod. B. 2. c. 30. n. 4.

in a frantick Fury, shot up an Arrow with all his Strength towards Heaven ; which, it seems, brought down his Confusion along with it, for now *James*, at the Solicitation of *Ephraim Syrus*, came up upon the Wall, to imprecate the Divine Vengeance upon the *Barbarians* ; whom when he saw so numerous, he was touch'd with Tendernefs and Pity, and instead of any Judgments upon their Persons, only pray'd for Swarms of Gnats to disappoint them in their Purpose. And God was pleas'd immediately to answer that Prayer by sending down a prodigious Flight of those Insects, which entering into the *Probosces* of the Elephants, and the Ears and Nostrils of the Horses, &c. so fretted and stung them, that they put the whole Army into all the Disorder imaginable, and not only flung or overthrew their Masters, but run away from them as fast and as far as their Legs could carry them ; and so the *Persian* was obliged to raise the Siege.

BUT to return to the Synod at *Constantinople*, when the *Acacians* had now improv'd the Faith to some purpose, and work'd their Creed into the Shape and Latitude they desir'd ; they sent it to the Western Bishops that were still at *Ariminum*,
S. L. 4. c. 26. [nay, and into all the Provinces of the Empire] with the Authority of an Imperial Edict to banish
S. L. 4. c. 26. all Non-subscribers ; [the Consequence of which was Confusion and Tumult, and Persecution all over the World ; whilst Christians were as ill used by Christians, I should say by those who call'd themselves so, as they had formerly been by the Heathen Emperors themselves.]

NOR that the Catholicks were the only Men who smarted under the Rod of these new Inquisitors ; For, in Truth, they did not spare their new Adversaries ; nor is it any wonder they used them roughly enough, seeing neither Party were so angry, nor pretended to be, with the Opposite, * upon the Score of their Differences

* But yet to do them Justice, 'tis certain (as *Rel. and Loy.* observes, *Part 1. Pag. 524.*) That upon *Silvanus* and *Basil's* acknowledging the Son to be of the Substance of the Father, *Athanasius* own'd Friendship with them (and as many as join'd with them) and gave them the Title of Brethren. But it is to be fear'd

that but few of those who sided with *Macedonius* came into that ingenuous Confession, and that at least some People who did, particularly *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*, (if he was one of those who did) fell off from it again. As for *Macedonius* himself, 'tis certain he never came nearer to the true Catholick Faith than the *Antiochian Creed*,
 and

Differences in Faith, as for other Reasons, and upon other Exceptions. And some of these, together with the high Displeasure the Emperor had now conceiv'd against *Macedonius* and his Friends, easily induc'd the *Acacians* to return them their Compliment; [and so, after they had, no doubt, *S. L. 4. c. 24.* very unwillingly, and purely to keep the Emperor's good Opinion, declar'd *Aetius* an ostentatious Wrangler, an atheistical Scribbler, and a bold Incendiary, and stript him of his Deaconship, they go on to more agreeable Business; and, for various Crimes and Misdemeanors they depose, among others, [and not only depose, but drive *S. L. 4. c. 15.* immediately out of *Constantinople*,] *Macedonius*, *Eleusus* of *Cyzicus*, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, [*Heortasius* *S. L. 4. c. 24.* of *Sardis*,] *Dracontius* of *Pergamus* [*Silvanus* of *T. L. 4. c. 24.* *Tarsus*] *Neonas* of *Seleucia*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, *Elpidius* of *Satala* in *Armenia*, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*. [What *S. L. 4. c. 24.* they insisted on in their Process against these Bishops either concern'd them all alike, or was particular and personal. In common they were pronounc'd Disturbers of the Church's Peace, and Violaters of her Canons: As to Particulars; how obnoxious *Macedonius* was, may appear from what has been told of him before; *Basil* was accus'd of several Acts of Inhumanity towards the Clergy, and of interposing his Authority and Interest in Behalf of *Aetius* and his Companions, even in Defiance to the Emperor's express Commands, as well as in an insolent Contempt of his Collegues; of stirring up the *Sirmian* Clergy against *Germinius*, and representing him, and *Ursacius*, and *Valens*, as Men not fit to be communicated with, at the same Time when he was in Communion with them, and afterwards denying this upon Oath, and when the Perjury was prov'd upon him, putting it off with a Quibble; again, of setting the Churches of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africk* in a Flame; of forcing a Servant to bring a false Information against her own Mistress; of admitting a notorious Adulterer to Baptism, and afterwards giving him Orders; of not excommunicating * a certain Mountebank for several Murders; of obliging himself, at the Altar, under dreadful Imprecations, and

and advanc'd so far only in Spight to the afterwards, the Reader soon after sees.
Acacians; and into what barefac'd Blas- * See *Vales.* upon the Place.
 phemy against the Holy Ghost he run out

imposing the same Obligation upon his Clergy, for fear some of them should accuse him, never to make any Discovery to the Prejudice of one another: *Eleusius* was depos'd for ordaining a Fellow, that had been a Priest of *Hercules*, and was a Wizard, but pretended himself a Convert to Christianity; and for not putting him out of Communion, when he knew what he was; and for ordaining some People who were under Censure from *Maris* of *Chalcedon*. *Heortasius* was depos'd, as wanting the Consent of the *Libyan* Bishops; and *Dracontius*, because there was a Translation in the Case. * *Silvanus* was depriv'd for being a Principal in all the Opposition they had met with both at *Seleucia* and *Constantinople*, and ordaining *Theophilus* over the Church of *Castabala*, whom the Bishops of *Palestine* had already ordain'd Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*, and who had taken an Oath never to leave it for another See without their Consent. *Sophronius's* Indictment run upon Knavery, Exaction, and Sacrilege, together with his Contumacy in not appearing till after three Citations, and then appealing to foreign Judges. The Charge against *Neonas* was his Ambition to have *Annianus* ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch*, in his Church; and his ordaining some People Bishops, who were absolutely unacquainted with the Scriptures and Canons, and who having had Preferments and Offices at Court, and in the Army, were, afterwards upon Occasion, tempted to declare they prefer'd the Advantages of their former Condition to the Episcopat without them. Against *Elpidius* it was alledg'd, That he had been a sawcy, turbulent Mutineer; that he had taken upon him uncanonically to restore one *Eusebius*, a depriv'd Presbyter, and made a Woman a Deaconess, who had been excommunicated for Cheating and Perjury. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* had incurr'd their Displeasure by communicating with *Eustathius* and *Elpidius*, and this too tho' they were declar'd Enemies to the Decrees of the † *Melitine* Synod, in which he had been a Party; and by joining himself to *Basil* and *George* of *Laodicea*, after his being depos'd in *Palestine*; where he and *Acacius* falling into a Dispute about Metropolitcal Pre-eminence, which

* 'Tis to be observ'd that their Charge is very short against *Silvanus*, and not so heavy as against some others, which argues that *Theodoret* did not altogether compliment him when (*L. 2. c. 26.*) he gives him the Stile of ὁ δαυδαῖος, that great Man.

† In this obscure Synod (which was held about three Years before the *Constantinopolitan*) *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* had been depos'd. See *Vales.* upon *Soz. B. 4. c. 24. n. 6.* and *Du-pin*, in the Councils of the 4th Cent.

the former challeng'd as Bishop of an Apostolick See, and objecting Herefy to one another, which so much the more affected *Cyril* as well as *Acacius*, because as the latter pass'd for a Rank *Arian*, so the former had * list'd himself among the *Homoiousians*; *Acacius* packing a Council as sound in the Faith as himself, and every way fit for his Purpose, had distanc'd his Antagonist, and had him depos'd and expell'd too; upon this Allegation, that in a Time of Famine, for want of Money to keep the Poor that applied themselves to him from starving, he sold the Furniture of his Church; and among other Things † a Vestment, which was afterwards found upon the Back of a Stage-Player. This is what I have heard; but notwithstanding this Deprivation *Cyril* recover'd his Throne [in the Reign of *Theodosius*] after it had been successively fill'd by *Herrennius*, *Heraclius* and *Hilary*. *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* was not so much as admitted to a Hearing; [but S. L. 4. c. 24. condemn'd and depos'd for arrogating an Authority to censure and judge others, tho' himself a Criminal, and an old one; having fallen under the Censures of the Church, when a Presbyter, and those pronounc'd by his own Father [***Eulalius* of the *Cappadocian Cæsarea*,] for wearing S. L. 4. c. 24. a Habit unbecoming a Clergyman, and afterwards by a Synod at *Neocæsarea*; then he had been depos'd by *Eusebius* of *Constantinople*, for failing in his Duty; in a Synod at *Antioch* he had been convicted of Perjury, and depos'd again in the § Council of *Gangra*,] where also there pass'd a Condemnation upon his pernicious Doctrines and Practices; which were Prohibiting Marriage, and Occasioning several Separations between Persons already marry'd [and so betraying them into the S. L. 3. c. 14. Sin of Adultery]; obliging his Disciples to abstain

* *Theodor.* (L. 2. c. 26.) makes him very Orthodox.

† *Theodor.* (L. 2. c. 27.) says, This Vestment was Cloth of Gold, and given to the Church of *Jerusalem* by *Constantine* the Great, to be worn at the Administration of Baptism; and that the Player, who was dancing with it, fell down, and lost his Life by the Fall. At the same Time he is so just to *St. Cyril* as to let us know that this, among other Stories of his profess'd Enemy, was a Lye; for so un-

doubtedly we ought to understand the Word *συντέδωκε*, as *Valesius* does; who also in his 2d Note upon this Chapter very rightly observes from the Passage before us the Antiquity of proper Vestments in the Administration of Divine Offices.

** See *Vales.* on *Soz.* B. 4. c. 24. n. 5.

§ *Socrates* (L. 2. c. 43.) places this Council after the present one at *C. S.* but the learned Annotator has evidently shew'd his Mistake in his 5th Note upon that Chapter.

from * certain Meats, and encouraging † them to communicate privately at Home; seducing Servants from their Masters, in order to their Spiritual Advantage and Perfection; ** Affecting an odd Singularity in his Garb, and imposing a peculiar Livery upon his Tribe; Requiring the Women to be shorn, S. L. 3. c. 14. [and putting them in an Humour of wearing Mens Cloaths;] Forbidding the Observation of all Fasts appointed by the Church, and prescribing every Sunday to be observ'd as a Fast; not allowing any Prayers to be said in any House where there were marry'd People; and making it an Abomination to receive Sacraments or Benedictions S. L. 3. c. 14. from the Hands of a married Priest. [Yet there are those who clear him of this Charge, and lay it upon some of his Followers, and say, that the Synod of *Gangra* commanded them to renounce these Errors and Enormities upon Pain of Excommunication. This *Eustathius* is said to have instituted the first Monastick Societies in *Armenia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Pontus*; to have compos'd them a Discipline with his own Pen, and to have succeeded so well in it, that the Book intitled the *Ascetick*, and commonly ascrib'd to the *Cappadocian Basil*, is by some People suppos'd to be his. After the Synodical Condemnation of his Doctrines, to shew it was not Affectation and a Spiritual Pride, but a § Disciplinarian Zeal, that led him into these unaccountable Measures, he resum'd the common Sacerdotal Garb.] He had a Tongue so persuasive and captivating, tho' without any engaging Beauties of Rhetorick, that he reclaim'd not a few profligate Debauchees and common Prostitutes; and 'tis reported of him, that once, when his Endeavours that way fail'd in the Case of two Persons who had taken upon them a State of Virginity, he told them, with a deep and dismal Groan, He was sorry he had not Eloquence enough to restrain them from such unlawful Embraces, after his Discourses had had such an Effect upon a

* *Soz. (L. 3. c. 14.)* says *from Flesh*.

† Unless with *Vales.* we should rather understand this Article of his Discipline as confin'd to his unmarried Followers, or the Separated, if marry'd; whom it is probable he suppos'd to be upon that Account such privileg'd and consummated Saints, that Publick Communion with his other Friends would but contaminate them.

** This he seems to have return'd to again, notwithstanding what had pass'd

between his Father and him. It is difficult to come to any Judgment how much of all these Accusations were true, considering the Character of the Persons that alledg'd; tho' no doubt many of them were.

§ *Πολλῆς ἀκρίβειας* in the Original. But whatever Apologies or Palliations may be offer'd in his Favour, and notwithstanding the learned Cardinal's Duplicate, I am persuaded with *Valesius* that he liv'd and dy'd a rank Heretick.

certain marry'd Woman, that she had ever after deny'd herself even the Liberty which the Divine Law allow'd her.]

THE Man that came into *Eustathius's* Place was *Meletius*, one of the Subscribers to the *Acacian* Creed at *Seleucia*, and who afterwards succeeded *Eudoxius* in the Chair of *S. L. 4. c. 28. Antioch*, [being elected by the *Eudoxians*, who knowing his excellent Parts and Qualifications, promis'd themselves, that the Industry and Authority of so extraordinary a Man, would soon bring over to them all who differ'd from them, and particularly the *Eustathians*, who were Assertors of the *Nicene* Faith.] But, it seems, they were strangely mistaken, for he had not been long amongst them, before he publickly preach'd up that Faith himself; [Which, as the Story goes, so disturb'd *S. L. 4. c. 28.* and exasperated his Archdeacon, that he run to him, and clapt his Hand upon his Mouth. But *Meletius* inculcated the same Doctrine with his Hand, by first holding up three Fingers, and then only one. Upon this the Archdeacon releasing his Lips, and seizing his Hand, he declar'd himself more expressly and loudly than before; and so still as his Adversary debarr'd him the Liberty of one Sort of Language, he asserted the true Faith in another; 'till the *Eustathians*, who came to hear him, not, as others, for Curiosity, and upon the Inducement of his Fame, but because it had been whisper'd that he was a Friend to the *Nicene* Faith, set up a Shout, and return'd him their Thanks and Applause; whilst the *Arians* were utterly confounded, and the *Eudoxians* so enrag'd, that they made him leave the City; but afterwards they recall'd him, upon a Presumption that he either was or would be reconcil'd again to their Opinion; which being found to be groundless, the Emperor gave Order for his Banishment, and had *Euzoius* ordain'd into that Chair. And from that Time those that adher'd to *Meletius*, renouncing the *Arian* Heresy and Communion, became a distinct Body by themselves; the other Orthodox *Christians* refusing to communicate with *Meletius*, because his own Ordination and his People's Baptism had been *Arian*. And thus was the Church of *Antioch* split into two Communion, while both Parties were perfectly agreed in the same Faith. *]

WHAT

* *Theodorit* tells us, (*L. 2. c. 31.*) that thirty Years after the Expulsion of *Eustathius*, the Orthodox *Antiochians* did not form themselves into a distinct Communion for thirty Years after the Expulsion of *Eustathius*, but when they saw Things grow worse and worse instead of mending, the Professors

What we find in *Theodorit* concerning this Promotion of *Meletius* and these Consequences of it, tho' in the main it agrees with the preceding Relation, yet it varies from it in many material Circumstances. [He says that the See of *Antioch* having been vacant from the Time of *Eudoxius's* Expulsion to the sitting of the Council at *Antioch* *, it was resolv'd in that Council, that a Bishop of *Antioch* should be forthwith ordain'd, and then consulted and transacted with about Matters of Faith. *Meletius*, an *Armenian* Bishop, who had left his Flock because they would not be govern'd by him, was the Man who had the good Wishes of the Orthodox, and whom the *Arians* solicited the Emperor to make Choice of. The latter liked him, because they thought him a Brother, and, as for the Breach of any Canon against Translations, the good old Cause, to be sure, would justify it; the former, because they knew him to be a Man of great Integrity and Piety, and theirs intirely in Principles. Wherefore both very chearfully giving their Votes for his Election in Writing, their Subscriptions were deliver'd, *in rei memoriam*, into the Hands of *Eusebius* of *Samosata*. And so the Emperor, then at *Antioch*, sends for *Meletius*, and not only all the *Christians*, both Clergy and Laity, go out to meet him, but even the very Jews and Heathens too. When he arriv'd, the Emperor requir'd him, and some others, to expound these Words to the People, *The Lord created me the Beginning of his Ways for his Works*. *George* of *Laodicea's* Explication was rank Herefy. *Acacius* of *Cæsarea* gave the Text a more tolerable Turn, but did not come up to the true and Apostolical Sense

Professors of the Catholick Faith most inhumanly and inhumanly oppress'd, *Meletius* expell'd, and *Euzoius*, that most infamous *Arian*, put in his Place, then they thought it high Time to apply to themselves that Command of God to *Lot*, *Escape for thy Life*; and remember'd that it was their Duty, *if their right Eye offended them, to pull it out, and cast it from them*. But then let the Reader observe, that by *Orthodox Antiochians*, in this Passage, *Theodorit* must mean only such *Christians*, who being otherwise Orthodox, were, by a mistaken Charity, induc'd, for so many Years, to close in with the Communion of the State-Intruders, hoping still Matters would mend, till they saw *Meletius* ejected; and such a

barefac'd, notorious *Arian* as *Euzoius* put in his Place; not of those entirely Orthodox and Catholick *Christians*, the *Eustathians*, who did not forsake the Communion of their rightful Bishop, even after *Meletius* had declar'd for the Son's Consubstantiality, till *Eustathius* resign'd to him (concerning which read *Historical Collections of Ecclesiastical Affairs*, London printed in the Year 1696. p. 8, &c.) and accordingly, we find *Theodorit* afterwards, L. 3. c. 4. expressly distinguishing the old Communion of the *Eustathians* from the new one of the *Meletians*, tho' Both (says he) asserted the same Creed; *ὃ ἢ μὲν τέτων κακείνων μία ἡ ἐκκολλησις τῆς πίστεως*.

* In the Year 360 or 361.

of

of it; which *Meletius* very boldly deliver'd, and very judiciously stated. And the People not only expressing a loud and universal Approbation of his Comment, but beseeching him to make it more compendious, he held up three of his Fingers, and then drawing in two of them, utter'd that Divine Proposition, *τρία τὰ νοούμενα ὡς ἐν ᾧ διὰ ληζόμεθα*. *We conceive Three; and we assert those Three to be in One* *. And now the Hereticks, thus caught, stigmatize him with the Name of *Sabellian*, and get him sent away into his own † Country, and then put the Emperor upon demanding the Subscriptions from *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, which he did by a Messenger, whom he dispatch'd away Post on purpose to him; and receiving this Answer, *I cannot deliver up that Record, but into the Hands of the same Assembly from whom I receiv'd it*, was highly incens'd, and sent a second Time, letting him know that he had order'd his right Hand should be cut off, if he refus'd again to part with the Subscriptions; tho' in Truth he had not, only he design'd to scare him into a Resignation. But the holy Man was so far from being concern'd, that he stretch'd out his left Hand with his right, and said he was ready to lose both, rather than part with that Sacred Register, which contain'd such clear and pregnant Proof of the Villainy of the *Arians*. And there was so much of true *Christian* Courage and Constancy in his purpose, that the Emperor himself could not chuse but admire it.]

[YET neither that, nor any other, was an Argument strong enough to effect any Change in the Emperor's Resolutions; who had now gratify'd his inconstant and passionate Humour by introducing a new Set of Bishops, or, in plainer Terms, another Gang of Usurpers. In particular *Basil's* Chair was fill'd by an *Arian Athanasius*, (strange Sound!) *Eunomius* stept into that of *Eleusius*;] and in the room of *Macedonius* the Council constituted *Eudoxius*, translating him from *Antioch*, (or rather his Pretensions to it; for it does not appear that he ever took Possession again there after his Expulsion) which by this time was grown as inconsiderable to him as *Germanicia* had been; and this in a most notorious Contradiction to their own Rule in the Case of *Dracontius*, whom they had depos'd for but a single Translation from *Galatia* to *Pergamus*. And besides, how great

* See *Vales.* upon *Theod. B. 2. c. 31. n. 3.* † *Armenia.*

Eudoxius's Merits and Qualifications were, appears from that ambiguous and ridiculous Distinction which is remember'd of him to this Day, that the Father is *ἀπαθής*, and the Son *ἐυπαθής*, the Father *without Worship*, the Son *not so*; which occasioning a Tumult in the Church, he told the People his Meaning was, that the Father worships no one; but the Son worships the Father; and this set them all a laughing. Such little prophane and impious Sophistry and Quibbling was then apply'd to destroy the Faith and embroil the Church.

MACEDONIUS, furiously resenting his Disgrace, now resolutely strikes up a firm Friendship and League with the Bishops that had confirm'd the *Antiochian* Creed at *Seleucia*, and encourages them resolutely to abide by it; under the Title of the *Homoiousian* Faith; and accordingly from this Time they publickly assum'd and asserted, as for a distinguishing Shiboleth or Badge, this spurious Term, which, it seems, before they had only us'd occasionally, or in a private Way; and were call'd by some *Macedonians*, by others *Marathonians*, from *Marathonius* of *Nicomedia*, it being disputed whether he or *Macedonius* was the Author of that Word. But *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* quitted this Combination, when *Macedonius* came to deny the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, *S. L. 4. c. 26.* [ascribing no more than an Angelick Nature to him,] (whence he and his Sect were denominated by the Catholicks *πνευματομαχοί*, or *Fighters against the Holy Ghost*) and then *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* excus'd himself, for that tho' he could by no means affirm the Holy Ghost was God, yet he *S. L. 4. c. 27.* could not tell how to call him a Creature. [*Sozomen* tells us, that *Eustathius*, *Eleusius*, and all the other Bishops that had been depos'd at *Constantinople*, run to the same Riot of Blasphemy with him, and by the exemplary Strictness of their Morals, the Gravity of their Deportment, and the Witchcraft of a persuasive and popular Tongue, made themselves a very numerous Sect; and further, that, notwithstanding the *Arians* would not suffer the *Macedonians* to ordain their Master any Successor 'till the Time of *Arcadius*, yet *Marathonius*, with the Help of his Monks, (for he founded a Monastery at *Constantinople*, and then spent the Remainder of his Days in it) had so well consulted for the Continuation of this Heresy, that in his Time it was not extinct in that City.]

HAVING

HAVING hitherto advanc'd so successfully in the Prosecution of their Designs, the *Acacians* thought they might, as soon as they pleas'd, be safely angry with themselves for allowing the Son to be in any Sense like the Father; and therefore to remedy this Concession, (which they were impatient 'till they had renounc'd) a few of them met at *Antioch*, where they expung'd the Word *ὅμοιον*, (*Like*) and very frankly and expressly asserted, that the Son is altogether unlike the Father, not only in Substance, but in Will; and that he was made out of nothing. Upon which they, and the *Aetians*, being now professedly one, receiv'd, besides that of *Arians*, the two new Denominations of *Anomeans* and *Exucontians* from the Catholics; by whom, when they were ask'd how they came now to affirm, that the Son was absolutely unlike the Father, and made out of nothing, after they had confess'd in their Creed that he was God of God, they answer'd, by the Suggestion of *George* of *Laodicea*, (a Man who had never been acquainted with the Interpretations of *Origen* and other Antients) that he was God of God, because, as the Apostle says, all Things are of God, and the Son of God is one of those all Things; and that for this Reason they had inserted those Words, *According to the Scriptures*, in their Creed. But notwithstanding all their Cavils and Evasions, they were so effectually expos'd and reproach'd, that they were contented at last to take up with their *Constantinopolitan* Creed, and so return'd home.

* ABOUT this Time broke out the Heresy of the *Apollinares*, the Father a Presbyter, the Son a Reader in the Church of *Laodicea*. They were Men of Learning, and had contracted an Intimacy with *Epiphanius* the Sophist; from whose Conversation, (which, it was apprehended, might seduce them to Apostacy) when no Persuasions could restrain them, *George* their Bishop excommunicated them. This was such a Provocation, that in Revenge they propagated a new Heresy, asserting, that in the human Nature of *Christ* there was neither a Rational nor an Animal Soul; tho' afterwards they acknowledg'd that it had the latter, but maintain'd that the Divinity answer'd all the Ends, and supply'd all the Offices of the former.

* Soz. (L. 6. c. 25.) says this Heresy, if it did not begin to appear, at least flourish'd later. He gives a more particular and better Account of it and its Authors

Others say, that being scandaliz'd (or at least pretending to be so) by *George's* Scepticism and Levity, who was sometimes an *Homoian*, and sometimes a profess'd *Arian*, they voluntarily separated from him, and broach'd their new Opinions to get some Companions.

BUT tho' the Vexation which this Ecclesiastical War gave him, or rather he gave himself in taking wrong Measures to stop and quell it, had long ago, as well it might, exhausted *Constantius's* Patience; yet that which added so much Weight as to break his Heart, was the News he receiv'd, that *Julian*, in acknowledgment of a very signal Victory which he had obtain'd over the *Barbarians*, was proclaim'd Emperor by the Army. This overwhelm'd him so, that as he was upon his March against *Julian*, it put an End to his Life by a Fit of an Apoplexy; after he had some little Time before been baptiz'd by * *Euzoius*. He liv'd forty-five Years, and was Emperor thirty-eight, that is to say, thirteen Years as his Father's Collegue, and twenty-five afterwards. The last is the Number of Years assign'd to this second Book: [Which yet we must not conclude, before we have done Justice to some of those many eminent Examples of a recluse Piety, which even these corrupt and unhappy Times afforded. Now flourish'd the two *Macarii*, the one call'd the *Egyptian*, the other Πολιτικῶς, or the Citizen, being a Native of *Alexandria*. Both of them were accomplish'd *Christian* Philosophers, and fam'd for their Predictions and Miracles. 'Tis said the former rais'd a dead Body to convince a Heretick who deny'd the general Resurrection. For his uncommon Proficiency in the Discipline, whilst a Youth, he went amongst the Monks by the Name of παλαιόγερον, or the Old-Young Man, and at forty Years of Age was ordain'd Presbyter. His Brother deny'd and mortify'd himself to such a Degree, that his Beard did not grow for want of a natural Moisture in his Flesh to supply it. Besides these, there liv'd also at this Time the great *Serapion*; and *Pachomius*, the Founder of the Society of *Tabernians*, whose Discipline and Way of Living was singular; but conducive enough to the great Ends propos'd of a religious Life and a happy Death. His Followers cloath'd themselves with Skins of Beasts in Imitation of *Elias*, to put them continually in remembrance of his Virtues;

* *Theod. (L. 3. c. 1.)* tells us, he deeply repented upon his Death-bed of his having deserted the Faith of his Father.

and the several Parts of their Habit were so contriv'd as to be monitory Emblems, ever inculcating such and such Duties. At first *Pachomius* follow'd his Philosophical Exercises, by himself, in a Cave; but afterwards, 'tis said, an Angel order'd him to look abroad into the World, and form a Fraternity, and deliver'd to him the Rules and Orders of it in a Table, which the Society shew at this Day. Among these it was specify'd, that every one should eat, and drink, and work, and fast as much as he pleas'd; only that the more he eat, the more Exercise and Labour he should be oblig'd to; that they were to sleep sitting, with their Cloaths on; and to receive the Sacrament every first and last Day of the Week; to say their Prayers twelve Times a Day, and as often every Night. Such has been the Increase of this Order, that from a thousand three hundred, (which was formerly their Number, when they liv'd together all in *Tabenna*, and *Pachomius* with them) they are now come be to seven thousand. Their Founder was a Man of a sweet endearing Temper; and God was pleas'd to let him into the Knowledge of Futurities, and to send him frequently the Conversation of Angels. Contemporary with him was *Apollonius*, who commenc'd an Anchoret at fifteen Years of Age, but at forty chang'd that Life for a more publick one, by Command from Heaven, and had his Monastery also in *Thebais*. He wrought several Miracles, was an agreeable and an excellent Preceptor, and a Man brisk and prompt in all Parts of his Duty; so happy particularly both in the Matter and Success of his Prayers, that as he always ask'd what became him, so he never fail'd to obtain what he ask'd. The same is said of *Anulph*, another holy Ascetick of these Times, and that he was the Scholar of an Angel, and being call'd to endure a Series of Sufferings for the Orthodox Faith, never at any time appear'd at all concern'd, much less made use of any indirect Means for his Ease or Safety. *Hilarion* was a Native of *Palestine*, whence the Purpose of improving in his Studies bringing him to *Alexandria*, he went, upon a Visit, to *Antony* the Monk; and had not long convers'd with him, before he came to a Resolution of staying with him and following the same Course of Life. But when he found he could not enjoy that Privacy there which he desir'd, People coming every Day to see *Antony* from all Quarters, he return'd to *Palestine*; and, having in his Absence lost his Parents, gave away all his Estate to his Brothers and the Poor, and took up his Residence not far from the Place where his Concerns formerly lay, in a little thatch'd Hut, so low and so narrow, that he could neither stand upright, nor lie
at

at his Length in it. By this and the like Rigours, he attain'd to an absolute Command of his Appetites, and an invincible Hardiness of Nature. His Discourse was venerable, and he study'd the Holy Scriptures with wonderful Application. Many Demoniacks have been rescued, and sick People recover'd at his Grave, not only in *Palestine*, where he now lies, and is honour'd with an anniversary Commemoration, but in *Cyprus* too, where he dy'd, and was first bury'd. With *Hilarion* ought to be mention'd those great Ascetics, *Aurelius Anthedonius*, *Alexio* of *Bethagathon*, and *Alaphio* of *Afalea*, whose devout and virtuous Lives made Multitudes of Converts from Heathenism to *Christianity*. Then there was *Julian* of *Edeffa*, who reduc'd himself to such a living Skeleton, that *Ephraim Syrus* thought the Life of him an Argument well-worthy of his Pen; especially in regard his Prayers had the Power to cast out Devils and cure Diseases. [*Arfacius* was another celebrated Name, and had been so from the Days of *Licinius*, when he endur'd a severe Trial for his Holy Profession. He was born in *Persia*, and held a good Office at Court for some time, but quitted it to espouse a Monastick Life, and chose *Nicomedia* for his Place of Abode; where God condescended to warn him, by a Vision, of the Earthquake above-mention'd; and he had no sooner receiv'd the Premonition, but he hasten'd to Church, and bad the Clergy betake themselves to the most earnest Deprecations; which when they laugh'd at, he retir'd to his Lodging in a Tower that stood upon a very high Hill, and there prostrated himself, beseeching God (as 'tis reported) not to let him live to see the Destruction of that City, where he first imbib'd the Knowledge of *Christ*, and had given up himself to the Study and Exercise of Divine Philosophy. And his Prayer was heard; for when the Flames, which issued * in furious Eruptions from the Earth, had seiz'd all the Houses in the Town, the few People that remain'd in it alive, run up into that Tower, and found him lying dead upon his Belly, in a suppliant Posture. This Earthquake was a very dreadful one; but the Reports which were sent abroad of it, made it much worse, and extended it even to *Constantinople*. The Infi-

* Our Author here is somewhat obscure. He mentions Fires being strangely kindled at first in Chimneys, Ovens, Furnaces, &c. But whence it came he says not. I have therefore ventured to suppose that it burst out of the Openings occasioned by the Earthquake.

dels, upon this Occasion, impudently insulted the *Christians*, and told the Emperor a long Story of a Multitude of *Christians*, and several Bishops among them, who were bury'd by the Fall of a Church, whither they had fled for Security. Whereas the Convulsion did not happen at an Hour of Prayer, and was so sudden, that no Man had Time to quit his Ground; and as for the Bishops who lost their Lives, there were but two, (one of whom was *Cecropius* the * Bishop of the Place) and neither of them, at that Time, within the Walls of any Church. But to return; *Arsacius* had the Privilege of casting out Devils and working Miracles. Of the former he gave a remarkable Instance in reducing a Demoniack to his Wits, who was running about in a City, with a naked Sword, to the great Terror of all the People; and of the latter, in forcing, by his Prayers, a monstrous Sort of a Serpent, which lay near a publick Road, and kill'd the Passengers before they could see it with its Breath, to come forth of its Cave, and dash out its own Brains against the Ground. For the Truth of these Things we have the Authority of those People, to whom they were communicated by others, who had seen *Arsacius*.]

[But yet, we are not to think all the great Men were of the Monastick Class; indeed some of them *S. L. 3. c. 14, 15, 16.* had not so much as an Opportunity to be so, the Western World having then never had any such Societies. *St. Martin* † was very conspicuous at this Time, both for the *Christian* Philosophy, and the Practice of it. He came of a good Family, and held an honourable Post in the Army, 'till his Piety turn'd his Inclinations to another Sort of Life; in which he became a Confessor, and was barbarously abus'd for the *Nicene* Faith in *Illyricum*, and then expell'd the Country; from whence he repair'd to *Milan*, and from *Milan*, when he found he could not be safe there, to an Island in the *Tuscan* Sea, call'd *Gallenaria*; which sustain'd him with Roots and Herbs. He was afterwards Bishop of § *Tours*.] His Miracles were ** even Apostolical, as,

* He was one of *Constantius's* Bishops, translated thither from *Laodicea*, upon *Eusebius's* Advancement to the Throne of *C. S.*

† If he ought not to be rang'd among the Anchorets.

§ See *Vales.* upon the Place.

** *Ἀποστολικὴν ἐλεησύναν.* This cannot, at least in one Instance, be deny'd, if indeed the Fact was true.

particularly,

particularly, his raising a dead Man. St. Hilary was his Fellow-Sufferer, a very good Man, and an admirable Scholar. With him flourish'd a great many eloquent and learned Writers; among others, *Eusebius Emisenus*, *Titus* of *Bostra*, *Serapion* of *Thmuis*, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Eudoxius* of *Germanicia*, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, *Lucifer Calaritanus*, and *Didymus*, Preceptor of the Sacred School at *Alexandria*, that accomplish'd Poet, Orator, Mathematician, Astronomer, and Philosopher, who, notwithstanding the deplorable Calamity of losing his Sight, when a Child, at his very entering upon the Elements of Learning; yet was so constant to his early Resolutions of industriously pursuing it, so full of Enquiry, so attentive to Instruction, that, with a very good Foundation of natural Parts, he became one of the Wonders of the Time. 'Tis said he learnt the Forms of Letters, by tracing them with his Finger in a Table where they were deep engraven, and so arriv'd at the Skill of Spelling, and a compleat Notion of Reading. The *Arians* mortally hated him, because he either confuted, or profelyted so many of them to the *Nicene* Faith, and this by such a Method, that he appeal'd to themselves for the Truth and Validity of his Arguments; and therefore it is no Wonder the Catholicks every where lov'd and honour'd him; and that *Antony* the Monk told him, *You have no Reason, Didymus, to complain of the Want of that Faculty, which would be common to you with every little Animal and Insect, since God has given you the Eyes of Angels, and you are thereby furnish'd with such an exquisite Knowledge of Things, and qualify'd for so near an Intuition of himself.* But yet it is certain, those Days did not afford a more celebrated Writer, as well as a more venerable Ascetick, than *Ephraim Syrus*, born at or near *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*, who dedicated himself to Solitude and Books, and so improv'd and cultivated his own Language, the *Syriack*, and such Authors as had wrote in it, that he not only fathom'd all the Depths of their Philosophy, but even exceeded in Richness of Thought and Expression, as well as in Solidity, the *Greek* Authors themselves. For his Books, which were partly in his Life-time translated into *Greek*, and are still translating, have receiv'd no harm by shifting their Habit; which the Writings of the *Greeks* most certainly would, if they were to be turn'd into *Syriack*, or any other Language. *Basil*, afterwards Bishop of *Cæsarea*, was a great Admirer of him, and we may read the Sentiments of the best Scholars then among the *Greeks* concerning him, in what
that

that great Man affirm'd, * *that, at least in Elegance, he excell'd them all.* He was very Voluminous in his Poetry. The Numbers which *Harmonius*, the Son of *Bardefanes*, not only inheriting his Father's abominable Tenets, but adding others to them, apply'd to very ill Purposes, insomuch that his Poetry, especially as it was set to Musick, had done a great deal of Mischief; *Ephraim* apply'd another way, making use of them to illustrate and adorn very Religious and Orthodox Subjects; and *Ephraim's* Compositions in *Harmonius's* Numbers obtain'd, from that Time, among the *Syrians*. He had several Scholars, who prov'd great Ornaments to their Country, particularly *Abba*, *Zenobius*, *Habraam*, *Maras*, and *Symeon*. *Paulonas* and *Aranad* had been so too, if they had not warp'd in their Faith. He detested Hurry and Interruption. His Carriage and Aspect were very grave and serious, and he shunn'd all Occasion of Scandal and Obloquy so carefully, that he was afraid of seeing a Woman; and meeting one Time an impudent Gypsy, who had plac'd herself in a narrow Passage to confront him, and told him, when he rebuk'd her for staring in his Face, and bad her look upon the Ground, *That she hoped she might look upon her own Father, and that he, as being so, ought to turn his Eyes downwards*; he took the first Opportunity of drawing up a Narrative of the Accident, and has left it to Posterity as a Record of his Innocence. He was naturally Cholerick; but from the Time of his sequestering himself from the World, had an absolute Command of his Passion; and particularly in one Instance gave a memorable Proof of it, when, after he had fasted several Days together, (as he frequently did) the Person, who was bringing him his Supper, letting it fall, and being seiz'd with Confusion at the Mischance, he bad him not trouble himself; and *since our Supper*, says he, *will not come to us, we'll go to that*; and so sat down to what could be retriev'd of it. Understanding he was elected to a Bishoprick, and that there were those Abroad, who were to conduct, or rather bring him by Compulsion to his Ordination, he ran to a City, and acted the Madman publickly; upon which the People, who were to bring him to his Consecration, leaving him as such, he retir'd

* So I render *ὡς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ πάντων*, &c. which *Valesius* has apply'd to *Basil*, tho' I think the Words will hardly bear his Construction.

again immediately, and absconded 'till another Bishop was consecrated. A little before his Death it happen'd, that the City of *Edeffa* struggled with a severe Famine; and the rich Citizens were so selfish and hard-hearted, that they would not afford that Relief and Support to the Indigent, which they might have done without incommoding themselves. This Occasion drew *Ephraim* out of his Cell; and his Reproofs and Admonitions had so good an Effect, that the faulty Parties declar'd they were ready to supply the publick Occasions, but that they wanted an honest Man to commit the Distribution to. Which Office, when, to their great Satisfaction, he had undertaken, he employ'd his first Care upon recovering those who were distemper'd and bed-rid for want of Sustenance; and then so follow'd his Business, as not only to furnish the rest of the Citizens, but Strangers too, and the Inhabitants of the adjacent Parts, 'till the Famine was over, and then he return'd to his Cell. He was only in Deacon's Orders; but in the matter of his Virtues and intellectual Acquisitions, no way inferior to others of a higher Station and Authority. What I have mention'd of him, is but an inconsiderable Branch of his whole Story and Character; for I must own myself unqualify'd, unless I were another *Ephraim*, and much better acquainted with that Subject than I can pretend to be, either to do him Justice, in a perfect and particular History of his Life, or those other great Professors of the *Christian* Philosophy, that either adorn'd the Desarts, or exercised their Virtues, and enrich'd their Understandings, in populous Places, with so streight a Rein upon the Pride of human Nature, that, as much as they could, they kept themselves undistinguish'd in the common Crowd. Nor let the Reader object, that I take no Notice of many admirable Disputants and eloquent Preachers, that deserve to be remember'd with those above nam'd; for that would be too hard and tedious a Task; or that I have mention'd to Advantage the great natural Parts and intellectual Accomplishments of some Men whose abominable Principles and Actions I detest; for the Impartiality of an Historian requir'd it.

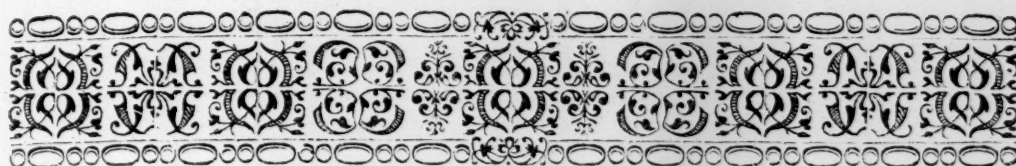
THE two Emperors, *Constantius* and *Constans*, were at first equally ambitious of expressing such a Tendernefs and Zeal for the Catholick Church and Faith, as became the Sons of so great and good a Father. They patroniz'd and encourag'd the Bishops;
the

the Generality of whom, as corrupt as were the Times, pursued those Measures, which not only preserv'd and cherish'd a lively Devotion and Piety among their Flocks, but, especially in Conjunction with the many Miracles then wrought, incredibly augmented the Number of Believers. Their Majesties were pleas'd not only to corroborate the Laws of their Father, but to make new ones, against the Heathen Worship, and to shut up all the idolatrous Temples, and pull down many of them, converting the Ground and Materials, either to the Building of new Churches, (as, among others, that very beautiful one at *Emisa*) or the repairing of old ones. They vouchsafed to the Clergy, and their Children and Servants, many singular Privileges and Exemptions; and observing, that the Heathens more readily and generally embraced the *Christian* Religion than the *Jews*, they made * a Law, which ty'd up the *Jews* from buying any Slaves who were not already *Jews*, upon Pain of forfeiting their Purchase, and from circumcising them, if they should happen or presume to buy any such, upon Pain of Death, and Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels. But, alas! it was not long ere *Constantius* abandoned the *Nicene* Faith, or rather that most important Word *Consubstantial*, which express'd the true Meaning of it, deriving a Prejudice against it, from the little fallacious Exceptions of *Eusebius* and his Brethren, and entertaining the Word *Homoiousios* instead of it, which probably he conceiv'd to be perfectly equivalent to the other: Nor was this only the Emperor's Misfortune; for too many Bishops, who yet venerated the *Nicene* Faith, run into the same Mistake. Though I know the *Arians* tell a Story, that *Constantine* having banish'd *Eusebius*, and *Theognis*, and other Bishops of the Party, after the Council of *Nice*, these Men were recommended, and the Goodness of their Cause represented, to his Sister, either in a Dream, or a Vision; that thereupon the Emperor recall'd them, and asking them why they oppos'd the Decrees of a Council, whose Faith they allow'd, was answer'd, that, in their Hearts, they had not approv'd that Faith, tho' they were afraid to make more Noise about it, lest the Controversy, if continu'd, should so scandalize his Majesty, as to tempt him to Apostacy and Persecution; that this gain'd them the Emperor's Pardon,

* See *Vales.* upon *Soz. B. 3. c. 17. n. 2.*

and put him upon a Resolution of calling another Council ; which Death prevented, but that he left his Command for his Son *Constantius* to do it, and that the latter conven'd the Council of *Ariminum* for this very Purpose : Which is most notoriously false ; for that Assembly met upon *Aetius's* Account, many Years after the Death of *Constantine* ; and besides, the two Assertions of *Consubstantiality* and *Likeness in Substance*, had occasion'd several Councils before that of *Ariminum*, and been canvas'd in them.]





THE
Ecclesiastical HISTORY

O F

Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit.

B O O K III.

PON the Third of *December*, in the Consulat of *Taurus* and *Florentius*, *Julian* arriv'd at *Constantinople*, and was there proclaim'd Emperor. He was the Son of *Constantius*, Half-Brother to *Constantine* the Great: After whose Death, when *Dalmatius*, *Constantine's* other Half-Brother, was kill'd by the Soldiers; the same Fate had very probably overtaken *Julian*, and his Brother *Gallus*, had not a Fit of Sickness, which was look'd upon to be mortal, preserv'd the latter, and his Childhood the former, being but eight Years of Age. [Surviving this Danger, they *S. L. 5. c. 2.* were sent into *Cappadocia*, and there educated, not only splendidly, but very much to their Advantage, having excellent Masters, and some of them * Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks, to instruct them both in Human and Divine Learning: Then too their Lives express'd a very promising and exemplary Piety, and they carry'd themselves towards the Clergy

* The *Nicomedian Eusebius* was one of his Instructors, but far from being among the excellent ones.

with

with a singular Regard and Veneration, and they agreed to be at the Charge of building a magnificent Temple in Honour of the Martyr *Mamas*, over his Tomb; which yet was more than they could do, because, tho' what *Gallus* built went on very well, yet either the Foundations of *Julian's* Part of the Work were thrown, or at least heav'd, up again, or the Superstructure fell as fast as it was rais'd. This by some People was taken for a convincing Argument or Indication, that there was more of Policy than Sincerity in that young Prince's Pretences to Religion; and without Difficulty one might fore-see in it what afterwards came to pass. For the Matter of Fact, we have the Attestation of several Persons now living, to whom Eye-witnesses averr'd the Truth of it.]

SOME Time after, the Brothers were parted; *Gallus* apply'd himself to learned Exercises at *Ephesus*, and *Julian* follow'd his Studies at *Constantinople*, where *Ecebolius*, then a Christian, was appointed by the Emperor, being afraid to trust his Kinsman in the Hands of any Heathen Orator, to teach him Rhetorick. His remarkable Abilities and Accomplishments disposing People to observe how well he was qualify'd for Empire it self, the Emperor remov'd him from *Constantinople* to *Nicomedia*, and commanded him to avoid all Conversation with *Libanius* the Sophist, for fear he should seduce him to Heathenism; notwithstanding which he studied his Writings privately, and was very fond of them. The Fame of his great Proficiency in Rhetorick, bringing the Philosopher *Maximus* of *Ephesus* to *Nicomedia* to see him; this new Visitant took the inviting Opportunity to infuse Paganism and Ambition into him at once; [particularly by his encouraging Predictions:] but yet, for fear of *Constantius*, he was so far from thinking it proper or seasonable to make any Discovery that way, that he shav'd himself, assumed the Habit and Character of a Monk, and became a Reader in the Church of *Nocomedia*. [Upon his Brother *Gallus's* being cut off, (of which before) the Emperor order'd him to be taken into Custody;] whence he made his Escape, but was found by the Empress *Eusebia*; and at her Request, permitted to retire to *Athens* to pursue his Studies there; [but instead of that he spent his Time in running over all Parts of *Greece*, to inform himself, among the Divining People, of his

S. L. 5. c. 2.

S. L. 5. c. 2.

S. L. 5. c. 2. &

T. L. 3. c. 3.

his future Fortune.] He had not been long there before there happen'd a very unexpected Turn in his Affairs, for the Emperor having sent for him, declar'd him *Cæsar*, gave him his Sister * *Helena* in Marriage, and sent him his General, (as some will have it, to expose his Person) against the *Barbarians* (then in Rebellion) with Orders to be govern'd entirely, because he was very young, by his Council of Officers: Who, instead of endeavouring to stop the Incurfions, and chastize the Insolence of the Enemy, abandoning themselves to all Excesses of Luxury imaginable; *Julian* let them take their own Way, and push'd on the Business of the War so vigorously himself, that as he wonderfully rais'd the Spirits of the Soldiers, and fir'd them with unusual Resolution, so by Degrees he broke the Strength of the *Barbarians*, and upon both Accounts not a little ingratiated himself with the Army. Then he thought it time to complain of the Misbehaviour of his Officers; whereupon another General, of a brisk and active Genius like his own, was sent to him, and soon after that Person's Arrival, when he had refus'd to hearken to any Accommodation, and laid an Envoy from the Enemy in Chains, he fought them, totally routed them, took their King, and sent him to *Constantius*. This Victory, [together with his gentle and obliging S. L. 5. c. 1. Temper] so charm'd and transported the Soldiers, that they proclaim'd him Emperor, and one of the Guards, having a Chain about his Neck, pull'd it off, to supply the Want of an Imperial Diadem, and crown'd him with it. From this Time he bid adieu to all Gratitude and Loyalty, and made it his Business to expose his Sovereign *Constantius* (particularly by his shewing about his Letters to the *Barbarians*, wherein he sent for them to his Assistance, and which their Envoy brought with him) to corrupt and seduce his Subjects, and to involve the Empire in Rebellion and Confusion; at the same Time, (as it well became him) he renounc'd his Christianity, [and S. L. 5. c. 2. that in a very solemn Manner,] assum'd the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and began upon restoring the Publick Profession of Paganism. After he was come to *Constantinople*, he bury'd *Constantius* very magnificently; and yet to bring Odium upon his Name and Memory, as well as to gain what he knew the other had lost, the Affection of his Catholick Christians, on the one Side, and of the Pagans, on the other, he pursued those Councils and Methods,

* Sozomen, by Mistake, says *Constantia*. See *Vales. in loc.*

which

which though they were not so, yet appear'd as opposite in themselves as to his Predecessor's. He recall'd the banish'd Bishops, and gave them back what had been taken from
S. L. 5. c. 5. them by Confiscation ; [and to renew those Com-
 bustions which tended to the Ruin of the Church,
 with the Catholick Bishops, he invited Home, in a most courteous
 Manner, St. *Aetius* too, who, it seems, had been intimate with
 his Brother *Gallus*, and lain under Suspicion of Treason, as well
 as Conviction of Heresy.] At the same Time, he gave Order for
 reviving the Heathen Worship, and opening the
S. L. 5. c. 3. Temples. [And indeed he made it too plain, which
 of the Two, the Christians or Heathens, had all his
 Heart, by discovering a very great Affection and Fondness for
 those Cities of the Empire that were given up to Idolatry ; and
 proportionably an Abhorrence of those that were Christian ;
 insomuch that when the People of *Nisibis* sent him Word of the
 Danger they were in from the *Persian*, his Answer to them was, That
 he would neither send nor bring them Help ; no, nor so much
 as admit their Messenger, 'till they turn'd Heathen. The City of
Constantia, before call'd *Majuma*, which *Constantine* the Great had
 made a free City and Corporation, and call'd it by the Name of
 his Son *Constantius*, in Regard to the Zeal of the Inhabitants for
 Christianity, he put again, the *Gazeans* appealing to him, under
 their Jurisdiction. Yet this Union did not hinder, but that either
 Place had still its respective Bishop, Diocese, and Church ; and
 lately, when the Bishop of *Gaza*, upon the Death of the Bishop of
Majuma, would have had the latter annex'd to the former, alledging
 that it was not to be suffer'd that one See should have two Bishops,
 the Provincial Synod, which this Matter had brought together,
 upon a Remonstrance of the People of *Majuma*, ordain'd them a
 distinct Bishop. *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* was disfranchis'd, the People
 being almost universally Christians, and having affronted his Majesty
 with no less a Provocation than pulling down three Idolatrous
 Temples, which were all that City had in it ; and he declar'd him-
 self very angry with the few Heathen Inhabitants, for not exerting
 themselves, whatever Hazards they run, when (it seems) no less
 too than the Honour of their very Tutular was at Stake. He
 confiscated all the Revenues, and all the Plate and Furniture of the
 Churches there and thereabouts ; making use of the Torture to find
 out what was conceal'd of the Sacred Treasure : He order'd that
 all

all the Clergy should be lifted among the * Train-Bands; and the Laity, in general, with their Wives and Children, were to be proserib'd, and put under a severe Impost; and he oblig'd himself by an Oath, if they did not rebuild the Temples with all Expedition, not to give over harrassing and oppressing them, no nor to suffer one *Galilean* of them (for that was the Name he call'd the Christians by) to live. At the same Time, to render himself popular among his Subjects in general, as he would flatter some Men, and bribe others to lash out in his Praises] so he redress'd all the Injuries which any Man had sustain'd from the *Eunuchs*, putting to death *Eusebius*, the Principal of them, and the Person to whose Tongue his Brother *Gallus* ow'd his unhappy End. As for the rest of that Tribe he rid the Court of them, and so he did of the Cooks, and the Barbers; for he said, That as he was a Man divorc'd from his Wife, he could not want the first, † nor a Philosopher the second, and few Men more than one of the Third. He curtail'd the Number of the § Publick Notaries, and retrench'd so much of Expence in the Matter of the publick Carriages as he thought extravagant. He express'd a very great Affection and Regard for all learned Men, especially Professors of Philosophy; and this Encouragement fill'd his Court with those, that if they wanted the Wisdom and Learning they pretended to have, at least wore the Outside of it; and whatever they were, prov'd very troublesome to the Christians. He spent whole Nights in composing Declamations, and impertinent Harangues, which he afterwards deliver'd in the Senate-house, and was so conceited and vain, as not only to write what he has publish'd against the Christians, but to exercise his satirical Talent upon all his Predecessors, in his Book intituled, *The Cæsars*. [He was strangely *S. L. 5. c. 2.* bigotted to the Divination-Part of the *Gentile* Religion; insomuch, that two very astonishing Rebukes from Heaven it self did not at all slacken his Affection for it. One was upon the Ceremony of inspecting the Victim's Entrails, which exhibited a Cross, environ'd with a Wreath or Crown. And this so damp'd

* Those meant here by our Author were a Sort or Order of Militia, rather inferior to that which goes among us by that Name, and obnoxious to severe Oppressions and Insults. See *Vales.* Note 3d upon this Chapter.

† Where his Divorce appears, I do not, as far as I remember, find elsewhere.

§ There were several Sorts of *Notarii*. See *Octavianus Ferrarius de Origine Romanorum*, in *Grævius's Thesaurus*, T. 1. p. 12, 13, &c. and *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii*, *Ibid.* T. 7. p. 1574.

T t

and

and fear'd the Aruspices, that they acknowledg'd the Crown to signify the Triumphs of Christianity, and those Eternal. Only the President of them endeavour'd to persuade him, that, on the contrary, it signify'd Limitation and Restraint. At
T. L. 3. c. 3. the Time, [when he was initiated into the Magical *Arcana*, as he attended under Ground, some Diabolical Operations or Mysteries that belong'd to the Ceremony, the Spectres that were rais'd made so horrible an Appearance about him, that he sign'd himself, before he was aware, with the Sign of the Cross: Whereupon the Familiars disappear'd, and so the Business in Hand was interrupted, till the Initiator, understanding what had been the Impediment, reviv'd the Emperor's Courage; and when he had told him, he was neither to use any Action at that Time, nor admit any Thought which might favour of Christianity, he begun his Work over again.] 'Tis reported that when he was in his Expedition against the *Barbarians*, as he came under the Gate of a Town, a mural Crown, that hung by two Ropes, descended upon his Head; whence the Beholders, prognosticating his Accession to the Imperial Dignity, congratulated
S. L. 5. c. 1. him with a mighty Shout. [There goes another Story of him, somewhat like the former, that as he was entering *Illyricum*, soon after his being proclaim'd by the Army, in order to take Possession of it, tho' he pretended his Design was to march to *Constantius*, then in *Syria*, and ask his leave to wear the Purple, he met with some Vines, when the Vintage was now over, thick hung with Bunches of green Grapes; and that there fell a Sort of Dew in Drops, representing so many little Crosses, upon himself and his Retinue. These two *Phænomena* were variously interpreted; some took that of the Vines for a good Omen, and thought the Dew only accidental; others, much more judiciously, inferr'd the Shortness of his Reign from the first, and that the World should universally receive the Faith of Christ, and the * Sign of the Cross, from the Latter.] And this Occurrence naturally turns our Thoughts to the Affairs of the Church.

THERE happen'd, under this Prince's Government, a dreadful Tumult and bloody Massacre at *Alexandria*,
S. L. 5. c. 7. occasion'd thus. The Christians having found [in a Place, which *George* was purging and preparing in

* Undoubtedly in Baptism, as may appear from the Context, and the Symbol of the Dew.

order to the Building of a Church there,] the Reliques of Human Sacrifices that had been offer'd to *Mithra*, carry'd them in Procession about the Town, to expose and ridicule all such abominable Mysteries. At this the Heathens were so exasperated [(besides that they had just then receiv'd the News of *Constantius's* Death, and *Julian's* Accession)] that they fell upon the Christians, and destroy'd a great Number of them, [and some, by what they look'd upon as a Reproach to them, the Death of Crucifixion] not sparing even their own nearest Friends and Relations, and having hawl'd the Usurper *George* out of the Church, [who had made himself as odious to the Heathens, by his haughty, tyrannical, and imposing Humour; by suppressing their Worship, and by stripping their Temples of their Images and Ornaments; as to the Orthodox Christians by his Behaviour towards them already mention'd] they ty'd him upon the Back of a Camel, and when they had had enough of dragging, and tearing, and bruising him upon the Stones, they burnt him and the Camel together. This Murder incens'd the Emperor, who in an Epistle, which he wrote to them upon this Occasion, does not charge the Fact upon the *Athanasians*, as some others have done, but upon a promiscuous Multitude; ' he has confess'd to them that the Punishment was no more than ' due to a Man that had been the Author of so much Misery and ' Mischief among the *Alexandrians* in general as *George*, in Truth, ' had been; he tells them, that nevertheless they ought to have ' proceeded in a legal Way against him, and that it is well for ' them that this Outrage happen'd in his Reign, because he had a ' particular Kindness for them, and therefore chose rather to rebuke ' than punish them; not only as being so generally * true to the ' Religion of their Heathen Ancestors, on which Account he could ' not but expect the most chearful and ready Obedience from them; ' but in regard too that they had formerly been under the special ' Inspection and Government of his Uncle † *Julian*.

[THIS Uncle of his was a most bigotted Heathen, and had been a most implacable and

* So I render ἀρχαίων ἑλλήνες.

† See *Vales*, upon the Place.

furious Enemy to the Christians;] He plunder'd,
T. L. 3. c. 12. [by Order from his Master,] the [great] Church at
T. L. 3. c. 12. *Antioch*, [which was at that Time in the Hands of
 the *Arians*] and then shut up the Doors of it;
 upon which the Clergy there thought it high time to shift for them-
 selves. Only *Theodorus*, a Presbyter, who had the Care of the
 Church-Plate, &c. kept his Ground, was apprehended, and no
 Tortures prevailing with him to make any sacrilegious Discoveries,
 or any way to disgrace his holy Profession, he lost his Head. But
 the Plunderer took possession of his Booty, and not
T. L. 3. c. 12. content with seizing it, piss'd upon the Altar, [struck
Euzoius for attempting to hinder him, adding a
 prophane Sarcastm upon the Christian Religion, as if Providence
 were unconcern'd for it,] trampled on the sacred Vessels, kick'd
 them about, sat down upon them, and blasphem'd the great Pro-
 prietor; who, in that Instant, vindicated his Honour by punishing
 the Scoffer by a very extraordinary Judgment, his lower Parts
 putrifying and turning into Worms, which prey'd
T. L. 3. c. 13. upon his Flesh; [and his Ordure coming out at his
 Mouth,] and this dreadful Plague kept him in
 perpetual Torment, till it had sent him out of the World, not the
 Skill of all the Physicians finding out any Remedy
T. L. 3. c. 13. for it; [Upon which astonishing Occasion, his Lady,
 who was a Christian, and a very pious Woman,
 told him, *He ought to be thankful to the Blessed Jesus for vouchsafing*
him so pregnant a Proof of his Divine Majesty and Power as the
present miserable Condition which his Outrage against Christianity had
brought upon him, carry'd in it; which excellent Intimation, in
 Concurrence with the Torments he felt, touch'd him with such a
 Sense of his Impiety, that he made it his humble Petition (tho' it
 prov'd a fruitless one) to the Emperor, that he would be pleas'd to
 deliver up the Church again to those whom he had put out of the
 Possession of it.] There were others of the great Men at that
 Time, who for offering the like atheistical Indigniti-
T. L. 3. c. 12, ties, dy'd in as miserable and strange a Manner; [and
 13. among the rest *Felix*, who, together with *Elpidius*,
 to keep and Increase his Interest in the Emperor
 (for they were both Courtiers) had renounced the Christian Faith.
 Observing the Richness and Splendor of the sacred Furniture in
 the Church of *Antioch*, whither he accompany'd *Julian* upon the
 same wicked Errand we have just now mention'd; See here, said
 Felix,

Felix, how pompously the Son of Mary is provided for; and he had no sooner spoke the Words but he fell a spitting of blood, and continu'd to do so, Night and Day, till his Veins were exhausted.]

[BUT to turn our Eyes from these loathsome and horrid Objects to the glorious Conflicts of the holy S. L. 5. c. 9. Martyrs; at *Gaza*, *Eusebius*, *Nestabus*, and *Zeno*, three Brothers, who had highly provok'd the Infidels by insulting their Worship, were seiz'd, imprison'd, and scourg'd, and afterwards tumultuously hurry'd out of their Gaol, and dragg'd along the Streets, and not only bruise'd by that Violence, and dash'd and batter'd upon the Pavement, but assaulted too with Stones and Clubs, and all the usual Artillery of an enrag'd Multitude; nay, the Women left their Work to torment them with their Needles, and the Cooks run their Spits into them, and threw boiling Water on them. In the Conclusion, when they had beat out their Brains, they drew their Bodies to a Place where they us'd to lay their dying Cattle, and there they burnt them; but some of their Bones being left, they mingled them with the Bones of Camels and Asses, that so in the Heap they might be lost. But soon after it pleas'd God, by an immediate Revelation, to discover to a certain Woman, where she should find them, and to command her to send them to one *Zeno*, a near Relation of theirs, who was utterly a Stranger to her, and narrowly escap'd the Fate of his Cousins, taking his Opportunity while the Rabble were wholly employ'd upon murdering them, to fly to *Anthedon*, a City some few Miles distant from *Gaza*, where being discover'd, and inhumanly scourg'd, and then expell'd, he return'd to *Gaza*; and had not lain long conceal'd there before the Woman brought him the Bones of his Kinsmen, which he kept in his own Custody, till he came to be Bishop of the Place, in the Reign of *Theodosius*; when he built a Chapel without the City, and deposited them under the Altar, in the Place where had been bury'd the Body of *Nestor* the Confessor; who had not only enjoy'd an intimate Friendship with that illustrious Triumvirate, but was apprehended and suffer'd along with them, till his Executioners, as they were dragging him, touch'd with something of Concern, in regard of the young Man's exquisite Shape and Beauty, carry'd him out of the City, and left him, though in an incurable Condition, yet before he expir'd; which he did soon after, but not till *Zeno*, to whom he was convey'd, had taken Care that no Endeavours should be omitted to save his Life. The Rioters, however, were apprehensive that this Outrage would set the Empire in
a Flame,

a Flame, and had got a Report among them, that they were doom'd to be decimated ; but he was so little dispos'd even to rebuke them, as he had done the *Alexandrians*, that he turn'd out the Governor of the Province, and made it a Matter of Grace that he did not take off his Head too, for having laid some of the Principals in this Tumult and these Murders in Chains ; *Poor People*, said he, *shall a few Galileans offer such and so many Insults and Affronts to them and their Gods, and they not suffer'd to take Satisfaction ?* Thus patroniz'd, the People of *Gaza* recover their Spirits, and fall to searching for * *Hilarion* the Monk, who thereupon fled into *Sicily*, and maintain'd himself by bringing Wood to Town, from the desert Mountains where he pick'd it up, and making his Market of it ; till it being discover'd who he was, by a Man of Quality, whom he had deliver'd from the Possession of an evil Spirit, he remov'd into *Dalmatia*. Here having wrought many Miracles, and particularly stopp'd a dreadful Inundation of the Sea by his Prayers, to get out of the Noise of that Fame which attended his good Offices of that amazing kind, or rather that it might expire, he departed from thence to *Paphos*, and at the Request of the Bishop of *Cyprus* he took up his Residence, and settled himself to his Exercises of *Christian* Philosophy, in that Island. 'Tis true, by shifting of Places he quitted the inestimable Honour of Martyrdom, but he remember'd that it was no less the Council and Command of God, not to wait for our Persecutors, than not to shrink at their Terrors and Tortures, if they meet with us. At *Heliopolis*, the sacred Virgins, who seldom or never us'd to appear abroad, were stript to the Skin, and expos'd naked to the View and Insolence of all that pleas'd to be Spectators ; and having suffer'd a thousand Indignities and Barbarities of this kind, they were † shorn, and cut asunder in the Waste, and their Entrails, mingled with § Hogwash, were given to the Swine, and so devour'd by them ; which last Effort of Malice might perhaps have been an unparalell'd Instance of Inhumanity, [had there not been those savage Canibals in *Phœnice*, who not only kill'd *Cyriel*, a Deacon there, for having under *Constantine's* Reign, broke not a few of their Images in pieces ; but dissected him, and eat up his Liver. Against this horrid and execrable Fact it pleas'd God to testify his Indignation in a very surprizing and judicial way ; for the Parties,

* St. *Jerom* has writ his Life, which see, and *Valesius's* Notes upon *Sozom.* B. 6. c. 10.

† That is, their *Pudenda*. See *Vales.* upon the Place.

§ Or perhaps by συνήδει τέτοις τροφῇ *Sozomen* may mean *Corn* or *Grains* κείνη, as *Theodorit* has it in a parallel Story, if not the same. L. 3. c. 7.

who

who concurr'd in it, first lost all their Teeth, which came out of their Jaws all at once ; then their Tongues rotted away in their Mouths ; and lastly, their Eyes fell out of their Heads. That which seems to have transported the *Heliopolites* to such abominable Barbarities was (what has been mention'd before) *Constantine's* having demolish'd the Temple of *Venus*, his building a Church among them, and his forbidding their Prostitutions by a Law. At *Ascalon* and *Gaza* several of the Clergy and vow'd Virgins were cut up, and their Bellies stuff'd with Corn, and so were thrown to the Swine to feed upon. At *Sebasta* they broke open the Coffin of St. *John* the Baptist, burnt his Bones, and scatter'd the Ashes of them. For the same Offence which had chiefly enrag'd the Ruffians to that Heighth of Resentment and Rage against *Cyril*, did *Artemius* (who had made that Use too of his Power, when he was General of the Forces in *Egypt* under *Constantine*) lose not only his Estate, but his Head, by the Apostate's express Command. At *Emesa* a Church, newly finish'd, was dedicated by the Infidels to *Bacchus*, and his Image, half Man, half Woman, set up in it. At *Dorostolon* one *Emilian* being sentenc'd to the Flames by the Prefect of *Thrace*, exchang'd in them Mortality for an eternal Crown.

MARK, Bishop of *Arethuse*, a very [understanding,] * venerable, aged Man, had, in the Reign of *Constantius*, so incens'd the Infidels of that Place by making † many Converts to *Christianity*, by demolishing a very stately Temple they had there, [and by building a Church in the room of it,] [that upon *Julian's* Advancement to the Imperial Sovereignty, when he found the Indignation of the People ready to break out upon him, and the Emperor, at the same Time, commanding him, at his Peril, either to build what he had laid in Ruins, or pay down to the Value of the Damage ; (neither of which he was able to do, nor, if he had been, would his Conscience have suffer'd him at least to do the first)] he went out of the way, till understanding his Flight and Absence had brought a terrible Persecution upon his Friends, he came and deliver'd himself up to the Fury of his Enemies ; who look'd upon themselves to be brav'd and affronted by his Appearance, and

* The Character which the Antients give of this Bishop, when they speak of his Death, makes it probable (as *Baronius* well observes) that he had left the *Semi-*

Arians before that Time, *Bar. an. 362.*

† According to *Theodorit* (L. 3. c. 17.) it was after his Sufferings, and upon the Foot of them, that he had this Success.

falling

falling upon him with all imaginable Rage and Violence, dragg'd him through the Streets; beat, pinch'd, and tore him; cut his Ears from his Head with Packthread or Whipcord; *T. L. 3. c. 7.* [tumbled him into a Privy; and when they had drawn him out again, deliver'd him up to a Crowd of School-Boys] who tofs'd his Body hither and thither, and receiv'd it upon the Points of their *Stiles* or Writing-Instruments, pushing and piercing him without Pity or Intermiſſion. And when they had mangled every Limb of him, and tatter'd all his Fleſh, they daub'd him over with Honey and * naſty Pickle, and laid him upon a Hurdle, and then plac'd him at a Diſtance from the Ground, to expoſe him the better to the Bees and Waſps, which came and cover'd him in Swarms, and fed and rioted in his Wounds. But even the exquisite Agonies of this Torture, inſtead of diſtracting or diſcompoſing him, only gave him Occaſion to tell his Perſecutors, *That he was advanc'd nearer to Heaven, while they grovel'd below upon the Ground; and that thereby they might underſtand how it was like to go with him,* *T. L. 3. c. 7.* *and how with themſelves hereafter.* [Not knowing but want of Means to obey the Command might be the Cauſe of his not complying with it, they offer'd to excuſe him half the Sum, and afterwards the whole, within a Trifle; but he told them, *It were as much Apoſtacy in him to pay down a Half-penny as the whole.* At length, when all they could do had no Effect upon him, they releas'd him.] 'Tis ſaid the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who, though a reſolute Heathen, had a noble and generous Soul, told the Emperor very freely, *It was a Shame for them, that a poor old Man ſhould have triumph'd ſo gloriously over their utmoſt Efforts; and that if they did not take Care, theſe Meaſures would only render thoſe that made Uſe of them ridiculous, and the Chriſtians venerable and dear to all Mankind.*

[It happen'd about this Time that a certain young *T. L. 3. c. 14.* Man, the Son of an heathen Prieſt, who from his Childhood had been acquainted with a certain Deaconess, a very pious Woman, and an intimate Friend of his Mother's, now dead, gave the Deaconess to underſtand, that he was ready to profeſs what ſhe had always endeavour'd to convert him to, the *Chriſtian* Religion, and that his Father was the only Obſtacle. She told him he muſt leave his Father, and lie conceal'd ſomewhere at a

* *Táππ*, What it was, the Reader may find in the *Geoponica* of Mr. Needham. L. 20. c. ult.

Distance from him, and undertook to make his Retreat safe and secure. A few Days after the Emperor coming to *Daphne* to celebrate a solemn Festivity, the Father of this Youth attended his Majesty, as did himself and his Brother, who, in the Office of * *Æditui*, were to stand near the Emperor at Table, and sprinkle his Meat. Having discharg'd his part in this Ceremony the first Day, (for the Feast lasted seven) the young Candidate for *Christianity* run off to *Antioch*, came to the Deaconess, and put himself entirely in her Hands; who brought him to *Meletius*. The Bishop order'd him, for the present, to confine himself to an upper Chamber. But he had not long been there, when the Father, who was running about in quest of his Son, as he came by *Meletius's* House, unfortunately spy'd him standing at a Window, seiz'd him, carry'd him home, barbarously beat and bruis'd him, burnt him in his Hands and Feet and Back, with red-hot † Iron Spikes, lock'd him up in a Chamber, fencing in the Windows with Iron Bars, and return'd to *Daphne*. All this Severity so little affected him, that, inspir'd with a holy Fervour and Resolution, he broke all his Father's Idols to pieces, § and pleas'd himself with using them as Trumpery, and making them his Play-things. And now, knowing he was to expect no Mercy when his Father came home, he flung himself, with an entire Resignation, into the Arms of the Divine Goodness, earnestly beseeching the Blessed *Jesus*, for whose Cause he suffer'd, to break the Bars, and open the Doors; and, in that very Instant, the former fell down, and the latter open'd. Thus miraculously releas'd, he made all the Haste he could to the Deaconess, who disguis'd him in Woman's Cloaths, and brought him to *Meletius* again. *Meletius* recommended him into the Hands of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, ** with whom, travelling by Night, he got safe into *Palestine*; and after *Julian's* Death, he made a Convert of his Father. This whole Story the Person himself communicated to me in his old Age.]

HAVING now had our Contemplations so long employ'd upon the Theatre of Martyrdom and Sufferings, let us drop that copious Subject at present, and proceed upon the more publick, Oeconomical Affairs of the Church. Soon after the Uproar we mention'd had happen'd

* Sacrifics of the idolatrous Temples, of whose Function, it seems, this Ceremony was a Part.

† Ὀβελίους ἐπέθηκεν.

§ Ἐκωμόσατο αὐτῶν ὡς ἀδελφείαν.

** Then at *Antioch*, it seems, or near it.

at *Alexandria*, † *Athanasius*, returning thither was receiv'd with great Joy ; and the *Arians*, dispossest of the Churches, set up private Conventicles, and ordain'd *Lucius* in the room of *George*. At the same Time *Lucifer* Bishop of *Calaris* in *Sardinia*, and
T. L. 3. c. 4. *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ* in *Liguria* [upon a Synodical Resolve pass'd between them and others of the restor'd Bishops (for all those whom *Constantius* had banish'd were by this Time sent for home) that there was an absolute and immediate Necessity to set about recovering the Unity of the Church,] join'd their mutual Deliberations and Endeavours towards retrieving her Rights and Discipline ; in order to which the latter made a Journey to *Athanasius*, whilst *Lucifer*, who had declin'd going to *Alexandria*, went to *Antioch*, where finding* the Orthodox divided into two Communions, those that join'd with *Meletius*, and those that excepted against his Ordination, he consecrated a new Bishop whose Name was *Paulinus*.

UPON *Eusebius's* Arrival at *Alexandria*, *Athanasius*
S. L. c. 5. 12. and he conven'd a Synod there ; which [(besides further approving and confirming the *Nicene Faith*)] asserted the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and his Consubstantiality with the Father and the Son, [establish'd the Word
S. L. 5. c. 12. Trinity,] and declar'd it a sacred Truth, that *Christ*, when he was made *Flesh*, assum'd a human Soul : In which they were justify'd not only by all the Principles of *Christian Philosophy*, but by the most antient Attestation and Tradition of the Church, deliver'd § (*ἑρμηνεία*) in the Writings of *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, *Apolinarius* of *Hieropolis*, *Serapion* of *Antioch*, of *Origen*, of *Pamphilus*, of *Eusebius*, and in the Synodical Epistle of the Council of *Antioch* to *Berillus*, and elsewhere. And because a Dispute, which had been

† *Sozomen* (*L. 5. c. 6.*) has it, that upon the News of *Constantius's* Death, *Athanasius* shew'd himself one Night unexpectedly in the Church at *Alexandria* ; where for several Years a religious Virgin, to whom he had been sent by divine Direction, had kept him conceal'd ; that she provided the Necessaries of Life, and procur'd the Use of Books for him ; and that by this Means not only his Friends escap'd all inconvenient Examinations, but the great Confessor himself was the more secure, the Youth and Beauty of the young Woman

precluding all Suspicion of any Clergyman's living with her. But *Baronius* very justly rejects this Account of *Sozomen*, and espouses *Gregory Nazianzen's*, which agrees with that of *Socrates*. *Bar. An. 362.*

* See the Case of *Eustathius*, *Meletius*, and *Paulinus* very learnedly stated and consider'd at large in *Historical Collections concerning Church-Affairs, &c.* Printed at London Anno 1696, and in the Excerpts from *Ecclesiastical History before-mention'd.*

§ Not Orally.

started long ago in the Proceedings against *Sabellius* about the Words *Substantia* and *Hypostasis* (*Substance* and *Person*) and of which the *Nicene* Council took no Notice, † was not yet at an End among some People; this Synod determin'd 'That the proper and only Use ' of those Words was to signify the *real* Distinction between the ' Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in Opposition to the *nominal* of the ' *Sabellians*; and that they were not to be apply'd in the Sense of a ' proper Definition, to the Divine Essence.' Indeed as the Signification of both those Words is very various among the *Greeks*, and the latter of them is apply'd by the more ancient Writers, though very rarely to be found in them in Acceptations as foreign to one another, as to the modern Meaning of the Word *ἐκείνη*; so 'tis impossible, as *Evagrius* well observes in his Book entitul'd, *Monachicus*, to define the Divine Essence, which is so absolutely uncompounded as to surmount all the Rules of Logical Definition; or the Holy Trinity, which lies as far beyond the Doctrine of the Predicables.

IN this Synod *Athanasius* took Occasion to recite an excellent Apology which he had formerly compos'd, for his withdrawing from * a Storm of Persecution; wherein with great Elegancy and Smartness he exposes the Absurdity and Prophaneness of those Reproaches, with which the persecuting *Arians* loaded the flying and absconding Catholics. He tells them, ' That if there be any Sin in avoiding Persecution, there is a great deal more in using it; that the one is to ' prevent Murder, the other is to commit it; that there cannot be a ' greater Instance of Infatuation and Stupidity than to hope to ' suppress the Scandal and Infamy of any base and barbarous Practices, ' by dispersing the Parties abus'd, and consequently their Complaints ' along with them; that the Caution and Self-Preservation, which they ' call'd Cowardice, was the Wisdom of the Serpent, injoin'd in Scripture, and practis'd by *Jacob*, *Moses*, *David*, *Elias*, by the Sons of ' the Prophets whom *Obadiab* conceal'd, by the Apostles, particularly ' by St. *Paul* at *Damascus*, and several times by our Blessed Saviour; ' who suffer'd not himself to be apprehended till his Hour was come; ' and in Conformity to whose Example the Martyrs of old avoided ' the Fury of their Persecutors; till such time as it pleas'd God to ' deliver them into their Hands, and then they chearfully met and

† A gross Mistake. See it clearly detected by the learned *Valesius* in his Note upon ἐκ τῆς τοῦ δεινῆς ἐπαγγελίας. *Socr. L. 3. c. 7.*

* When he escap'd *Syrannus's* Hands.

‘ embrac’d the Dispensation ; that if he that kill’d his Neighbour
 ‘ unawares was permitted under the *Jewish* Oeconomy to fly to a
 ‘ City of Refuge, much more may the true *Christian* endeavour his
 ‘ Escape from the Persecutors of a righteous Cause, having indeed
 ‘ receiv’d an exprefs Command from his great Master himself, when
 ‘ he is persecuted in one City to flee to another.’

AFTER the Dissolution of the Synod at *Alexandria*, *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ* went to *Antioch*, where he found the Separation, instead of being in any measure compos’d, only more settled and confirm’d by the Ordination of *Paulinus*. * This very much disturb’d him, but still he carry’d fair to *Lucifer*, and having promis’d, that all their Differences should be Synodically adjust’d, he left them: Nor did he afterwards forget to contribute his utmost Endeavours towards a Reconciliation ; but (as it prov’d in the Event) to no Purpose. All the Churches in the City were in the Hands of *Euzoius*, except one little Chapel, which he let *Paulinus* make Use of, out
S. L. 5. c. 13. of the Respect he bore to his Person, [not only in
 Regard to his great Age, but for his good Nature and Sanctity of Life.] And *Meletius* had his Congregations without the City Gates. *Lucifer* no sooner understood that *Eusebius* excepted against his Ordination of *Paulinus*, but it made him so angry, that he renounc’d Communion with *Eusebius*, and fell to finding Fault with the *Alexandrian* Synod, † though he could not recede from them, because he had promis’d his Assent by his Deacon ; set up § a new Schismatical Faction and Party, known to this Day by the Name of *Luciferians* ; and retir’d to his Bishoprick in *Sardinia*. But *Eusebius* was better employ’d in travelling over the Oriental Provinces, where he establish’d the People in their most holy Faith ; and from thence,

* That which *Sozomen* says he excepted against in *Paulinus*’s Ordination, was its wanting, or being opposite to *πάντων συναίρεσις* ; by which Phrase I take him principally to mean the Consent of *Meletius* and the Suffrages of his Catholick Communicants. See the *Historical Collections* as last referr’d to.

† That which was held in the Year 362. The Thing which displeased him was their having decreed that *Arians* repenting and renouncing their Heresy, should be receiv’d by the Church, and admitted to Communion. To which Determination and Practice he became so furious an Ad-

versary, that he would not communicate with even those Catholick Bishops that receiv’d them.

§ *Theodoret* says new Doctrines too, and that from these begun the Name of *Luciferians*. This Historian does not distinctly explain himself. And the Reader may see *Lucifer* and his Adherents sufficiently clear’d from the Imputation of any other Heresy in *Natalis Alex. H. E. Secul. 4. c. 111. artic. 13.* unless his Judgment and Declaration, that *Arians* were not upon any Terms to be reconcil’d to the Church, nor those to be communicated with who receiv’d them.

upon the same Errand, he pass'd into *Illyricum*, and so into *Italy*: Where, and in *France*, *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers*, upon his Return out of Banishment, had done the good Work to his Hands. This *Hilary* was the Author of many excellent Books against the *Arians*.

THE *Macedonians* were as busy at calling Synods, [condemning the *Acacians* and the *Ariminum* Confession,] and confirming their *Seleucian* Resolves over and over. And when the Question was put to them * Why they had not broke off Communion with the *Acacians* before, if they really dissented from them in Matters of Faith? *Sophronius* answer'd in their Behalf, That the Western Churches having fallen into the Error of *Consubstantiality*, and so confounding the two Persons of the Father and the Son; and *Aetius*, on the other Hand, into that of *Diffimilitude*, which absolutely divided the one from the other, they had concluded the middle Path to be the safest, and asserted, that the Son was like unto the Father in Substance. † But what is this to the Purpose? Did not *Acacius* condemn *Aetius* too? And that was the Question, why they separated so late from *Acacius*. Besides that their Doctrine of *Similitude in Substance* must have been but a very new one, if, as themselves affirm'd, it was neither that of the *Nicene* Fathers, who declar'd the Son was of the same Substance with the Father, nor yet that of the *Arians*, who maintain'd he was a Creature.

[It was not long ere the Emperor withdrew his good Graces yet more openly and generally from the *Christians*. For, though (besides the Favours shew'd them for his own Ends) he forbid his Heathen Subjects to offer any Injury or Affront to the *Christians*, or compel them to Sacrifice; yet, at the same Time, he explain'd himself by resuming from the Clergy, and even from the Deaconesses, the Virgins and Widows, whatever Exemptions, Privileges, Donations and Benefactions, not only *Constantius*, but his Father, had vouchsaf'd them; he rifled the Churches too of their Plate, rich Utensils and Ornaments, and impos'd it upon all those who had been concern'd in pulling down the Heathen

* See *Valesius's* 3d and 4th Note upon *Socr. B. 3. c. 10.* Annotator puts upon that Passage, *ὅτι τὸ μέντοι Ἀέτιον, &c.* (*Socr. L. 3. c. 10.*)

† This is the Sense which the learned and which seems to be the right.

Temples, to rebuild them, or be at the Expence of it ; and because they could neither do this nor that, and withal to extort Discoveries, where consecrated Treasure was conceal'd, many both of the Clergy and Laity were put to the Torture, and committed to Prison.] He commanded *Eleusius* the late usurping heterodox Bishop of *Cyzicus* to rebuild at his own Charge, and in two Months time, a *Novatian* Church which * he had pull'd down there : He was (in a word) entirely devoted to the Restitution of Heathenism, and sacrific'd, publickly, with his own Hands to the *Genius* of *Constantinople*. When *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, who had out-liv'd his Sight, was conducted to him, and had very sharply upbraided him with his Apostacy and Atheism, the Emperor call'd him an old blind Fellow ; and told him his *Galilean* God would never let him see : Upon this *Maris*, with more Zeal than before, return'd his Thanks to God, that he had
been pleas'd to put it out of his Power to behold so mon-

S. L. 5. c. 4. *strous a Blasphemer* ; [by which Answer the Emperor would not seem to be provok'd, but went off silent, and to Appearance unconcern'd ; for observing that *Dioclesian's* Severity had been lost upon the *Christians*, our mighty Philosopher did not give them so much Disturbance this way, as by remote and undermining Methods.] He excluded them from all liberal Education ;

S. L. 5. c. 18. [from the common Privileges of ordinary Freemen ;] from the Office of guarding his Person ; and from

T. L. 3. c. 8. being capable of any Prefecture [or bearing Arms for him ;] and the wise Reason he gave for it was, that the *Christian* Religion forbids the Use of the Sword for the Execution of Justice. In these discriminating Times, though there were too many that easily resign'd to their worldly Convenience and Interest, particularly *Ecebolius*, a Sophist at *Constantinople*, who under *Constantius* had been zealous in his Professions of *Christianity*, and now under *Julian* was as bustling a Heathen, and afterwards such a broken-hearted Penitent, that he would throw himself down and rowl at the Church-Porch, and desire those that came, to tread upon him as upon Salt that had lost its Savour ; yet there were not a few noble Martyrs and Confessors, who approv'd their firm Fidelity and flaming Love to the great Captain of their Salvation, and readily submitted and expos'd themselves to all imaginable Difficulties and

* *Eleusius*, not (as in the Text) *Euzoius*. See *Vales.* on *Socr. B. 3. c. 11.*

Dangers for his sake; and among these were the succeeding Emperors, *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*. [*Valentinian*, who was Colonel of the Life-Guards, * going before the Emperor according to the Duty of his Place, happen'd at the Door of the Temple of † Fortune, into which his Majesty was entring, to receive a Drop of the Lustration Water upon his Cloaths; which so incens'd him, that he struck the *Ædituus* who sprinkled it, telling him, *he had made him stink with the Pollution of his Cleanser*, and this so incens'd the Apostate, who was a Witness himself to the Matter, that he banish'd him to a very solitary Castle, where he liv'd till it pleas'd God he came to succeed in the Empire.]

BESIDES the malicious Inhibitions above-mention'd, a heavy Tax or Fine was levy'd upon all Persons that refus'd to sacrifice to the Emperor's Gods, which was to go towards supplying his Occasions in a War he was undertaking against the *Persians*, who had infested the *Roman* Territories in the Time of *Constantius*; and this Expedient brought him in a prodigious Treasure. Thus prompted by their Patron, his heathen Subjects too, particularly the Philosophers (as they call'd themselves) very much molested and insulted the *Christians* [and took the Liberty of using *T. L. 3. c. 6.* the utmost Barbarity and Violence towards them;] and at the same Time triumphantly introduc'd new Sacrifices and Ceremonies more inhuman and horrid than they had even us'd heretofore.

AND now *Athanasius* was again most unjustly accus'd of State-Crimes, [or rather, according to § *S. L. 5. c. 15.* *Sozomen*, had irritated the Emperor to such a Degree, by his Activity and Boldness in the Discharge of his Office, and his proselyting so many Heathens to *Christianity*; [especially upon the Alarm of a Representation *T. L. 3. c. 9.* from some Informants, that if *Athanasius* were suffer'd to stay much longer there, he would bring over to his Religion all the *Alexandrians*; that he invented a Pretence to quarrel with him,

* Χιλίαρχος τῶν περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τεταγμένων λογχοφόρων.

† Τῆς τύχης; *Valsius* renders it *genii publici*.

§ Possibly the same Thing which *Sozomen*

expresses more fully, *Socrates* might have meant in those Words ὡς λυμαίνετο τὸ πᾶν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν αἰγυπτον, the Word λυμαίνεω signifying *vestare* in a metaphorical Sense, (*i. e. vitare*) as well as in the proper.

and have him sent off again, and the Charge was this, *That he had presum'd to take Possession of his Church, whereas, forsooth ! all the Favour that had been meant him or any other of the Bishops Constantius had banish'd, was only, that they should return home;*] and Orders were sent to the Prefect of *Egypt* to proceed against him, *T. L. 3. c. 9.* [nay to take away his Life,] which when he understood, he left his Friends with this encouraging Assurance, *That it was but a little showry Cloud, and would soon fly over ;* and so takes Boat for * another Part of *Egypt* : But is almost overtaken by the Emperor's Officers ; upon which, *S. L. 4. c. 10.* [as it was suggested to him by a Divine Revelation,] he order'd the Rowers to tack about, and make up as fast as they could towards his Pursuers. When they were got up to them, the Officers ask'd them, Whether they had seen *Athanasius*; to which they reply'd, *That he was a very little way off, and if they ply'd the Oar briskly, they would soon take him.* And so *Athanasius* got back to *Alexandria*, where he lay conceal'd till the Persecution expir'd.]

[THE People of *Cyzicus*, about this Time, dispatch'd their Deputies to the Emperor to confer with him, and consult his Pleasure, as upon other Affairs, so about rebuilding the demolish'd Temples. He extoll'd their Purpose, supply'd them with all Materials and Necessaries, expell'd *Eleusus*, for the Affronts he had put upon their Worship, particularly as having had a chief Hand in that Grievance which had occasion'd the Article we specify'd of their Message ; also † for making Converts, and building religious Houses ; and forbid all *Christian* Strangers that would visit or converse with him, to set their Foot within the City, pretending to be apprehensive that they would combine with the *Christians* there, to raise seditious Commotions for the sake of their Religion, and that some others of the Inhabitants, whose Affection to the Court was not unquestionable, might join them. And that was his way, not to use Compulsion, where he knew the attempting it would prove fruitless ; no, nor so much as to forbid their publick Devotions, § which, he was sensible, would not have restrain'd them from them, but to counterfeit a Jealousy of the Clergy's Intentions and Influence in relation to himself ; and so to

* Εἰς τὴν αἰγυπτον. Thebais.

† Πέδοντα ἢ πατείων ἀμελεῖν.

| § Ἡδε γὰρ ὡς ἐκ ἀνάγκη π. τὲ κατ' ὁρθεωθεῖν
τὰ περὶ αἰρέσεως ἐκκλίνας εἰς σύστασιν δεδομένα.

send

send them away from the Churches, and thereby he propos'd not only to deprive their Flocks for the present, of their Sacraments, &c. but by a continual Interruption and Disuse of them, at length to abolish, if it were possible, the very Name and Remembrance of their Religion. Pursuant to these Politicks, in the Case of *Titus*, Bishop of *Bosra*, he declar'd, That if any Tumult or Insurrection should happen there, he would lay all the Blame of it upon him and his Clergy: This occasion'd an Apology from that Bishop to his Majesty, wherein he assures him, *That tho' the Christians of Bosra were as numerous as the Heathens, yet, as he always had inculcated Obedience and Loyalty into them, so he was confident they would always approve themselves good Subjects*; and this Period, the Emperor tells the People of *Bosra* in his Epistle to them, is a heavy Charge against them, *as if they would all shew themselves Rebels and Villains, if it were not for Titus's Exhortations and Persuasions*. In a Word, he so instigated the People, that after they had declar'd the Bishop a publick Enemy, by the Voice of the Cryer, they expell'd him the Town.]

THE Prefects of the Provinces every where oppress'd and worry'd the Christians, gratifying their Avarice by very illegal Exactions, and their Malice and Cruelty by Corporal Punishments and Executions, of which the Christians complaining to the Emperor, he told them, They stood oblig'd by a Law of their God, to take all Injuries and Insults in good part; and it must be confess'd this witty Answer very well suited the Pedantry of a Man, who was not asham'd, under the Notion of Confutation and Argument, to publish such fulsom and childish Rhapsodies of Punns and Quibbles, and little Cavils against the Christian Religion; [Nor did he only suffer and encourage these Things, *T. L. 3. c. 6.* but took Care himself to fill all Offices of Authority, whether Civil or Military, with the worst and the cruelest of Men.] At *Merus* in *Phrygia*, *Macedonius*, *Theodulus*, and *Tatian*, in the Night burst into a Temple, which by the Prefect's Order had been but lately refitted for its former Use, and broke the Images; and when the Prefect's Indignation was now ready to light upon several Persons that were unconcern'd, the three Authors of the Provocation discover'd themselves, and being commanded to expiate this Offence by sacrificing, they rather chose to undergo the most dreadful Tortures, and at length to expire upon a Grid-iron, after they had advis'd the Prefect *to turn them upon the other Side, for*

fear they should not be broil'd enough for his Palate.
S.L. 5. c. 11, &c. [At *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, one *Busiris*, * an *Encratite*, who had been tiezing and mortifying the Heathens, was by the Prefect's Order brought to the Rack, and when his Arms were to be stretch'd up, and the Pincers apply'd to his Sides, he told him, *He might save the Torturers the Trouble of using the Engine, for he would hold up his Arms, and not at all hinder them, tho' they were pleas'd to work ever so long.* And God so strengthen'd him that he made his Words good, to the great Astonishment of the Prefect, who nevertheless laid him in Chains; but soon after, upon the Death of *Julian*, he was set at liberty, liv'd to the Reign of *Theodosius*, and became a sound Member of the Catholick Church.] At the same time *Eupsychius* of *Cæsarea*, a Man of Quality, lost his Life, almost as soon as his Nuptials had been celebrated, for having a Hand in the demolishing the Temple of the *Cæsarean* Tutelar, which gave so great Offence, that whoever had any Part in it, was condemn'd either to Death or Banishment. *Basil*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Ancyra*, had, in the Time of *Constantius*, maintain'd very vigorously the Catholick Faith against the *Arians*, and been upon that Account suspended from his Office by the *Eudoxians*. When *Julian* had obtain'd the Empire, he went a Progress, to arm and fortify the Christians against all Temptations that might seduce them to Idolatry and Apostacy. In the Prosecution of this good Work, he happen'd to come to a Place where the Infidels were sacrificing; and the Sight so affected him, that he could not forbear groaning aloud; and made it his Prayer to God, *That no Christian might ever be guilty of such gross Impiety and fulsom Folly*: Upon which he was seiz'd, brought before the Prefect, inhumanly tortur'd, and then dispatch'd out of this miserable World to the eternal Glory of another. Thus were these holy Men sacrific'd to the wanton Malice and Rage of a tumultuous Rabble; and not only these, but many others, without any Warrant or Direction from the Emperor; Who tho' in Truth he did much more than connive at these Things, and sometimes commanded them, yet, on the other hand, was unwilling to incur the Character of a Tyrant; and besides he took a Pride and Pleasure in aiming and studying to effect his Purpose by Stratagems and

* These *Encratites* you have an Account of in *Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Book 4.* at the End. *Ireneus*, and other Ancients, might be quoted. They seem to have been a well-meaning mistaken Sect.

Artifices ; and particularly by introducing an apish Mimickry of the Manners and Customs of the Christians, and the Polity of the Church. He propos'd that the Temples should have the same Utensils and Ornaments with the Churches ; * that the *Gentile* Priests should be distinguish'd into several Orders and Classes ; then he was for appointing Preachers and Lecturers, and set Times of Devotion ; and meditated the founding of Heathen Monastick Societies, and the Building of Hospitals and Houses for the Entertainment of Strangers, and was for enjoining of Penances, and establishing a Correspondence by communicatory Letters, the same with that of the Bishops. In his Epistle to *Arsacius*, High Priest of *Galatia*, ' he presses an Imitation of the Christians, in their ' Humanity to Strangers, the Solemnity of their Burials, and the ' Decency of their Behaviour ; he requires him to depose such of ' his Brother-Priests, who have either Christian Wife, Child, or ' Servant ; to caution them all against coming near the Theatre or ' the Tavern, †† or following any base dishonourable Occupations ' or Courses, to encourage those that comported themselves accord- ' ing to these Rules, and turn out those who did not ; to erect ' Houses for the Reception of Strangers, as well Christian as Hea- ' then, for which, as also for other Services and Benevolences, ' answerable to those of the Christians, he tells him he had assign'd ' an annual Revenue ; protesting he is asham'd, as not to see such ' a thing as an indigent *Jew*, so, on the other hand, that the ' *Galileans* should maintain so many poor, and some of those many ' too even Worshippers of the Gods ; he tells him, that he should ' put the People upon contributing liberally to these Ends and ' Offices, and upon dedicating their first Fruits, that he should not ' frequently visit the Magistrates and Military Officers, § but chiefly ' transact and confer with them by Letters ; and when they made ' their Entry into a City, the Priests, instead of going out to meet ' them, should expect them within the Temple-door ; into which ' they should no sooner enter, but the Ministers of their Pomp, that ' go every where else before them, were to draw off ; *For* (says ' he) *you are, by Divine Designation, Supreme within those Walls,* ' *and those Secular Ministers no more than private Men.*' But besides this Method of a fantastical Imitation, he had other Devices and

* ——— Βήμασι τε καὶ περιδείαις ———

† Τέχνης πρὸς καὶ ἐργασίας ἀσχέτης καὶ ἐπονομασίας περιουσίας.

†† Τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπίστελλε ; which may also be render'd, *But send your Com-
mands to them in Writing.*

T.L. 3. c. 15. Schemes to perplex and ensnare his Christian Subjects [He caus'd to be polluted, by his detestable Lustrations, the Wells and Fountains at *Antioch*, both within and without the City, nay, and every thing too that came into the Market. This was very offensive and shocking to the Christians, but they had an Apostolick Rule to go by, *Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles, that eat, asking no Question for Conscience sake*, and they did accordingly. Two of them, *Juveninus* and * *Maximus*, † Officers of Figure in the Emperor's Guards, happen'd upon Occasion of an Entertainment, to express a great deal of Concern at the gross Offensiveness of these Prophanations, and among other Things letting fall those Words of the Three Children, § *Thou hast deliver'd us into the Hands of most hateful Forsakers of God; and to an unjust King, and the most wicked in all the World;* were inform'd against, and sent for by the Emperor, who put the Question to them, what they had said. Their Answer, dictated by a generous and heroick Zeal, was this: *We have been so happy, Sir, as to be educated in the true Religion; we have been us'd with Pleasure to pay an entire Obedience to such good Laws and Constitutions as your Predecessors Constantine and his Sons establish'd; and therefore with so much the more Sorrow and Anguish of Mind, we behold your Majesty dispensing diabolical Abominations every where, and scattering them even upon our Victuals and Drink. Upon this Subject we have been bewailing our selves in private, and at these Measures, which are the only Grievance of your Reign, we cannot but shew our selves extremely troubled in your Presence.* This Ingenuity the Emperor call'd the highest Degree of Abusiveness and Insolence, and laying the Charge wholly there, (for he took Care to have it publicly reported, that he did not proceed against them on Account of their Religion) he condemn'd them to suffer the most formidable Tortures, and then to Death. The Christians of *Antioch* interr'd them in a very sumptuous Tomb, and to this Day observe an anniversary Festival in Honour of them.] He put down the Standard of the Cross which *Constantine* had establish'd; and took care to have always some Heathen God or other, as it were by way of Symbol or Allusion, coupled with him in his publick Pictures and Statues

* Or *Maximin*.

† Δυο δὲ τινες ἐν στρατῷ διαπρίποντες. ἀσπιδηφόροι γὰρ ὄντων καὶ βασιλέως πεζίτεροι.
See *Vales.* upon *Theod. B. 3. c. 15. n. 2.*

§ In the Apocryphal Song, ver. 9.

to the End that the Christians by paying the customary Homage to the one, might be seduc'd, or at least understood to worship the other; and thus by blending innocent with impious Ceremonies and Usages, he took Advantage not only of People's Fears, but of their Ignorance and Inconsideration too, and yet all at last came to nothing; as yet farther appear'd in one very remarkable Instance, which was this. When, upon a Time, the Imperial Donative was to be distributed to the Soldiers (on which Ocasion * it had been a Solemnity of ancient Date for the Receivers to burn Incense to the Gods) every Man, as he came up to take his Share, was order'd to throw Frankincense in his Majesty's Presence, into a Fire prepar'd for that Purpose, which not a few absolutely refus'd to do, tho' others, either thro' Avarice or Fear, or else taking it to be no more than an old, idle Foppery, comply'd. Some of these last soon after, at a merry Meeting, drinking a Cup of Charity one to another, and, as the Way is, invoking the Name of Christ over it, one in the Company ask'd them, *what they meant, after they had so lately and solemnly renounc'd him by sprinkling Frankincense at receiving the Donative?* They were no sooner undeceiv'd, but † [they tore the Hair from their Heads] and T. L. 3. c. 17. sprung out of the Place, and run about the Streets, crying out, *They were still, and would ever be Christians, and that whatever Action they had been betray'd into, they were innocent in their Intentions.* Then they went to the Emperor, [told him to his Face, that he had basely abus'd T. L. 3. c. 17. and impos'd upon them,] threw him back his Gold, and desir'd him, to [burn them alive] for the dread- T. L. 3. c. 17. ful Mistake they had made, that as they had been polluted, so they might be purify'd by Fire, [and he should find that they were still Christians, and that they would T. L. 3. c. 17, die so. Thus reproach'd and challeng'd, the meek, 19. good-natur'd Man, as the Infidels represent him, and as he affect'd to appear, could not, in his Anger, refrain from giving Order that they should all be beheaded. As they went to the Place of Execution, they behav'd themselves so courageously and

* Theodorit (L. 3. c. 16.) seems to say the contrary, *περὶ δὲ τῆς αἰνίας* &c. which yet will agree with Sozomen's Account, if we consider that Custom or Ceremony, if any such there was, had undoubtedly been left off under the Reign

of the Christian Emperors; or if we translate Sozomen's Words with Baronius, *perinde quasi olim hoc fuisset apud Romanos decretum.*

† Theodorit says only *οἱ πολλοί*; many or most of them.

cheerfully, that the Multitude of Spectators who follow'd them, were strangely astonish'd at it. When they were come thither, the eldest of them made it his Suit to the Executioner to dispatch the youngest first, apprehending it might possibly somewhat dismay him to see his Fellow-Sufferers die. The Request was granted, the Youth had now put himself in a Posture to receive the Stroke, and the Headsman was waving his Sword to give it; when a Pardon interpos'd, and preserv'd *Romanus*, (that was his Name) very much against his Inclinations, as appears from those Words of his upon the News of it, *Then it seems Romanus is not worthy of a Martyr's Crown*. The Emperor, in Truth, had more Art and Malice than to gratify them so far, and therefore, instead of that Honour, having cashier'd them, he banish'd them into the remotest Parts of the Empire.

PUBLIA, the Deaconess, was admir'd and celebrated for her Piety. She was the Mother of the famous * *John*, who for many Years was first Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*, and tho' unanimously elected, again and again, into † the Apostolick Throne, still avoided and refus'd that high Office and Dignity. She, and a Chorus of consecrated Virgins with her, spent a great Part of their Time in singing Anthems and divine Songs; and when his Majesty had occasion once to pass by that Way, they made Choice of such Psalms, as plentifully expos'd and ridicul'd the Extravagances of Heathenism and Idolatry, singing them with an exalted Voice, and, among the rest, they apply'd very properly to the present Occasion the hundred and fifteenth, from the fourth to the eighth Verse, *Their Idols are Silver and Gold, even the Work of Mens Hands, &c. Let those that make them be like unto them, and also all such as put their Trust in them*. This so disturb'd the Emperor, that he commanded Silence should be kept there whenever he came by that Place; but to so little Purpose, that, § upon his returning, at the Motion of *Publia*, they gave him another Welcome in those Words, *Let God arise, and let his Enemies be scatter'd*. And now his Anger was rais'd so high, that he order'd the Chantress to be brought before him, and then had her beat on the Face, 'till her Cheeks were all

* *Valesius* not improbably conjectures, that this *John* was he whom *Melesius* ordain'd Bishop of *Apamea*, *Theod. L. 5. c. 4.*

† Observe the See of *Antioch* is call'd the *Apostolick See*, as well as that of *Rome*.

§ Or the next Time he went by, *παλιν ἐκείνῃς διόρυτ*.

over stain'd with Blood : Which Efforts of the Tyrant's unmanly Passion, the aged good Woman receiv'd with Pleasure, went home, and, as often as an Opportunity offer'd, entertained him still with the very same Sort of disagreeable Compositions.]

BUT there was nothing perhaps which might have proved of worse Consequence to the *Christian* Religion, than the want of that Education which the Emperor had prohibited; had not the two *Apollinares*, to remedy this Evil, set themselves to teaching *Grammar* and *Rhetorick*; [not to mention *S. L. 5. c. 18.* * the good Services which many other very elegant and polite Men, both Orthodox and *Arians*, and particularly *Basil* and *Gregory* of *Cappadocia*, did of this Kind.] *Apollinaris*, the Father, who was the *Grammarians*, turn'd all the Historical Books of Scripture into Verse, some of one Sort and Measure, some of another; so as to take in all the several Kinds of the *Grecian* Poetry, and the Variety of their Numbers. † The Son, an excellent *Philosopher* and *Rhetorician*, distributed all the New Testament into Dialogues, after the Way of *Plato*. [He was the Author of that excellent Book *Concerning Truth*, writ against *S. L. 5. c. 18.* Heathenism upon occasion of the Emperor's declaring, ἀνέγνω, ἔγνω, κατέγνω, *I have read, understood, and condemn'd*; to which he received this Answer, from the Bishops he troubled with this Jingle of his, *You have read, but not understood; for if you had understood, you would not have condemned.* Yet there are some that ascribe it to the *Cappadocian Basil*. But the Labours of the *Apollinares*, and those other eminent Men embark'd in the same Undertaking, were soon superseded, upon the Death of *Julian*, by a very providential Restitution of the Privilege he had taken away. And, in Truth, notwithstanding the Dangers and Snares which some People have apprehended in the Use of Heathen Authors and profane Learning, it was not only a very safe and innocent Advantage which was then restor'd, as appears from its not being prohibited either by our Saviour or his Apostles, from the Passages quoted by *St. Paul* out of *Epimenides*, *Aratus*, and *Euripides*, and from the Practice of the antient Fathers, who grew old in these Exercises; but a very commodious and beneficial one, partly as it exhibits

* So I understand ἐλύπει δ ———— ἑασιλείας τε καὶ Γρηγόριου, &c.

† *Sozomen* (*L. 5. c. 18.*) speaks of but one *Apollinaris*, and makes the Poet and the Philosopher the same.

those general Principles of natural Religion to us, the Force and Extent of which, the Apostle has taught us in the first Chapter of his Epistle to the *Romans*, v. 18, 19, 20, 21; partly, because it is agreeable to the Rule of trying all Things, in order to the holding fast that which is good; and again, because it qualifies us, no less than it has done our Forefathers, to engage the Enemies of the *Christian* Religion at their own Weapons, to turn their own Artillery upon them, especially their Methods of Argumentation, and their Elegance of Expression, * which we are not to look for in Holy Scripture, † that being intended only for a plain and perfect Rule of Faith and Manners; and lastly, to expose the romantick and fabulous Superstition of the Heathens; which *Socrates*, the best of their Philosophers, was neither afraid to do, nor to die for, so that it is no Wonder these Considerations should induce the Apostate to pass his Prohibition.

BEING arriv'd at *Antioch*, upon his March against the *Persians*, to give the People a Taste of his Affectation and
S. L. 5. c. 19. Vanity, [upon their Complaint that the Price of Commodities among them increas'd with the Plenty,] he lowered the Market to such an excessive Degree, that no Corn was brought thither. And this was such a Provocation to the *Antiochians*, naturally a very censorious and sarcastick People, that they could not forbear satirizing upon his Beard and his Coin. At first, this Affront enraged the Emperor, and put him upon Thoughts of making himself Satisfaction by his Power; but afterwards, upon maturer Consideration, he thought it better to retaliate in kind, and accordingly wrote that Invective which he has entitl'd, *The Antiochian, or the Beard-bater*; [though
T. L. 3. c. 28. withal he was engaged in that Performance by ano-

* Here our Author very much misrepresents the Sacred Oracles, whose Proprieties and Elegances of Learning shine very Bright and Full, as has been shewn over and over by Criticks of the best Taste; particularly lately by the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Blackwall*, in his *Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated*; or, *An Essay humbly offer'd towards proving the Purity, Propriety, and true Eloquence of the Writers of the New Testament*; and, I hope, in some Measure in so much of the *Bibliotheca Biblica*, as has been hitherto publish'd; in the Continuation

of which Work, with God's Blessing, more and more will appear, to this Purpose. As for the Scriptural Methods of Argumentation, tho' they are not confin'd to Logical Moods and Figures, yet as they are, they are very Clear to every Honest and Inquisitive Judgment, and the Ratiocination very easily to be reduc'd to Syllogistical Form.

† Πολλὴν μὲν εὐλόγησαν καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄρθον τοῖς ἀνεγαπαῖς ἐπιθέασιν (sc. αὐτὸν πνεύσαι γραφαί) πρὶν τὴν διουσιαν τοῖς ἀποδαί. is παρέχουσιν.

ther Inducement, which was, his Hatred to the *Christians* of that Place, who, he knew, abhorr'd him to the very Soul ; as afterwards they discover'd sufficiently by their publick Feastings, and Dancings, and Derisions of his Superstition, and all other Expressions of Joy and Triumph, not only in the Churches and consecrated Places, but even in the very Theatres, when they heard he was dead ;] as, in Truth, he had given them sufficient Provocation ; for, he had not only open'd the Heathen Temples among them, but [as he had sent, when he first thought upon this Expedition, his good Friends hither and thither, to all the Oracles in the Empire, to consult them upon that Enterprize,] here he himself made his Application to that of *Apollo Daphnæus*. But the Devil, tho' very earnestly courted and urged, had not either the Power, or at least the Courage, to return any other Answer, [than that the Carcasses of certain People that were bury'd there kept him from speaking,] till the Bones of the Martyr *Babylas*, and those * Youths who suffer'd with him, which, it seems, were deposited [hard-by in a Church built by *Gallus* for that Purpose, and had silenced the evil Spirit from the Time they had been in his Neighbourhood,] were remov'd by the Emperor's Order, [who easily took the Hint.] And they were no sooner displaced, but the *Christians*, young and old, came and carry'd them in Procession out of *Daphne* into the Town, dancing and † singing Psalms, especially such as expos'd the Heathen Deities, and lash'd the Idolatry and Folly of their Worshipers ; [and still with this *Chorus* at the End of them, *Confounded be all they that serve graven Images, that boast themselves of Idols.*] Which so exasperated the Emperor, that had his *Persian* Expedition allow'd him Time enough, he would have set upon them with all the Fury of a *Dioclesian*. However, he left his Commands with *Salust*, the *Præfectus-Prætorio*, [who would much rather have been excus'd the Office,] to punish severely those who had been the most active in this unpardonable Solemnity. Whereupon several Persons

* Their Names in the *Roman Martyrology* are *Urbanus*, *Pridilianus*, and *Epolonius* ; and they are said to have been his Scholars in *Christianity*.

† Alledging for their Reason, that it was (says *Sozomen*, *L. 5. c. 20.*) to entertain and refresh themselves at the Work they were then upon.

were imprison'd, and one *Theodorus*, a young Man, was put to the Torture, [lash'd with Thongs,] and so torne and mangled all over his Body, that it was thought impossible for him to recover; and when [these Violences were so far from working any Change in him, that

T. L. 3. c. 11. he was all the while, [even for a whole Day together,] singing the same Divine Song he had sung the Day before,] he was dismiss'd; after which it pleased God that he liv'd to a great Age, and *Ruffinus* in his *Ecclesiastical History* says; that when he saw him many Years after, he ask'd him whether the Pain he felt was not excessive, and receiv'd this Answer from him, *That he found it at first very inconsiderable, and that a Youth stood by him, wiped the Sweat from his Body, [flung cold Water upon him,] and administer'd such Encouragement, and Comfort, and Pleasure to him, as soon*

S. L. 5. c. 20. rendered him insensible of any Pain; [and that afterwards he should have been glad the Executioners had still followed their Business, when, upon their desisting, the propitious Angel left him.] [Thus was this holy

T. L. 3. c. 11. Confessor wonderfully supported under the fiery

S. L. 5. c. 20, 21. Trial, so much to the Astonishment of the Prefect, that he went to the Emperor, and told him, *That if his Majesty pursued this Method, he would render his own Worship contemptible, and effectually recommend Christianity*; and the Emperor was so sensible of the Truth of what he said, that he order'd him to discharge all the *Christians* he had taken into Custody *.]

SOON after, † the Roof of *Apollo's* Temple in *Daphne*, and his Idol under it, were destroy'd by Fire from Heaven; tho' the Heathens pretended it was burnt by the *Christians*; but

T. L. 3. c. 11. very falsly: For the Priest [and the *Æditui*,] when even try'd and provok'd by Imprisonment and Tortures, could not accuse any one single *Christian*;

T. L. 3. c. 11. [on the contrary, the *Æditui* affirm'd very resolutely, that the Fire begun at the Top of the Building; and there came several Witnesses from the adjacent Villages, who attested that they saw the Lightning fall upon it from Heaven.]

* An Admonition to the same Effect was given before the seizing of *Theodorus*, but the Emperor would not then hearken to it. *T. L. 3. c. 11.*

† The whole Edifice, according to *Theodoret*, *L. 3. c. 11.*

However,

However, this flagrant Manifestation of Divine Wrath only harden'd the wicked Emperor into so mad a Presumption as that of making Reprisals; for receiving Advice that certain Churches, in Honour of some of the Martyrs, were either built or building near the Temple of *Apollo Didymæus* at *Miletus*, he dispatch'd an Order for the burning down of those that were already roofed, and had Communion-Tables in them, and for tearing up the very Foundations of such as were not finish'd.

ANOTHER Assault he made upon the Statue of our Lord at *Cæsarea Philippi*, (mention'd in *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History* * l. 7.) which he pull'd down; and had no sooner put up one of himself in the Place of it, but a Stream of Fire darting from Heaven upon the Breast of the Image, split it asunder, struck off the Head, and beat down the Body with such Violence, that it lodg'd the upper Part of it fast in the Ground. And there to this Day it remains in that Position, with the sooty Tokens of Lightning still upon it. The Image he displac'd, the Heathens dragg'd about the Streets, and broke in Pieces; which the *Christians* gather'd up, and join'd them together, and it is to be seen at this Day in the Church of *Cæsarea*.

WHAT, I remember, the Historian aforesaid tells us of the fanatical Power of a Plant that grew at the *Base* of this Image, gives me an Opportunity here to mention the famous Fountain at a little Distance from *Emmaus*, now a City, and called *Nicopolis*, in the Place where our Saviour, walking with the two Disciples, made as if he would have gone further. There goes a Tradition among the People of the Neighbourhood, that he wash'd his Feet in this Fountain, and that thence it deriv'd the Virtue which it still retains of healing all Distempers, both in Man and Beast. The Tree *Panea*, at the Gate of *Hermopolis*, produces the same surprizing Effects; whether a Sprig, or some of the Bark, or only a Leaf be made use of. When *Joseph* fled with the blessed Infant and his Mother, this Tree, a very tall one, upon their entring into the Town, inclin'd itself, in an Arch, to the Ground, as acknowledging the immediate Presence of God Incarnate, and adoring his Majesty. Possibly too, it might be one of those Trees, to which the Heathens, as it was

* V. *Abridgment of Eusebius*, p. 121.

usual with them, had assign'd Superstitious Ceremonies and Honours; and the *Demon* that was worshipp'd in it, being seiz'd with Terror, couch'd, and fled at the Approach of Him, who came to triumph over the Infernal Powers, and destroy the Kingdom of Darknes. The same Consternation was no more than what the *Egyptian* Deities in general discover'd, every where, upon his Arrival. But to return.]

[THE Emperor was now come to *Beræa*, near *T.L. 3. c. 22.* which Place a certain young Man met him, the Son of the Principal Magistrate of the City, who had been thrust out of Doors, and absolutely discarded by his Father for revolting from Christianity to Gentilism, and came to represent his Case to the Emperor, who promis'd to reconcile his Father to him; in order to which he made an Entertainment for the Magistrates and People of Quality there, and having plac'd the young Man and his Father next him, he took Occasion to let the Father understand, *how much he, for his part, was an Enemy to forcing of tender Consciences, and that as himself allow'd the Father his Liberty, tho' it lay in his Power to make him embrace another Religion when he pleas'd, so he ought to tolerate and indulge his Son.* To this said the Father, with a bold Alacrity; *Does your Majesty mean that detestable, execrated Villain, who has forsaken the Truth, and prefer'd a Lye before it? Hold! Friend,* said the Emperor, with a seeming Lenity and Composedness, *do not rail however;* and then turning to the Youth he told him, *Since his Father had renounc'd all Relation to him, he would take Care of him.* So little Influence generally had all his Malice and Power upon good Men.

AND here, by the way, before we attend our Emperor further on his Way to *Persia*, we are to take notice of another of his Stratagems, by which he propos'd not only to afflict and molest the Christians, but to bring into general Vogue that which he was strangely fond of, and to which he found few Persons so much addicted as himself, the Use of bloody Sacrifices.

S.L. 5. c. 22. [He discover'd a mighty Favour for the *Jews*, requiring them, by his Letters, to offer up their Prayers for him and his Empire;] He sent for

S.L. 5. c. 22. [the principal Men amongst them,] before he set out upon his *Persian* Expedition, and ask'd them why

why they did not offer the Sacrifices their Law requir'd? [hoping by Degrees to seduce them to his own.] They answer'd, That they could not lawfully do it any where but at *Jerusalem*. Then the Emperor order'd, that *Solomon's* Temple should be rebuilt [at the Publick Charge,] and this great Fa- your transported the *Jews* into very high Insolences and big Menaces against the *Christians*. When all the Materials were now ready, which the Labour, Liberality, and Zeal, both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, Men and Women, the Emperor himself contributing very largely, soon provided and laid in Order, *Cyril* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, assur'd a great Number of People about him, that now they should see literally accomplish'd that Prophecy of *Christ* and *Daniel*, [which the Emperor propos'd to defeat and confute,] that one Stone should not be left upon another. [Accordingly, after all their Lime and Mortar had been blown away and scatter'd at a great Distance round, by violent and sudden Tempests and Hurricanes, a dreadful Earthquake, the next Night, threw up all the Stones of the old Foundation of the Temple, and scatter'd them abroad, with all the Walls and Buildings that stood near, [destroying, bruising, and maiming, not only the *Jews*, whose Part in the Work, but whose Inclinations and Curiosity led them thither.] This quickly brought Multitudes of Spectators from every Quarter, before whose Eyes, [when there were some who had the Hardiness to enter again upon the same Undertaking,] Fire fell * from Heaven, [kill'd several of the † Workmen] and consum'd all their Tools, [(the coarsest whereof, as the Spades, &c. 'tis said, were made of Silver)] feeding upon them a whole Day together. And the next Night [a large Company of the Artificers and Labourers, who had escap'd that avenging Flame, were bury'd in their Sleep under the Ruins of a Portico,

* *Sozomen* (L. 5. c. 22.) tells us, It burst out of the Ground, where the Foundations were to have been laid; adding immediately, That the Relators differ'd in this, and only in this Circumstance, for that according to the Account of others,

the Flame met the *Jews* as they were crowding and forcing their Way into the Ruins of the old Temple.

† I understand by *πολλὰς*, the Workmen, or these at least principally.

where

where they had taken up their Lodgings. The same Night, and the next Day, a shining Cross display'd it self in the Sky ; and] there blaz'd * bright Refulgencies, in that Figure, upon the Garments of all the *Jews*, which they were not able any way to wash or rub off. And tho' these amazing Prodigies struck those

People with Terror, and scar'd them into a Confession of Christ's Divinity, and [effectually proselytized some of them to the Faith,] yet generally

were their Eyes so blinded with Prejudices, and their Hearts so harden'd, that they could not repent and be con-

verted ; [no, nor so much affected by these frightful Evidences of God's Indignation as the very

Heathens themselves.] The Truth of this Relation is universally known and acknowledg'd ; it has

the living Testimony of those who receiv'd it from the Mouths of Eye-witnesses, and not only the Persons disappointed, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, vouch the Truth of it, but also the remaining Monuments, Footsteps of the Truth of the Preparations and Advances that were made towards the Work.

S. L. 6. c. 1. THE Emperor [having pass'd the *Euphrates*, and detach'd a Body of Twenty Thousand Men to the Banks of the *Tigris*, to cover the Country thereabouts, and lie in a Readiness to move as he should have occasion for them, sent a Letter to *Arfaces* King of *Armenia*, an Ally of *Rome*, requiring him, in very imperious Language, to joyn him upon the Frontiers of *Persia*. This Letter was stuff'd with Ostentation and Blasphemy, and not only reflected upon his Predecessor *Constantius*, but threaten'd *Arfaces*, in very high Terms, if he did not immediately obey his Commands, and, to insult him for his being a Christian, (which, to be sure, he would not forget) he advis'd him not to depend upon his God.] And now he enters

Persia, and having ravag'd and wasted a large Tract of Land behind him, [without considering how his Army should subsist when he return'd, he came to *Ctesiphon*, the Residence of the Kings, and invested it,]

* They carry'd a dark or black Appearance, according to *Theodorit*. Dr. Cave reconciles the Historians in this Circumstance, *The Cloaths of all the Jews* (says he) had black Crosses, with Stars between them, impress'd upon them. *Life of St. Cyril*, p. 353.

and reduc'd the King of *Persia* to such Extremities, that, as he had before sent his Envoys to treat with him about Peace, so now he repeated his most earnest Applications, and offer'd him Part of his Dominions, if he would leave him in quiet Possession of the rest. But *Julian* [having been put to the S. L. 6. c. 1. Trouble of so long a March, and so difficult an Approach, (for he was forc'd, by a Stratagem, to join the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris* before he could bring his Fleet up the latter, which it was not convenient to leave behind) and reposing an entire Faith in the gaudy Predictions of his dear Philosopher *Maximus*, [for which the Christians of *Antioch*, T. L. 3. c. 28. upon his Master's Death, set upon him with that memorable Exclamation, *What's become of Maximus's stupid Prophecies? God and his Christ have prevail'd;*] and being perswaded, upon the Principles of the *Pythagorean* Transmigration, that he was undoubtedly *Alexander* the Great in another Body, and destin'd even to eclipse him, rejected all Proposals, so that the King was under a Necessity of coming to a Battle [and S. L. 6. c. 1. indeed, at that Time, so was *Julian* too, for finding himself shut up between two Rivers, with his Enemy encamp'd before him, and that he and his Army must starve, either staying there, or in their Return thro' a plunder'd and depopulated Country, to put his Soldiers upon a Service as desperate as Extremities could engage them in, he order'd his Admirals to * throw all the Baggage and Provisions over-board; and then embark'd his Men, who nevertheless fell upon the Enemy in the Night, but did no great Execution, finding them upon their Guard. The next Day it came to a Battle, from which the *Romans* reap'd little other Advantage or Honour than that they were able to pass the River, and besiege the City. But the Emperor thinking it adviseable to desist from his intended Enterprize, and return; his Soldiers burnt the Ships, which employ'd many Men to guard and take Care of them, and then they begun their Retreat, with the *Tigris* on their Left; and succeeded in it very well, 'till an old Man, who had, on purpose, expos'd himself to be taken, promis'd to shew them the nearest Way, but conducted them into wild and barren Deserts; and when, after travelling three or four Days with him,

* *Theodorit* (L. 3. c. 25.) seems to say, He had been so negligent at first as not to provide Necessaries for his Army.

they

they examin'd him upon the Torture, confess'd he had impos'd upon them, pursuant to a Resolution he had made to himself of serving his Country whatever he should suffer by it. No sooner were the *Persians* sensible of the Opportunity and Advantage that

was now in their Hands, but they brought the
S. L. 6. c. 1. *Romans* to another Battle, who, [tho' miserably fatigu'd, and almost famish'd,] and tho' the Emperor had disoblig'd them, by not accepting an advantageous Accommodation, stood the Charge, and routed them. But the Emperor, it seems, was very secure and confident of speeding well that Day, for as he was riding without Armour, and animating his

Men, a Spear struck him through the Arm into the
S. L. 6. c. 2. Side, and kill'd him [after he had first receiv'd in his Hand some of his Blood out of the Wound, and scatter'd it up towards Heaven, either * to express his Rage against our Blessed Lord, to whom he imputed his Death, in this manner; and who, say some, presented himself at that Time to his View; or else against the Sun, for siding with the *Persians*, tho' he was the Planet of his Nativity.] Whether

S. L. 6. c. 1. a *Persian* Defenter, [or a *Saracen*, or one of those they call *Ismaelites*, travelling in the Desarts, for Reports have been various;] or, as 'tis generally

S. L. 6. c. 1. believ'd, † one of his own Soldiers [in Revenge of the Difficulties and Dangers into which he had brought the Army;] or, as *Callistus*, who was one of his Guards, and wrote his Life in Heroick Verse, tells us Poetically, I suppose, but yet, perhaps, truly, Some § evil *Dæmon* sent

S. L. 5. c. 1. it; [perhaps one of those treacherous ones, by
and L. 6. c. 1. which, if we believe the Infidels, he was encourag'd to turn Rebel, and usurp the Imperial Character; whether of these it was that put a Period to his Life is uncertain, and the more so, because he fell encompass'd with a mighty Cloud

* That this was certainly his Meaning appears from his own Words at that very Instant, Νενίκηκας γαλιλαίε, O Galilean, thou hast conquer'd. Theod. L. 3. c. 25.

† Libanius, and after him Sozomen, says, One of his Christian Soldiers kill'd him, but Eutropius, who attended Julian in that Expedition, and Festus Rufus, and Aurelius Victor agree, That a Trooper of the Enemy's

gave him his Death's Wound. Valef. in Amm. Marcell. p. 419.

§ Theodoric instead of Socrates, ὡς δαιμόνος has τινα ἐξ ἀσεβῶν (L. 3. c. 25.) which may be taken in an ill Sense, tho' the Learned Valefius seems to take it in a good one, translating it quendam ex Angelorum ordine; and afterwards Theodoric, speaking of the same Agent, expresses himself by ἀγγελος.

of Duft, rais'd in the Heat of the Battle, by a furious Tempest or Hurricane, and this attended with a very dismal Gloom and Darkness in the Face of the Heavens.] Thus, to the great Grief of the Heathens, fell *Julian*, upon the Twenty-sixth Day of *June* in the third Year of his Reign, and the Thirty-first of his Life; a Man whom his vehement Temper made rash and desperate, his Learning vain-glorious, and his awkward Affectation of Lenity and good Nature ridiculous.†

[THAT the Divine Justice was more immediately concern'd in this Event, whatever Hand it was *S. L. 6. c. 2.* wrought by, appears partly from that Series of publick Judgments and Calamities, as particularly a Spring-tide or Inundation at *Alexandria*, which is remember'd there to this Day by an anniversary Office and Solemnity; besides terrible Earthquakes and a Season of excessive Heat and Drowth, and the Consequences of it, Famine and Pestilence, with all which it pleas'd God to vindicate his own Honour, and as it were stigmatize* the Reign of an Apostate; but more eminently from those extraordinary Notifications of his Death, which either went along with it, or a little preceded it. One of his Domesticks, being upon his Journey to *Persia*, was, for want of ordinary Accommodation, oblig'd to take up his Lodging in a Church; where either in a Vision, or a Dream, he saw several Apostles and Prophets met in a Body, who took into Consideration the deplorable State of the Church, and what was to be done for her. At length two of them rising, bad the rest take Courage, and went out with a Resolution in their Faces that portended a sudden Period to *Julian's* Tyranny. The next Night having repos'd himself in the same Place, (for he had suspended his Purpose of going further on this very Account) the former Scene again offer'd it self, and the two that went out the Night before, return'd with the News that *Julian* was cut off. The very same Day *Didymus*, the great Professor of the *Christian* Philosophy at *Alexandria*, having spent himself with excessive Fasting in

† And of whom *Gregory Nazianzen* made so right a Guess when he saw him a young Student at *Athens*: By his dancing Shoulders, his wild and wandring Eye, his shuffling and restless Feet, his continual Grinning and abusive Conversation, the Variety of his Looks, and sudden Alterations of his Countenance, nodding this way, and in the same Moment that way,

and that at nothing, asking impertinent Questions without staying for an Answer; with a great Number more of Indecencies of Behaviour, that plainly betray'd an odd Constitution of Nature. *Bishop Parker's Religion and Loyalty, 1st Part, pag. 100.*

* See *Valesius's* Note upon ἡ βασιλεύς αὐτῶν.

regard of the Church's unhappy Circumstances and the Emperor's Folly and Madneſs, as he ſat in his * Chair, fell aſleep †, or rather into a Trance; during which he beheld white Horſes galloping about in the Sky, and heard thoſe that rid upon them ſay aloud, *Go and tell Dydimus, that Julian is kill'd this very Day, and about this Hour; and let him ſend word of it to Athanaſius; and wake, and eat.* When

the Emperor was preparing to ſet out for this War, T. L. 3. c. 21. he made it his Diverſion, [eſpecially as he was animated and elated with thoſe Encouragements and Affurances of Victory, which the Oracles gave him upon his propoſing that Expedition, to tell the *Chriſtians* he would ſet up the Image of *Venus* in their Churches,] and terrify them with threatening how ſeverely he would uſe them upon his Return; ** and he bad them not depend upon the Carpenter's Son for Protection and Succour: Upon this Occaſion it was, that a certain Eccleſiaſtick deliver'd that

bold and famous Prediction; *The Carpenter's Son*, ſays T. L. 3. c. 24. he, *is making his Coffin for him.* [That eminent †† & c. 26. Aſcetic, *Julian*, in the *Syriack* ſurnamed *Sabba*, as

he was upon his Knees, in the Exerciſe of thoſe extraordinary Devotions, which he thought that unhappy Juncture required, bewailing the Dangers and Oppreſſions wherewith it had pleas'd God to viſit his Church, and earneſtly ſupplicating for a Removal of them, on a ſudden left off weeping, and diſcover'd in his Face a Surprize of inward Joy; which when ſome of his Friends enquir'd the Meaning of, he acquainted them, that Vengeance and Death had overtaken the wild Boar of the Wood, the Enemy of the Lord's Vineyard; and thereupon they all join'd in a Hymn of Praise to their Deliverer. The holy Man was at that Time above twenty § *Stathmi* diſtant from the *Roman* Army; and it afterwards appear'd, that he receiv'd and communicated the News in that very Hour, which was the Emperor's laſt.

AFTER the Apoſtate's Death [there was found (and the Tokens of his Superſtition remain there ſtill) at *Carraë* in a Temple, where he and his Confidants had been performing ſome myſterious Rites,

* Or *Deſk*, ἐν θρόνῳ.

† Καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει γενοαῖς.

** Theodorit (L. 3. c. 23.) puts this upon Libanius.

†† Ὁ τῶν ἀσκητῶν τὴν εἰς ἐν σῶματι μετατρέψας.

§ We learn from *Herodotus* that three *Stathmi* make fifteen *Parasangs* and a half, L. 5. and that a *Parasang* is thirty Furlongs, L. 2.

(which

(which he took such care to keep secret, at least till his Return, that he had the Doors barr'd up, and not only set Seals, but a Watch upon them) the Body of a Girl hung up by the Hair, with the Arms stretch'd out, and the Belly cut open; his learned Fancy having, it seems, dispos'd him to search in the Liver for his Victory over the *Persians*. At *Antioch* was discover'd in the Palace a great Number of dead Mens Heads laid up in Chests; and several of the Wells there were fill'd with Carcases.] But enough of this deluded miserable Man. Let us forget him, and enter upon a Scene of *Christian* Joy and Triumph.

THE Army lamentably distress'd for want of a General, * proclaim'd *Jovian* Emperor the next Day after *Julian's* Decease, a Person of very eminent Extraction and Merit, and an Officer of that great Value, that *Julian* found it necessary to continue him in Commission, when, absolutely refusing to sacrifice, he offer'd to resign it. [He was not at that Time so much as an Officer *T. L. 4. c. 1.* in the Army, but perfectly qualify'd for the highest Command. † His Presence was majestick, his Body robust, and his Soul equal to all the Greatness of a Hero; and of this he had already given those honourable Proofs, which signaliz'd him not only as a Soldier in the Field, but a Champion of the Faith.] At first he declined the Imperial Dignity, and cry'd aloud to the Soldiers, as they were pulling him along to his Investiture, that he was a *Christian* and very unwilling, [or rather *S. L. 6. c. 3.* resolv'd not,] to take upon him the Government of Infidels. Whereupon they immediately declar'd that they were *Christians* too; and so, to the Joy of the *Christian* World, he accepted the Sovereignty, and ** when he had brought the *Persians* to the best Terms he could, which (tho' dishonourable enough, were such as he was oblig'd to accept in an Exigency, when the stupid Conduct of *Julian* had destroy'd the Provisions his own Army should have liv'd upon) he march'd out of *Persia*.

* The Generals οἱ στρατηγοὶ and Prefects (says *Theodorit*, *L. 4. c. 1.*) came together to deliberate who was the fittest Man to bear the Weight of the Empire in this Exigency, but they were soon determin'd by that which they look'd upon as a very providential Designation, the universal Voice of the Army.

† Οὐτε στρατηγὸν οὐτα ἕτερον μετ' ἐαίνας.

** *Theodorit* tells us, (*L. 4. c. 2.*) that the King of *Persia* solicited the new Emperor to come to Terms, sent him Provisions for his Army, gave Order for bringing a Market into the Desarts to accommodate them, and agreed to a Truce of thirty Years.

T. L. 4. c. 2. THE new Emperor [was no sooner enter'd within the *Roman Territories*] but he publickly declar'd for the Faith he had always profess'd, that of the *Nicene Fathers*, and sent *Athanasius*, who upon the Death of *Julian* had re-instated himself in his Bishoprick, very notable S. L. 6. c. 5. Assurances of his Protection and Friendship; [others say *Athanasius*, either of his own Accord, or upon a Message from him, came to him then at *Antioch*, and, after he had assisted him in concerting proper Measures for the Interest of the Church, was upon the Point of returning; when *Lucius*, one of *George's* * Presbyters, perswaded by *Euzoius*, who was sure of the † Eunuch *Probatius* at Court, came to the Emperor, and fill'd his Ears with clamorous Invectives against *Athanasius*, as a Man that had so often set the Church and the World in a Flame, and for that, and other Things, had incurr'd the Sentence of Banishment from so many of his Majesty's Predecessors; and therefore desir'd the Church of *Alexandria* might have another Bishop. But the Emperor, who had known long ago how grossly *Athanasius* had been injur'd and abus'd; and now, since their late Acquaintance, had conceiv'd a greater Opinion than ever of his Probity, Courage, Wisdom, Sagacity and Learning, commanded *Lucius* to be silent and quiet at his Peril, and consign'd over *Probatius* and his Fellow-Eunuchs that were Accomplices in the Plot, to the Torture, and sent *Athanasius* back into *Egypt*, to regulate and govern the Churches under his Jurisdiction ** as he pleas'd, with all the Authority belonging to his Patriarchate.]

[NOR is it to be wonder'd at, that he, who before T. L. 4. c. 2, 3. had so early signify'd not only a cordial Affection for *Athanasius*, but a profound Esteem of his Judgment and Prudence, should thus honourably vindicate and patronize him; for he was scarce warm in the Imperial Purple when, over and above the kind Assurances aforesaid, he sent away to him for the best Account and Advice he could give him in reference to Matters of Faith, and the State of the Church; and this Message or Letter brought him that excellent Epistle from *Athanasius* and a Council of

* So *Soz.* styles him as being no more a Bishop than *Gregory* and *George* had been. See with what Indignation this Emperor receiv'd him in *Colloq. seu Petit. Arian. apud Athanas. Tom. 2.*

† See the learned *Valesius* upon the Place.

** *Ἡ δαίσα αὐτῷ δοκῶν.*

learned Bishops of his Patriarchate assembled at their Patriarch's Summons; 'Wherein having applauded and congratulated his Majesty upon his ingenuous and earnest Desire of informing himself as fully as he could in such important Points, * they recommend to him the *Nicene* Faith, as that which must be Orthodox and Holy, † forasmuch as it is known by, and read in, the sacred Scriptures; adding, that many holy Martyrs have seal'd it with their Blood, and that they who had abandon'd it, had involv'd the Church in Heresy, Schism, and Persecution: They go on to tell him, that when that Council had suppress'd and extinguish'd the open Blasphemies of the *Arians*, a certain Sect of Men, who were bent upon reviving the Heresy, but had not the Courage expressly to renounce the *Nicene* Faith, had perverted and evaded the true Meaning of it by imposing a wrong Construction upon the Word *Consubstantial*, which the Fathers made use of on purpose to exclude the Notion of bare Similitude, and to denote such a proper, univocal, and essential Derivation of Substance, as that the Son be understood to be very God of very God, and truly, and, in the fullest Extent of the Words, begotten of the Father, and again, ** by asserting the Holy Ghost to be a Creature, and that the Son created him; whereas in the *Nicene* Confession, †† instead of being separated from the Father and the Son, he is glorify'd equally with them; that the Faith of that venerable Council was that which the Church had been taught from the Beginning, and that it was then receiv'd and profess'd, as they had communicatory Letters from them to testify, in all the Churches of the World; except only some few of the East, which as they had long ago revolted to *Arianism*, so they now oppos'd the Truth with yet more Obstinacy and Vehemence, but were by no means to be regarded and consider'd against the Consent and Authority of the Church universal; that although they could not be ignorant how well his Majesty was acquainted with the Creed which the *Nicene* Fathers promulg'd, yet they thought it proper, upon this Occasion, to send him the Words of it; which they annex'd accordingly.]

* Εὐχαιρούμεθα ὑπομνήσαι. So they were pleased modestly to express themselves.

† Εκ τῶν θείων γεγραπὸν βιβλίων τε καὶ ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον. The written Word of God was the great Touchstone, the decisive Rule in those Days.

** For so the Macedonians did.

†† Ἀλλ' ἐδὲ ἀπὸ πολλοῦ ἐπέστησαν.

How agreeable this Reply was to the Emperor, and how exactly it squar'd with his own Judgment and Inclination, is clear, not only [from * his full Assent to it, when he receiv'd it,] but from his precedent Actions and Resolutions. [By the first Law he made] he recall'd † those banish'd Catholick Bishops his Predecessor had not, [and, by the same Rescript, he restor'd to the Churches, the Clergy, the Widows, and the Virgins, those Profits and Privileges which *Constantine*, or his Sons, had appropriated, and *Julian* had taken away; and because under the Reign of his Predecessor some dissolute People, had either forc'd or perswaded some of the sacred Virgins to marry them, he made it capital, not only to those who had presum'd to do either; but who had courted any of those Virgins, though it were only with his Looks, to change her Condition;] He shut up all the Heathen Temples, put an End to the bloody Sacrifices, [ordain'd that *Christianity* be the Establish'd Religion of the Empire;] and, in a word, he exerted himself so resolutely and effectually against Gentilism, that the Pagan Priests were glad to run their Heads into Holes, and the Philosophers to throw off their Gowns.

At the same Time the Bishops and Principals of the several different Communions bustled to ingratiate themselves and their respective Causes, and to prejudice the Emperor against those that dissented from them. On the part of the *Macedonians*, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeopolis*, § *Pacinic* of *Zela*, *Leontius* of *Comana*, *Callicrates* of *Claudiopolis*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabala* petition'd the Emperor to eject all such Bishops as asserted the Doctrine of Dissimilitude, and to let themselves have their Bishopricks. †† But he

* See *Vales.* upon the word *ἐκδίδωμι* in his Note upon the Place.

† It seems *Julian* had not sent for them all home.

§ See *Vales.* upon the Place.

†† According to *Sozomen* (L. 6. c. 4.) they did not come themselves, acquainting his Majesty they were afraid they should be troublesome; though they of-

fer'd to wait upon his Majesty at their own Charge, if he commanded their Attendance; but sent him in writing their Congratulations upon his Accession, and withal their humble Request that he would either confirm the *Ariminum* and *Seleucian* Decrees, or, letting Things stand for the present as they did before those Decrees had pass'd, that he would call a general Council,

he sent them away with this Answer, *That he hated quarrelling, and that they, and only they, who were seriously dispos'd to Peace and Unity, might assure themselves of his Affection and Esteem.* And this Reply prevented any more such bold and vexatious Importunities from that Quarter. The *Acacians*, on the other Hand, no sooner saw which way the Wind blew, but they got together at *Antioch*, where making *Meletius*, [*(* reinstated in his Chair)*] S. L. 6. c. 4. their Friend, whom the Emperor, then at *Antioch*, had made his Favourite, they declar'd for the Consubstantial Faith, and drew up their Acknowledgment and Confirmation of the *Nicene Creed*, confessing that the Word Consubstantial was not only very unexceptionable and significant, but likewise very necessary to be apply'd against the *Arians* and *Anomæans*; and this Declaration, with the *Nicene Creed* at the Bottom of it, they presented to the Emperor by *Meletius*, subscrib'd by himself and Twenty-six other Bishops, among whom were *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, *Acacius* of *Cæsarea*, *Titus* of *Bosra*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, [*Irenion* S. L. 6. c. 4. of *Gaza*,] and *Athanasius* of *Ancyra*. This Declaration is extant in *Sabinus's Synodical Collections*.

BUT these Advances soon terminated with the Life of this good Emperor, who had set his Heart upon compleating a general Reconciliation and Union, and that by gentle Persuasions and engaging Motives; and under whom very probably the Church had recover'd her primitive Simplicity and Purity, and the State its antient Splendor and Power, but that by a sudden Obstruction or Suffocation [(whether, as some have said, it was the effect of eating a plentiful Supper, or Vapours excited by airing a Room newly plaister'd, in which he lay)] he was translated to an eternal Diadem almost as soon as he had bury'd his Predecessor: [Thus T. L. 4. c. 5. it is usual with our heavenly Father just to set Blessings before our Eyes, as it were; and then to take them away again. By the first Dispensation, he shews us how easily he can reward his sincere and obedient Servants; and by the

Council, leaving it to the Bishops to chuse the Place of Meeting, and not appointing (see *Vales.* upon *μνηστής ἀλλὰ ἀναγώνιστος*) any State-Commissioner or Inspector to sit among them; and, after the Example of the Emperor *Constantius*, curbing and controuling those who should set up for acting separately, and making Parties.

* See *Vales.* upon the Place.

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latter he prompts us to reflect upon our own Unworthiness, and reform.]

JOVIAN dy'd upon the Seventeenth of *February*, after a Reign of seven Months, and a Life of Thirty-three Years.

THIS third Book takes in the Transactions and Affairs that pass'd in the Space of two Years and five Months.



THE



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
PHILIP
Lord GLAMMIS.

MY LORD,



THE former Part of this Book had the Honour to obtain the Patronage of a Noble Peer of *Scotland*, whose Family and Character place his Lordship among the foremost of those Illustrious Heroes of that Ancient Kingdom, who, in Defiance of *Presbyterian* Usurpation, and all the Malice and Inhumanity which a Spirit of Schism and Rebellion, and a Calenture of Enthusiasm, can beget in the Hearts of Men, assert with primitive Courage the Rights and Doctrines of that truly Apostolick Church which

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God has planted there, and not only still protects, but has, for some Years past, been refining with Fire. It may therefore be reasonably expected, that I should Dedicate this Second Part to your Lordship, whom the Grace of God, the Nobleness of your Blood, and the Generosity of your own Inclination and Temper have render'd so Conspicuous a Pattern and Recommending an Instance of Religion and Virtue. Who more fit to stand, as it were, in the Front of such a veteran Body of Venerable Bishops, Pious Emperors, Victorious Martyrs and Confessors, Judicious and Learned Church-Writers, Mortify'd Livers, and Dutiful Subjects, than your Lordship, so Sincere an Admirer, and so Diligent an Imitator of their Piety, Resolution, and Courage, of their Reverence for the Apostolick Succession and the Church's Authority, of their Masculine and Steady Loyalty, of their Industry in the Study, and their Proficiency in the Knowledge, of their Duty, and of their Modesty, Humility, and Strictness of Life?

MY LORD, I am not Dawbing and Flourishing beyond the true Features. Your Lordship's Abhorrence of Flattery, as well as the Testimony of all who have the Honour to know You, will preserve me from any Imputation or Suspicion of That. Vanity is your Lordship's particular Aversion; as indeed it ought to be more especially every Man's who lies under so many Temptations to betray him to it. Youth seldom carries Ballast enough not to be over-set with the Consciousness of so much Personal Merit, and the Privileges of so high a Descent, and such

D E D I C A T I O N. ccclxiii

an ample Fortune. The Blood of Kings flows in your Veins; of what Kings, the Complacency, Meekness, and Evenness of your Temper (Exalted Qualities that have eminently adorn'd and distinguish'd so many Monarchs of the *Stuart* Line) sufficiently shew. All the excellent Endowments and Virtues of that great Prince, King *Robert* II. (whose Daughter was married about three hundred Years since to your Lordship's Noble Predecessor, Sir *John*, commonly call'd *The White Lion*, the first *Thane* or Lord of *Glammis*) have descended to Your Lordship without the least Abatement. And the Filial Piety and Gracious Disposition of King *James* IV: are copied by Your Lordship in a Manner worthy of the Affinity between the Royal Relict of that Prince and Your Lordship's Predecessor *John* the eighth Lord *Glammis*. The Dignity and Lustre of Your Lordship's Family want no further Blazoning: Its Antiquity no body can be a Stranger to, that has heard of the *De Lyons* in *France* (a Name Great and Famous there before the Time of our *William the Conqueror*) or of the Family of the *Leones* in *Old Rome*. But there is something which yet sparkles brighter in its Annals, and which gave it Root in *Scotland*, and produced a Stock worthy to have a Royal Branch ingrafted on; the vigorous and heroick Loyalty of that renown'd Ancestor of your Lordship's, who, for the Part he bore in suppressing the Rebellion and Usurpation of *Donald Bean*, was (six hundred Years ago) rewarded with the Grants of the Lands call'd *Glen Lyon*: Whose Successors, follow-

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ing his Example in the same Path of Honour, receiv'd, from Time to Time, new Accessions of Grants and Titles; particularly that of Earl of *Kinghorn* in the Year 1606; and since, that of Earl of *Strathmore*, conferr'd by the Princely Favour of that Great Judge of Merit, King *Charles II*, on your Lordship's Grandfather, in whom, and afterwards in your Lordship, all true Lovers of the Church and Monarchy have good reason to wish they may long flourish, and acquire that Increase of Glory which your Lordship's Hereditary Love of an Hereditary Title deserves.

THUS graced with Virtues, crown'd with Honours, and encompass'd with Affluence, Your Lordship, like another Sun in our World of *Great Britain*, spreads happy Influences over the whole Island. For *England* too, in consequence of your Relation to some of her most Noble and Ancient Families, has no small Interest in your Lordship, and is almost disturb'd, that your Native Country should have more; that Country, out of which God has been pleas'd to send me so many Friends in a Providential Succession, Gentlemen of singular Worth and great Accomplishments; in Gratitude to whom, had there been no other Motive, it would have become me to prefix your Lordship's Name to these Papers; that Country, which, at this time, has the Advantage of all others in the World, especially of its Neighbours, in several Particulars of the greatest Importance; where the Wheat is already, in a great measure, separated from the Chaff; where Discipline vigorously exercis'd by a suffering Church and the general Bent and Behaviour of
the

DEDICATION.

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the People, have quite shut out that Indifference, and those Mixtures of Principles, which have made almost all Men's Pretensions to Religion and Honour equally good on this Side the *Twede*, and the worst sort of People among us worse than otherwise they would have been, by helping them to Rags of Hypocrisy to hide the Nakedness of their Impiety. The very *Presbyterians* in *Scotland* have a better Notion of Religion, whatever they suppose it to be, than to make it a Composition of Contrary Ingredients. There are not half a dozen sorts of Loyalty There. Men are either Good or Bad Subjects *consistently with Themselves*. And that Coldness of Respect, which some of Southern Extraction desire should seem to be the Result of Contempt, is indeed the Effect of their Envy and Indignation; for nothing vexes an Ill Man more than the Probity of others, and nothing disguises that Vexation better than an Air of Superiority and a Shew of Neglect.

MAY your Lordship soon see the real Occasion of all Animosities remov'd; and such a happy State of Affairs, as may put Hypocrisy out of Countenance, and make the Practice of every Duty as convenient as the greatest Cowards can wish. I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient

humble Servant,

SAMUEL PARKER.

P R E F A C E.



HAVE said enough in the Preface to the First Part of this Abridgment, to shew the Reader the Design and Method of it, and to furnish him with a general Knowledge of the Lives and Characters of the Authors from whom it is extracted. So that, upon these or the like Heads, I need add nothing here, unless it be, that I hope I have taken as much Care not to leave out any thing material in this, as I did in the other Part.

AND here should end my Preface, did it not seem as necessary, before the second Part of this Abridgment, to intimate its particular Applicableness, as it was to mention its general Usefulness before the First. And what, next the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, is more likely (with God's Blessing) to open the Eyes and turn the Hearts of an Infatuated Impenitent People? What more likely to stop the Growth, and reach the Vitals of Infidelity and Profaneness, of Heretical and Rebellious Principles, of an irreligious Contempt of the Sacerdotal Character and Authority in too many of the Laity, and a versatil and worldly Temper in too many of the Clergy? What more likely to kindle up again the Spirit of true Piety and Christian Zeal or Warmth, and to revive the Knowledge and Enforcement of many sacred Doctrines, which some People have of late been at so much pains to cover, and others, if 'twere possible, to extinguish? In a word, what more likely to restore the banish'd Part of Christianity, and of a Proverb of Reproach to render us a Praise in the Earth, than the Knowledge and Contemplation of the Sound Faith, Harmonious Unity, Impregnable Courage, Religious Chearfulness, and Uniform Practice of the Orthodox and Catholick Christians of the earlier Ages? Neither Numbers, nor Interest, nor Ease, nor Safety was a Rule to them. They were no more to be put out of their Course by any Terrors or Violences of Persecution, than the Rays of the Sun can be broken or bent by a Gust of Wind. None of them exempted himself from any Duties of his Station; none fail'd in the Execution of that Office that belonged to him, or overruled and usurped the Exercise of that Authority which did not. The Emperors of the World were proud to shew their Subjection to the Spiritual Dominion of the Church; and the greatest Pastors

Pastors of the Church as chearfully and entirely submitted every thing but Conscience and Duty to the most Arbitrary Administrations of Persecuting Princes. Blasphemy and Heresy were not then treated with Tendernefs. Heaven's Artillery was discharged at the Titan's Head as soon as he appear'd. Some People's Moderation and Forbearance would then have been called by very ugly Names ; and Church Doors would have been shut, as well as Books writ, against Innovators and Corrupters of the Faith. No Method was then thought so Healing or so Kind, as to cut off a Gangreen'd Limb. The Synod of Alexandria did not take Cognizance of Arius's Cause, and then drop it.

BUT some of my Readers may be in haste, and wish this Argument dismiss'd. —For the Relief of such Constitutions, not unlike those sometimes in the Natural Body, which a small Dose of Physick cannot move, and a large one has violent Effects upon ; I shall turn out of this Road, and after two or three Words to Mr. Whiston, detain the Reader no longer from better Business.

THE Church Historians I have abridged are not more serviceable for any good End and Purpose, than for the Confutation of those Monstrous Positions and Impious Tenets Mr. Whiston is labouring to Revive, and the Vindicating and Clearing the Reputation of those Great and Good Men, whose Memories he has attempted to blacken with the most groundless and malicious Calumnies ; projecting (weak Man !) upon the Ruins of their Tombs, to raise himself a Throne of Popularity and Preceptorship among Knaves and Fools. Of late we have had many such Contenders for the Bays. A—il and To—nd, and C—ard, and Cl—don, and C—lins, and T—dal, and the Camisars, &c. Mr. Whiston comes late a leasing. The People begin to be surfeited with these Amusements. They have multiplied so fast, that, like Lotteries, and Weekly Papers, they spoil one another.

If Mr. Whiston has never read our Historians, let him not attack their Authority from his usual Battery of bold and groundless Misrepresentation. Let him prove their Partiality from more authentick Records if he can. And, if he cannot, let him confess, that the Sense and Judgment of the Church in those Ages run all along against his Doctrines, and that the Nicene, and all the Catholick Councils after it, made the Sense of the Scriptures, and the uniform Tradition of the Church, the Rule
upon

upon which only they grounded their Definitions of Faith. This is true, if whatever the Ancients have told us upon this Point, be not a Lie. And if it be a Lie, let him produce his Witnesses; credible, authentick Witnesses; and not his own pretended Jealousies, and affected Conjectures, to prove it so.

AND in order, if possible, to bring him to some Sense of Shame, and let the World see how little his Readers ought to trust his Confidence, or take Notice of his Assertions, particularly as to his Characters of the Ancients; I am now preparing for the Press a Translation of those excellent Books of the Great Athanasius, his four Orations against the Arians, by which it will plainly appear, to Mr. Whiston's Confusion, that neither himself, nor any other of the Impugners of the Divinity of God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, have been able, or ever will be, to urge any thing Argumentatively, which that Father has not, even in the Compass of those Four Discourses, very fully confuted; and that Athanasius was so far from being either that Knavish or Weak Man, which Mr. Whiston has so basely represented him to be, that his very Manner of Writing shews a serious Piety and a plain and open Honesty, and the Pertinency, Coherence and Clearness of his Reasoning undeniably prove he had Strength of Judgment, Quickness of Apprehension, Sagacity, Wit, and Perspicuity, superiour, perhaps, to any Writer of his Age. And I shall take Occasion, to add such References to Positions and Passages in Mr. Whiston's Books, as this Great Man has long ago baffled and disprov'd, that Mr. Whiston, if he will not be convinc'd by any other Man's Writings, may however stand condemn'd, before all the World, out of his own.*

* This Book was accordingly printed at the Theater in Oxford, for Henry Clements, at the Half Moon in St. Paul's Church-Yard, London, A. D. 1713. and to the Translation itself were prefix'd, 1. Introductory Observations for the better Application of St. Athanasius's Reasoning and Conduct, in confuting the Fallacies and Cavils of Modern Hereticks, particularly Mr. Whiston's. 2. Queries recommended to Mr. Whiston's Consideration, as affording some Instances (to which many more might be added) of his remarkable Inadvertency, Disingenuity, and Inconsistency with himself. 3. Mr. Whiston's Ar-

guments, Expositions, &c. against the Nicene Doctrines answer'd and confuted by St. Athanasius, in those Orations, printed in Column opposite to Column. This I have the more Reason to mention, because I was very lately inform'd, to my great Comfort and Satisfaction, (God be praised) that this Book has been instrumental, not only to confirm Weak Believers (to use the Words of a Letter I had the Happiness to receive from a Friend) but to bring back some Wand'ring Ones to the Faith. I pray God it may be more and more serviceable every Day.

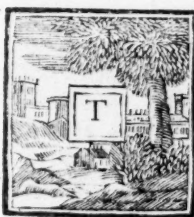


Ἀλεργίς βασιλέας, ὅχ' ἱερέας ποιῇ.
Theod. 25. c. 18.



T H E
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
O F
Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit.

B O O K I V.



THE Loss of *Jovian* was within a few Days alleviated by the Election of the Emperor *Valentinian*, [the Noble Person, whom the Apostate had cashier'd, and banish'd, for the Affront he put upon his new Religion, and *Jovian*, upon his Accession, had sent for Home.] He was a Native of *Pannonia*, brave, active, and skilful in War, [notwithstanding *Julian* would have had it believ'd, that he banish'd him for Negligence in his Military Command;] Tall and Majestick as to his Person, Conspicuous and Exemplary for his Prudence, Temperance and

S. L. 6. c. 6.

S. L. 6. c. 6.

T. L. 4. c. 6.

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Justice;

Justice; in a word, one whose Virtue and Merit had always the Advantage of, and out-shin'd his Condition. About a Month after his Accession, he thought fit to divide this high Dignity and wide Dominion between himself and his Brother

S. L. 6. c. 6. Valens. Under his own Care and Government he took all the Countries from *Illyricum* to the *Western Ocean*, and all *Africk*. The whole Eastern Empire he gave up into the Hands of *Valens*, [having been vehemently press'd by the Army, immediately after his Investiture, to pitch upon a Partner to share the Government with him; which, at that Time, he did not comply with, telling those who were noisy for it, *That once it was in their own Breasts whether they would have made him Emperor, but that now, when they had made him so, 'twas their Duty to be quiet, and leave the Affair they solicited, and the Conduct of all other Political Matters entirely to his Prudence*: An Admonition which gave them a great Opinion of him that utter'd it, and wrought in them an entire Obedience and Submission to him for the Future] Both the Brothers profess'd Christianity, but with this essential Difference, that *Valentinian* was a Zealous Catholick, and *Valens* † having been so unhappy as to be baptiz'd by *Eudoxius*, espous'd and asserted vehemently the *Arian* Persuasion. Whence it was, that tho' they concurr'd very well in the Management and Administration of the Secular Part, yet they drew two contrary Ways in their Treatment of the Church. *Valentinian* cherish'd and encourag'd the Orthodox, without persecuting the *Arians*; but *Valens* was not satisfy'd to make the *Arians* his Favourites, without dreadfully oppressing and raging against the Orthodox.

VALENTINIAN [prosecuting his Journey towards *Rome*, in Order to fix himself in the Administration of the Western Empire, was Petition'd, in *Thrace*, by *Hypatian*, Bishop of *Heraclea*, deputed to that Office by the *Similitudinarian* Bishops of *Hellepont* and *Bitbynia*, to call a Council for the Settling of

† Theodorit (*L. 4. c. 6.*) makes him to have been Orthodox at the Time of his Accession; and (*c. 12.*) says, That resolving to receive Baptism before he set out on his Expedition against the *Goths*, he was perswaded by his Empress, an *Arian*,

to receive it in her Communion, at the Hands of *Eudoxius*; who, by an Oath at the Font, oblig'd him for ever to be true to that Herefie, and to make the Catholicks every where fly their Country.

the Faith; to which he reply'd, *That he ought to concern himself very cautiously in Matters of that Nature, being but a Layman; and that the Clergy, in regard of their Office and Character, were at Liberty to assemble in Council where-ever they pleas'd:* And thus, upon all Occasions, he express'd and carry'd himself to the Clergy. For so sincerely and religiously this admirable Prince consulted the Honour of God, that he never would prescribe to the Priests of God, nor take upon him to reform any Thing, in purely Ecclesiastical Matters, which he look'd upon as foreign and superior to the Cognizance of any Earthly Powers, tho' he must needs be conscious to himself that he was not only a very pious Prince, but a wise and an accomplish'd Governour.] At the same Time, or * soon after, the same Sort of Men gathered about his Brother at *Constantinople*, offering and urging to him the same Proposal: To which, imagining the Petitioners to be of *Acacius* and *Eudoxius's* Combination, he consented. And while this Assembly were following their Business at *Lampsacus*, (a City of *Hellepont*, in which Country the *Macedonians*, who swarm there at this Day, very probably made their Party at that Time) the Fears of a Rupture from the *Persian*, which yet did not happen, carry'd him to *Antioch*, where he flesh'd his Fury against the Orthodox, banishing *T. L. 4. c. 13. Meletius* [into *Armenia*,] and using extream Severity and Cruelty towards all who refus'd to communicate with *Euzoius*; *Paulinus* only escaping unmolested under the Shelter which the Character of a singular Piety afforded him. Particularly we are told, that he drown'd many of them in the River *Orontes*. But Divine Providence thought fit to check him in the Career of his Violence, by the Interruption of two very astonishing Terrors of Nature, a devouring Earthquake and Inundation, and by a third Prodigy of a much more destructive Kind and horrible Size, a Rebel-Usurper, whose Name was *Procopius*.

THIS was a lucky Conjunction for the *Macedonians*, who in their Synod at *Lampsacus*, which met in the first Consulat of the two Emperors, [and lasted two *S. L. 6. c. 7.*

* The Circumstance of Time in this Story is somewhat uncertain and confus'd. The Learned Annotator in his first Note upon the Seventh Chapter of this Book.

Months] accordingly made their Use of it; for there they confirm'd and inforc'd anew their *Antiochian Creed*, anathematiz'd that of *Ariminum*, [restor'd those of
S. L. 6. c. 7. their own Body whom the *Acacians* had depos'd, ordaining that their Accusers at any Time should be liable to the same Punishment with the Accus'd, if they did not make good their Allegations; that their Bishops of that and the neighbouring Provinces should sit Judges upon those Occasions; and that the Witnesses of the Lives and Conversations of the Parties should attend;] moreover they approv'd and confirm'd the Deposition of the *Acacians*, [after they had call'd them before them, and promis'd, (but, as it prov'd, to no Purpose) to spare them if they would recant; and these Conclusions and Decrees they notify'd to all Churches by Synodical Letters.] Now then the *Macedonians* and *Eleusians* were got into the Saddle, and began to appear a powerful and considerable Faction, which they had not done 'till this Convention had made them so.

THE next Year, *Gratian* and *Dagalaiphus*, Consuls, the Battle of *Nacolia*, (a City in *Phrygia*) was fought between *Valens* and *Procopius*, in which the Latter had the Advantage, but had not long enjoy'd it, when * *Agilo* and *Gomoarius*, two of his Officers, deliver'd him up to his Enemy, who, notwithstanding those Assurances he had given them by Oaths to the contrary, had them saw'd asunder, and ty'd the Legs of the Usurper to the Tops of two Trees bent down by main Force 'till they met, which violently rising again tore his Body in two. A Punishment very proper for him that would have blown up the Government, and rent asunder the Body Politick. † Before the End of the same Year a Son was born to his Brother *Valentinian*, and receiv'd his Father's Name.

THE Proceedings of the Synod of *Lampsacus*,
S. L. 6. c. 7. [whose Deputies, tho' dispatch'd with all Expedition, came too late to prevent *Eudoxius's* Insinuations and Influences,] highly displeas'd and provok'd the Emperor, [who try'd to persuade their

* *V. Vales. in loc.*

† *V. Vales. in Chap. 10.*

Messengers to close in with *Eudoxius*; which when they refused to do, objecting *Eudoxius*'s foul Designs and Practices, *Valens* was so enrag'd, that he condemn'd them to Banishment, put the *Eudoxians* in Possession of the Churches,*] soon after summon'd *Eleusius* as being one of the warmest of the *Macedonian* Chiefs, and call'd a Council of the rankest *Arians*, whose Faith *Eleusius* would by no means embrace 'till he was scar'd into it by Menaces of Banishment and Confiscation. But it proving too hard a Morfel for him to digest, he soon threw it up again; and owning to the People of *Cyzicus* that he had been frighten'd into Apostacy, advis'd them to look for another Spiritual Father. But they were so fond of him that they still kept him for their Bishop, and retain'd his Heresy with him.

EUDOXIUS however, the Emperor abetting his Resolution with an Edict, gets *Eleusius* thrust out of his Church, and † his Place supply'd by *Eunomius*: Upon which the *Eleusians* build themselves a Church without the Walls, and there attend their Devotions. Besides what has been intimated of *Eunomius*'s Character in the Share he has had already in the Course of our History, let it be farther observ'd here, that he was as very a Wrangler and Sophister, [(a Qualification *S. L. 6. c. 26.* which the Brethren of that Sect, at this very Day, notoriously prefer to all the Piety and Charity in the World)] as his Master *Aetius*, and hurry'd by his Pedantry and loose Principles together, into the same Extravagance of Blasphemy; that he was utterly unacquainted with, and indeed incapable of understanding the true Sense of the sacred Text; that he was so full of Circumlocutions and Tautologies, that in a Multitude of Words he utterly lost the Meaning of Things; Witness his Commentary upon St. *Paul*'s Epistle to the *Romans*, and indeed what he has writ besides; [that he first brought in *S. L. 6. c. 26.* the Novelty of Baptizing with a single Immersion,

* The order of Time in this Relation seems a little confus'd between the two Historians. I have endeavour'd to reconcile it as well as I can.

† A gross mistake as to the Circumstance of Time, *Eunomius* having obtain'd that Bishoprick in the Reign of *Constantius*, as the Learned Annotator observes and proves in his Third Note upon Chap. 7.

in Defiance to || Apostolick Practice as continu'd to this Day; and in general a new Sort of Ecclesiastical Regimen and Discipline, recommended by the specious Varnish of a singular Strictness, and a solemn Appearance; tho' others, and perhaps more truly, tell us *Theophronius* of *Cappadocia*, and *Eutychius*, two notable Pillars of this Heresy, when some Time after they abandon'd *Eunomius*, vary'd and metamorphos'd his Doctrines and Institutions, and particularly contriv'd this new Manner of Baptizing, and with it a new Form; for they baptiz'd not in the Name of the Trinity, but into the Death of *Christ*. But of this enough;] By the Art and Eloquence of *Eunomius*, *Eudoxius* hop'd to secure the People of *Cyzicus* to his Party; 'till the Event shew'd him his Mistake; for instead of that he preach'd them with his Cant and Jargon into a Tumult, and his Vanity and Petulancy so provok'd and incens'd them, that they expell'd him their Walls; from whence he went to *Constantinople*, * and † there liv'd with *Eudoxius*, †† retaining only his Episcopal Character.

AFTER the Emperor had done himself Justice upon *Procopius*, he had solemnly sworne to punish the Treason of the City of *Chalcedon*, (which had espous'd the Rebell's Cause, and even shut her Gates against her Lawful Sovereign) by dismantling the Walls; and now he acquitted himself of his Oath; in the doing of which there was found a Stone with an antient Oracle or Prediction upon it, and this was the Tenour of it; *That at what Time the City should have a large Supply of Water added to it, a certain Wall of a Town should be of Service to the Conduit, and that,*

|| Let it here be remember'd what *Gregory the Great* says, L. 1. Ep. 43. Par. Ed. concerning Trine, and single Immersion, In una Fide nihil officit sanctæ Ecclesiæ Consuetudo diversa.

* This happen'd sooner, in *Constantius's* Reign. V. Vales. in Soc. L. 4. c. 7. Not. ult.

† *Sozomen* (L. 6. c. 26.) turns the Story of *Eunomius* another way; For having taken notice of the Charge exhibited against him to *Eudoxius*, he says *Eudoxius* summon'd him, requir'd him to explain his Doctrines in a Sermon before him,

acquitted him, and wish'd him a good Journey back to *Cyzicus*; and that *Eunomius* told him, He was resolv'd to have nothing more to do with People not to be Trusted; and accordingly took a House and liv'd Privately, never varying, or receding in any Particular from his beloved Set of Notions; that this, however, was only for a Pretence to break with *Eudoxius*; for that the True Reason of his Dissatisfaction was the Party's Deserting and Disowning *Aetius*.

†† *χαλκός ἐπίσκοπος.*

about

about the same Time, prodigious Shoals of Barbarians should lay waste great Part of the Roman Empire, and having glutted themselves with Outrage, should at last be deliver'd up to Destruction. The Thing afterwards came to pass; either when the Emperor built the *Aquæduct*, in which he bestow'd the Stones of that Wall, or when the Prefect of the City *Clearchus* built his Cistern or Conduit, upon which Occasion there were Festival Rejoycings in the City, exactly according to the Words of the Oracle, χορεύειν τερπόμεναι γήσονται εὐσπείας κατ' ἀγυιάς; and it was not long ere the Latter Part of the Prediction was also punctually and literally verify'd. The Cities of *Constantinople*, *Nicomedia*, and *Nice*, interceded upon this Occasion for that of *Chalcedon*, and by their most humble and earnest Entreaties with much ado wrought so far upon his Majesty, that tho' in regard of his Oath he pull'd down the Walls, yet he had the Breaches repair'd as fast as made, with little Stones; and the Botches are too visible at this Day.

NOR did one Quarrel and Resentment put another out of the Emperor's Head or Heart; for he persisted in his Rage against the Orthodox, driving them out of his Capital, and not only them, but the *Novatians* too, (as being likewise *Homousians*) whose Churches he shut up, and banish'd their old Bishop *Agelius*, a Man who * affected an Apostolick Severity of Life, went with his Feet bare, and wore but a single Garment. But the Interest of one *Marcian*, a Man of a strict Behaviour, [uncommon Learning,] and a persuasive Tongue; once an Officer at Court, but then a Presbyter among the *Novatians*, and Grammatical Preceptor to the Emperor's two Daughters *Anastasia* and *Carosa*, [soon brought back *Agelius*, and] obtain'd that their Churches might be open'd again; tho' 'twas more than he could do, to find Means to restrain or disarm entirely the Malice of the *Arians*, who mortally hated his Brethren for their Kindness and good Offices to the Catholics.

* Βίον ἀποστολικὸν εἰς. So Soz. (l. 7. c. 12.) τὴν ἀρετὴν τῇ εἰς διὰ τῶν ἔργων εἶπον, meaning only the strictness of his Morals, and that, perhaps, as to the Out-

ward appearance. See the Account I have given of our Historian in the Preface to the first Part.

THE Year following, *Lupicinus*, and *Jovian* Consuls, there fell at *Constantinople* a Storm of Hail; the Hailstones as big as a Man could grasp in his Hand. In the same Consulat *Valentinian* assum'd his Son *Gratian* his Collegue. The next Year to that, in the second Consulat of both the Emperors, upon the eleventh of *October*, an Earthquake entirely destroy'd the City of *Nice* in *Bitthynia*, and another soon after great Part of *Germa*, a City in *Hellepont*. † Very monitory Judgments, which carry'd in them not only a Resemblance of the shatter'd Condition of the Church, but an Expression of God's Anger against, and a Warning to, the Emperor and his wicked Associate *Eudoxius*, who very much distress'd, and labour'd, if 'twere possible, to dissolve and destroy her, as by other Methods, so particularly by banishing Multitudes of her Clergy, [insomuch that the *Catholicks* had neither Churches nor Priests in *Thrace*, *Bitthynia*, *Hellepont*, and the greater Part of the Eastern Empire;] yet the good Providence of God and the Authority and Protection of their great Piety exempted at this Time *Basil* of *Cæsarea* and *Gregory* * *Nazianzen*, and no others, from Exile.

THUS it far'd with the *Catholicks*; but not with them only; for the same Storm extended it self to the *S. L. 6. c. 10.* *Macedonians* too, [more numerous as they were than the *Eudoxians*;] tho' their Sufferings were much slighter than their Fears; which put them upon a general Hurry and Bustle to consult one another about the Means of preserving and supporting themselves, 'till they came to a Resolution to throw themselves into the Arms of the Emperor of the West, and *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, and rather to close with them in the Consubstantial Faith than communicate with *Eudoxius*. Furnish'd with these Instructions and *S. L. 6. c. 10.* Letters from the *Seleucian Similitudinarians*, [wherein they besought them to assist and confer with their Delegates upon the Point of re-establishing the Church's

† Sozomen (*L. 6. c. 10.*) extends the Calamity to more than these two Places in those Words, ἄλλους πόλεις.
* See *Valesius* on the Place.

Unity, acknowledging the Orthodoxy of their Faith, and how eminently they were oblig'd and qualify'd to succour and support the Truth,] their Delegates † *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*, *Sylvanus* of *Tarsus*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabala*, came to *Rome*; where they found not the Emperor, who was then in *Gall* employ'd in a War against the || *Sarmatians*; and *S. L. 6. c. 10.* [therefore, it being impracticable, as the Disposition of the Army then was, to come at him, they presented themselves and their Letters to *Liberius*] who let them know he would have nothing to do, with them, as being *Arians* and Enemies to the *Nicene* Faith, 'till they had declar'd themselves Penitents, and that they had long since condemn'd the *Dissimilitude*, and asserted the Son to be in all Respects like the Father, thereby meaning (they said) that he was of one Substance with him. He demanded a Confession of their Faith in Writing, which they gave him, and in which (for Brevity's sake to omit their Synodical Epistles from *Smyrna*, from *Pamphylia*, *Isauria*, and *Lycia*) in the Name of the Synod of *Lampsacus*, *Smyrna*, &c. (as bringing Letters from them, and being deputed by them to transact with him and all the Bishops of the Western Church) and likewise for themselves, they declare that they did, * and ever will approve and hold the Holy *Nicene* Faith and Creed, condemning the Tenets of *Arius*, *Sabellius*, the *Patripassians*, *Marcionites*, *Photinians*, *Marcellians*, *Paulus Samosatenus*, and all other Heretical Doctrines repugnant thereunto; but anathematizing particularly the *Ariminum* Confession, into a Subscription of which the Bishops at *Constantinople* had been, they said, by mere Villainy cheated and betray'd; and then, as their own Beliet, they annex the *Nicene* Creed, and conclude with expressing their own and the Readiness of their Principals to submit themselves, as to all Personal Allegations that might be brought against them, to the Examination and Judgment (the Accuser producing *Liberius's* Letters) of such Orthodox Bishops as he should please to nominate. *Liberius* having receiv'd at their Hands this solemn Testimonial and Security of their Orthodoxy, admits them to Communion, and dismisses them

† This discovers a Mistake concerning *Eustathius* in our Quotation, p. 214, 215. of the Former Vol.

|| See Val. upon the Place.

* I suppose, in their Secret Judgment, notwithstanding their exordium.

to their Principals with † Letters, not in his own only, but in the Name of all the Bishops of *Italy*, and of the West; letting them know how much the Western Church rejoyc'd to understand, by their Letters, that they now held and asserted the true Catholick Apostolick *Nicene* Faith, in which the very Number of the Fathers in the Council, the same with that of those Servants of *Abraham*, with whom, by Faith, he vanquish'd so many Thousands, discover'd a more immediate Interposition of God; and which was an impregnable Barrier not only against the *Arian* but all other Heresies; and from which, tho' so many of the Western Bishops, not without those of the Eastern Church too, had been by Violence and Circumvention carry'd away to subscribe a new Model at *Ariminum*, yet they had since renounc'd and anathematiz'd that spurious Form, with whatever Proceedings had pass'd at *Ariminum* prejudicial to the *Nicene* Faith; which Faith they had subscrib'd, and united themselves in Communion with those Churches that fell not away; so that all the *Italian* and Western Bishops were now cemented together in the Profession of the Holy *Nicene* Faith; which had receiv'd another large Accession of Votaries in the Subscription of so many Bishops of the *Eastern* Church, by the Hands of their Deputies; a Copy of whose Memorial and Subscription, in Behalf of themselves and their Principals, they had thought proper to accompany their Assurances of their utmost Assistance and Services, to obviate and preclude all Pretences and Artifices of Hereticks; and that they had given them the Notice above of the Recantation and Return of those Bishops that had been frighted or charm'd into the *Ariminum* Blasphemy, as an Example to be publish'd by them for the Imitation of all those who had been in any Sort perverted in their Faith by the same Methods; which, if they did not follow, in Conformity to the Measures of this Council, they were to look upon themselves to be at as great a Distance from the Communion of the Church as the profess'd *Arians* themselves, the *Sabellians*, *Patripassians*, or any other Hereticks whatsoever.

† In these Letters he joyns all the Western Bishops with himself, and puts himself upon a Level with the Eastern Bishops

they are directed to, calling them ἀδελφοί and συλλειτουργοί, as they had also stiled him in the Inscription to their Synodical Epistle.

[WHILE

[WHILE these Transactions were on Foot, T.L.4.c.7,8. *Valentinian* hearing that the prevailing Controversy was very warmly agitated in *Asia* and *Phrygia*, conven'd a Synod in *Illyricum*, whose Decrees and Definitions he sent to those Provinces, and with them Letters, not only in his own, but his Brother's Name, * admonishing them to assent and conform themselves to them. The Emperor's Order, or Edict, sets forth, That a numerous Assembly of Bishops in *Illyricum*, having, upon mature Deliberation and Discussion, declar'd for, and corroborated the Doctrine and Belief of a *Consubstantial* Trinity, their Imperial Majesties thought fit to will and require, That the said Faith be every where profess'd and taught; yet not in such a compulsive Manner, as to give Occasion to have it believ'd, that any Man profess'd it purely in dread of or obedience to the secular Powers; and that this their Gentleness and Lenity, with which they had proceeded, on their Part, all along, ought for ever to reproach those headstrong and rebellious Bishops, the Scandal of that Sacred Order, who took upon them to oppress and persecute God's consecrated Representatives and faithful Servants, and their Majesties very || dutiful and serviceable Subjects; that therefore their Majesties, to clear themselves of the Guilt of all this sacrilegious Cruelty and Violence, (as *Pilate* call'd for Water, and, † turning to the East, wash'd his Hands, declaring he utterly disapprov'd of what the *Jews* were going to do) and that it might not be said such Children of *Belial* met with any Encouragement in their Reign, they did hereby make known and publish, That they had prohibited all such rigid and barbarous Proceedings; and that this their Declaration they had ratify'd and confirm'd in the Presence of *Megetius*, *Cicero*, *Damasus*, *Dailampo*, and *Vetrassius*; that their Majesties had herewith sent them the Acts of the Council, and particularly their Confession of Faith, wherein they asserted against the Equivocations and Fallacies of the Old *Arians* and *Eusebians*, and the later Position of the *Similitudinarians*,

* See Vales. Not. in Theodorit, L. 4. c. 8. n. 1.

|| So cordially Loyal were these Illyrican Bishops, that they voluntarily pay'd those Duties, and accepted of those burthensome Offices, from which they stood exempt by

Law; which the Emperor twice takes notice of in this Rescript.

† A Circumstance which the Learned Annotator supposes to be borrow'd from the spurious Gospel according to the Hebrews.

(who had not been ashamed to call the former *their Fathers*) the Consubstantiality of the three Persons in the Godhead, *that the Substance of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is one and the same, in three perfect Hypostases or Subsistences*; the same Council without adding Anathema against those who held the contrary Doctrines, and against those who did not anathematize from the Heart those that held them.

THE Synodical Epistle which the Council sent to the same Provinces, imported, That having heard by || *Eustathius*, that they were not afraid to maintain publicly, That the Holy Spirit is of a Substance distinct and separate from the Father, they thought it not enough to send only a Letter to them, but had also commission'd † *Elpidius*, their dear Brother and Fellow-Minister, to inform himself, whether, in Truth, any such execrable Tenet prevail'd among them; and that, ascertaining the holy *Nicene* Faith, they pronounc'd Anathema against all those who deny a consubstantial Trinity, or communicate with those that deny it; and therefore require them, if indeed they find themselves involv'd in this dreadful Error, immediately to renounce it, that so they may both concur in a mutual Correspondence of communicatory Letters, acquainting them further, That they had excommunicated *Polychronius, Telemachus, Faustus, Asclepiades, Amantius*, and *Cleopater*, for denying the Son and the Holy Ghost to be of the Substance of the Father: They desire them moreover, being inform'd of Abuses practis'd among them in Ecclesiastical Elections, to choose the Bishops out of the Sons of deceas'd Bishops, if in all respects qualify'd; or when they did not find proper Persons among them, out of the Presbyters; and to choose Presbyters and Deacons out of the Lower Clerical Orders, and not out of the Officers or Pensioners of the State, either Civil or Military.

WHILE the Church, encourag'd and abetted by the good Emperor, was thus pulling up one Sort of Weeds, the Enemy made it his Business to sow others. For, about this Time, one *Audaus*, a *Syrian*, begun to vomit forth a Poison which he had been

|| V. Val. in Loc.

† V. Val. in *T. L.* 4. c. 9. n. 2. and
n. 5. *Elpidius* is call'd by them *Kleros*,

(as is *Eustathius*) twice in this Epistle, which shews he was a Bishop, and not *Baronius's* Presbyter.

a long Time breeding and cherishing within; affirming, from a childish and ridiculous Construction of that Text, *Let us make Man in our own Image*, &c. that the Deity had a Human Body, with which he connected several other Absurdities and Blasphemies, and, among others, so much of the *Manichean* Extravagance as to teach, That Fire and Darknes were not created by that God which made the World. But these are such wild and monstrous Opinions, that his Followers have since thought fit to keep them to themselves, and put their * Separation upon another Footing, that some of the Catholicks are Extortioners and Fornicators, and the rest communicate with them: Which is the very Objection of the proud *Pharisees* against our Saviour, *Why eats your Master with Publicans and Sinners?*

CONTEMPORARY with these were the *Messalians* or *Euchites*, call'd likewise *Enthusiasts*; † for that, being acted and directed by an evil Spirit, they fancy themselves inspir'd and mov'd by the Holy Ghost. Those that have arriv'd to the Height of this Diabolical Frenzy, look upon it as a Sin to work; sleep continually, and call their Dreams Prophecies. Their Leaders were many; among them *Dadoes*, *Sabbas*, *Adelphius*, *Hermas*, and *Symeon*; who, notwithstanding, continu'd in Communion with the Church, alledging, That the Body and Blood of *Christ* in the *Eucharist* are insignificant Things, neither do Good nor Harm. At the same time they are so solicitous to hide this Blackness of Darknes, that they will impudently outface the clearest Conviction, and cry Shame on others, not of their own Body, for harbouring the same execrable Notions with themselves. The pious *Letoius*, Bishop of *Melitene*, understanding several Monasteries had imbib'd the sad Contagion, set Fire on them, and soon made the drowsy Dreamers find their Legs. The same Infernal Vapour spreading it self into *Lycaonia*, the great *Amphilochius*, Metropolitan of that Province, clear'd the Air of it there too.

* Perhaps the Expression *καὶ ἐκείνους* *Εκείνους* implies more than separating Communion, even avoiding all Conversation and Correspondence with those they condemn'd.

† Concerning these see more in *Epiphanius* and *Euthymius Zigabenus*, as quo-

ted by the Learned Mr. Reading. They shunn'd the Light, even so far as to condemn the Doctrines which they profess'd, when they saw occasion; but were nevertheless, notwithstanding all their Arts, condemn'd in the Council of Ephesus, and elsewhere.

And

And *Flavian* of *Antioch*, understanding some of them were at *Edeffa*, labouring to turn the good People's Brains there, sent the *Monks*, in a Body, to bring them to *Antioch*, where they disown'd their *Deliriums*, 'till he drew them into an untoward Discovery; for pretending to believe they had been falsely and maliciously accus'd: He took *Adelphius* aside, and Seating him very near him, told him, in a Friendly Manner, that those People which were so troublesome with their Clamours, were too young to be qualify'd for receiving Spiritual and Mystical Knowledge; but that they two had liv'd a great while in the World, and must needs be much better acquainted not only with human Nature, but the Motions of the Evil, and the Communications of the Good Spirit. Wherefore he besought him to let him into a right Understanding of the Retreat of the Ill Spirit, and the Entering in of the Good. *Adelphius*, upon this, took Courage, and fully explain'd himself; That, in Consequence of *Adam's* Fall, every Man was born with a Devil in his Nature, and in Bondage to that Devil; that Baptism conduc'd nothing towards his Rescue, but that fervent and continual Prayer, and That only, could dislodge the Fiend; that afterwards the Holy Ghost took Possession of the Man, and signify'd his Presence in him by sensible and visible Evidence; and so corrected and govern'd the Motions and Operations both of Soul and Body, that there was no Occasion for further Mortification or Human Doctrine; represented Futurities clearly to his View; and even display'd all the Glories of the Holy Trinity to his Bodily Eyes. *Flavian* having thus gain'd his Point, concluded with him in these Terms; *O thou wretched Old Man! Not by mine, but out of thy own Mouth art thou judg'd; and thy Lips have testify'd against thee.* This lucky Detection sent them out of *Syria*, whence they remov'd to, and poyson'd *Pamphylia*.

BUT now to look back again to the *Macedonian* Delegates, whom we lately left upon the Point of returning; having receiv'd the Pacificatory Letters aforesaid from the Western Church, *Eustathius* and his Brethren departed into *Sicily*; where, having made further Profession of the *Nicene* Faith in the Presence of a Synod assembled there for that Purpose, they receiv'd their Letters, to the same Effect with the former from *Italy*, and so return'd to those that had employ'd them; who, upon Reading the Letter from *Liberius*, sent Abroad their Messengers every where

to the Consubstantialists, to concert the Meeting of a numerous Council at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, for confirming the *Nicene* Faith, and composing all Differences. [And in this Motion or Proposal, a Council of Catholick Bishops, *S. L. 6. c. 12.* which met at *Tyana* (and among whom appear'd *Eusebius* of the *Cappadocian Caesarea*, *Athanasius* of *Ancyra*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, *Zeno* of *Tyre*, *Paul* of *Emesa*, *Otreus* of *Melitine*, *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* the Father, and many others who bore a Part in that *Antiochian* Synod which declar'd for the *Nicene* Faith in the last Reign) concurr'd with them, and dismiss their Letters to all Churches, communicating the Declarations and Decrees, not only of the *Italian* and *Sicilian*, but the *French* and *African* Churches, (from whom the *Lampsacan* Agents had also brought Letters) and desiring them to consider, that the Number of these Western Bishops far exceeded that of the *Ariminum* Assembly, and to profess themselves united to them in Faith and Communion. Another Synod, which met about this Time in *Caria*, consisting of Thirty four *Asiatick* Bishops, more or less, highly applauded and extoll'd their good Wishes and Endeavours for the Church's Unity, but objecting against the Consubstantiality, declar'd for the *Seleucian* Creed, as that which had come from the Pen of *Lucian* the Martyr.] But *Eudoxius*, [or at least the Emperor acted by him,] easily prevented their assembling, and the Purpose of it provok'd him to greater Severities than ever; of which we have one egregious Instance in the Orders [which were sent to the Governors of the Provinces, (and which *S. L. 6. c. 16.* they and their Under-Officers were to see executed, as they would answer the Neglect at the Peril of Fines and Tortures) to banish those Bishops their Churches whom *Constantius* had depriv'd, and *Julian* call'd Home. Among these Warrants was issu'd out a special one] for disturbing and distressing the Church of *Alexandria*, [and driving *Athanasius* out of *Egypt*: In Opposition to which the Christians, in a Body, besought the Prefect so far to favour them, as to *S. L. 6. c. 12.* take Advantage of the Tenour of the Edict, as affecting only those Bishops that had been call'd Home by *Julian*, in which Number *Athanasius* was not: But fair Words not taking Effect, they betake themselves to other Measures of succouring and defending their Bishop, and threaten an Insurrection. Of this the Governor sent an Express to Court, and for the present forbore

bore attempting further to expell *Athanasius*;] who being apprehensive of the Commotions that were gathering upon his Account, and knowing to whom they would be imputed, [took his Opportunity, some time after, when the S. L. 6. c. 12. Ferment was very much abated, to convey himself, one Evening, out of the City, and, as some say,] kept himself conceal'd four Months in his Father's Tomb. [The very Night of his Escape the Governor of S. L. 6. c. 12. the Province, and the Commander of the Forces that were assign'd their Quarters in it, hoping, when now the Passions of the People were almost, and their Persons were fast asleep, to gratify the Emperor with little or no Inconvenience to the City, beset the Church in which the Bishop had his Lodging, and examin'd, in vain, every Hole and Corner to find him. But it was not long e're] the People expressing their great Concern at his Absence in a tumultuous Manner, the Emperor, who knew their Zeal for the Faith, and their Proneness to Mutiny, [and was apprehensive how far his Brother S. L. 6. c. 12. *Valentinian* might concern himself in Favour of so considerable a Man as *Athanasius*, (not to say that the *Arian* Bishops themselves were afraid from what they had known of him before, that the Consequences of removing him would be his appealing and bustling, and the Result of that, his Reception with *Valentinian*, and his Admission to a Personal Hearing from *Valens*, which might prove a Means, if not of Converting the latter, at least of Inflaming the former)] gave Order for his Return, and moreover all Assurances, that he should govern his Church unmolested, which accordingly he did, and all Things ran smooth at *Alexandria*, and in *Egypt*, to the Time of his Death.

As the Emperor was upon his Journey * a second Time, for *Antioch*, he receiv'd at *Bithynia* the News of the Death of *Eudoxius*, who left this World in the third Consulat of both Emperors, having sat in the Chair of *Constantinople* eleven Years. The *Arians* made *Demophilus* his Successor. The Catholics, unwilling to sleep over so fair an Opportunity, got *Evagrius*, a faithful Brother, ordain'd by the Hands of † *Eustathius* of *Antioch*, one of the Bishops recall'd by *Jovian*, and who was then

* V. Vales. in loc.

† V. Vales. in cap. 14. & 15.

Incognito at *Constantinople*, secretly confirming the Catholicks in the Profession of their Faith, and arming them (under God) with Resolution and Courage.

THIS Boldness and Activity of their Adversaries further exasperated the *Arians* there in a new Storm of Persecution; and the Emperor, ever in their Service, thought fit to send Forces thither to keep the Peace; and *Eustathius* and *Evagrius* he banish'd: Upon which Encouragement the *Arians* grew so insolent and furious, that they beat, imprison'd, fined, in a word, insulted, abus'd, and worry'd the Catholicks to such a Degree, that they found themselves under a Necessity of appealing to the Emperor for Relief, who shew'd them just as much Kindness as they had Reason to expect from him. The Deputation they sent to him, consisting of Eighty Ecclesiasticks, whereof *Urbanus*, *Theodorus*, and *Menedemus* were the principal, having, by their Petition, represented their Case, he presently took Fire at it, but smothering his Passion for the present, found occasion afterwards so freely to gratify it, as to give the Prefect *Modestus* a private Order for their Destruction. The Prefect fearing a Publick Execution of them would set the People of *Nicomedia* (where the Delegates had found the Emperor) in an Uproar, put them on Shipboard, and pretended they were doom'd to Banishment (a Sentence which they receiv'd very courageously and chearfully) but secretly instructed the Seamen, when they were got far out to Sea, to set the Vessel on Fire; which they did, and went off in the Cock-Boat whilst a strong East-Wind, then blowing, carry'd the Ship in Flames, to a Port [in *Bithynia*] call'd *S. L. 6. c. 14. Dacidifus*, where the sad Catastrophe was finish'd.

In Consequence (as 'tis believ'd) of so piacular an Act soon after so judicial a Famine wasted all *Phrygia*, that most of the Inhabitants were forc'd to retire and get a Subsistence, for some Time, in other Provinces.

FROM *Nicomedia* the Emperor came to *Antioch*, where he gave the full rein to his Malice and Fury against the Catholick Church; for having before pretty well contented himself with almost clearing the whole Eastern Empire of the Professors of the *Nicene* Faith by Banishment, now he began as freely and unconcernedly to impose Corporal Punishments, and to put great Num-

bers of them to Death, particularly by the new Method of Drowning.

HE let loose *Gentiles, Jews*, and all Sorts of *T. L. 4. c. 24,* Sects and Hereticks, against the Catholicks; and 25, 26, 27. permitted the Heathens to celebrate publicly their old Rites and Mysteries, which *Jovian* had abolish'd; he turn'd the Catholicks out of a Church which the same good Emperor had built for them, and out of every other Church of the City; so that they were oblig'd to attend the Divine Offices in the open Air, expos'd to all Inclemencies and Changes of Weather. Nor would he yet allow them to meet for these Duties at the Foot of a Mountain, the Place which they had chosen for that Purpose; but drove and dispers'd them from thence by Military Force: Upon which, conducted by *Flavian* and *Diodorus*, Men that hazarded their Lives for the Name of the Lord *Jesus*, and who took Care of the Flock in the Absence of their Bishop *Meletius*, they remov'd to the Banks of the neighbouring River *; and being dislodg'd from thence too, they betook themselves to the Artillery-Ground for the Place of Assembly. These two Chiefs were Men of very good Extraction, Understanding, and Courage; the former, tho' at that Time he did not preach himself, yet animated the latter and others who did, and furnish'd them with Arguments and Materials, and upon every ordinary Occasion, whether publick or private, encounter'd and confuted the impious Assertions and empty Sophisms of the *Arians*; while the excellent *Diodorus* fought the same Fight from the Pulpit. *Aphraates*, the Monk, now quitting the Regions of Solitude, appear'd, as 'twere, the third Guardian Angel of the Church of *Antioch*. We have formerly given an Account of this great and good Man's Life and Character in our *Philothean History* †. But one remarkable Passage which here falls in with our present Account of Things, we must not omit. As he was passing to the Artillery-Ground, to administer his Religious Assistances to the Flock, the Emperor looking down from a Portico, and observing an aged Clergyman very poorly habited, making great Haste, and being inform'd, that it was *Aphraates*, the great Oracle of the City,

* The Orontes.

† Religiosa Histor. p. 812.

call'd

call'd to him, and ask'd him *Where he was going? To offer up my Prayers* (said the good Man) *for your Majesty.* The Emperor told him, *That, as being a Monk, he should rather do that privately at Home.* 'Tis true, said the Confessor, *and I always did so, till a most unhappy Occasion call'd me abroad; and that is the violent Measures us'd towards the Sheep of my Saviour, and the Danger they are expos'd to of being devour'd by the Wolves. Were I a Virgin in my Father's House, and appointed to take Care of it, and saw it on Fire, and the Flames prevailing; Would it become me to sit still, to be consum'd to Ashes in it? Would not my Duty call me out of my Chamber to bestir my self, and fetch Water, and contribute all that lay in my Power to put out the Fire? I am sure, Sir, your Majesty will not deny it. Now this is the Case: I am that faithful and wise Daughter; and your Majesty has set my Father's House in a Flame, which I hurry about, and use my best Endeavours to extinguish.* The Emperor had no more to say, but one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber was pleas'd, by way of Answer, to threaten him in very high Terms; for which the Menacer pay'd dearly. For immediately after, as he was setting a Bath, he had the Care of, in Order for the Emperor's Use, on a sudden he fell mad, plung'd into the Water which prov'd to be scalding hot, and perish'd in it. The Emperor having long waited, and wondring he did not come to tell him Things were ready, sent those to know the Meaning of it, who, upon Search, found him dead, and his Body boil'd with the Heat of the Water; which the Emperor and his Favourites no sooner heard of, but, with Amazement, they ascrib'd it to the Prayers of *Aphraates*; and yet harden'd their Hearts, and push'd on their Purpose as vigorously and vehemently as ever. So difficult, or rather Impossible, it would be for even *Moses* and the Prophets, were they to rise from the Dead, to make any Impression upon Princes given up to such a wretched Delusion, as to turn their Protection into Persecution.

THE great *Julian* of *Edessa* came also to *Antioch* for the very same Purpose which brought *Aphraates* thither, tho' not without a further Inducement; for the *Arians* (which was a common Artifice with them) having spread a Lie, that they had gain'd him to their Side; the faithful and careful Triumvirate now mention'd, besought him by that worthy Confessor *Acacius*, afterwards Bishop of *Beræa*, (whom they sent to him) to come

and assist them in supporting Truth, and to confute the false and foul Calumny which the Children of Lies had cast upon him: Both which he did to the purpose, by working such frequent and astonishing Miracles (for which we have the Attestation of the *Arians* themselves) as were of force enough to reduce the whole Dissenting Body of the City to the Catholick Communion. The Particulars may be seen in our *Philothean History*. By the Way, the famous *Antony* had set an early Example of this Kind, in the Reign of *Constantius*, when he left his Cell, and went to *Alexandria*, and there boldly, in the Streets, inculcated to the People, that their Bishop *Athanasius* asserted the true Faith, and the *Arians* were Rebels and Fighters against God.]

[*PELAGIUS*, that excellent Bishop of *T.L.4. c. 13. Laodicea*, was driven from his Flock, and banish'd into *Arabia*. He was a Person whose Character consisted of a noble conjunction and harmony of sublime, resplendent Virtues, (which gain'd him an unanimous Election to his Bishoprick) and among them none shone brighter than his Self-denial; of which he gave a memorable Instance, when, marrying young, he perswaded his Virgin-Bride to consent to an absolute Forbearance of Matrimonial Embraces, and convert their Conjugal into Fraternal Endearments.

THE divine *Eusebius* of *Samosata* they banish'd into *Thrace*, exasperated at his Apostolick Zeal and indefatigable Labours for the Faith; of which to give one Instance: Being sensible many Churches had utterly lost their Governours, * he went a Progress in the Habit of a Soldier, with a *Tiara* about his Head, thro' *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Palestine*, ordaining into every Class of the Clerical Orders, and filling vacant Sees, where he found them, by putting them under such Orthodox Bishops as he met with in his Circuit. When the Imperial Messenger brought him his Master's Letters commanding him to be gone, he desir'd him to make a Secret of his Business, *Which* (he told him) *if the People should know of, they would certainly drown him in the Euphrates, (running under the Walls of Samosata) and then the Murder would be wholly charg'd upon him.* 'Twas Evening

* V. Val. in loc.

when the Officer came : So the Bishop stay'd, and read Evening-Prayer to his Congregation ; and at Night, as soon as he thought his Friends were abed and asleep, he went from his House on Foot, attended only by one trusty Servant, who carry'd nothing with him for his Master but a Pillow and a Bible ; and going aboard a Vessel that lay in the *Euphrates*, order'd the Rowers to carry him to *Zeugma*, † where he arriv'd the next Morning. Mean Time the Servant that went with him to the Galley, returning and informing his Master's Friends and Acquaintance of what had happen'd, and what Men and Books he desired to have with him, the City rung with Cries, and almost flow'd with Tears. Presently all the Boats upon the River were crowded ; and when as many as could get Passage were come to the Place, at the Sight of their beloved and venerated Bishop, bursting out into all the most passionate Expressions of Sorrow, (with such a pious Vehemence did the Christians of those Times assert the Interest of the Church, and not only vindicate the Honour and Authority, but reverence and love the sacred Persons of their Pastors) begg'd of him, for God's Sake, to stay with them, and not leave his poor Flock in the very Jaws of the Wolves. But when their Importunities had no Effect ; for he told them, he could by no means gratify them in Defiance to the great Apostolical Command of Obedience to Kings and Magistrates : (a glorious Instance of old, since sadly exploded, Loyalty) they offer'd him whatever might be of Use or Service to him in his Exile, Gold, Silver, Cloaths, and Servants : But he accepted only of a few Conveniences at the Hands of some who were most intimate with him ; and having pray'd with his good People, and preach'd to them, encouraging and conjuring them manfully to fight the good Fight of Faith, he set off towards the *Ister*, upon the Banks of which he had his Residence in his Exile, and that at an unlucky Time, as we learn from himself, when the *Goths* were over-running and ravaging *Thrace*. The melancholy parting thus got over, his Congregation return'd, animating and infusing Comfort and Courage into one another all the Way ; and when afterwards, according to their Expectations, a new Bishop, by Name *Eunomius*, was put upon them ; not any one single Soul of them communicated with him, or visited, or spoke to him,

† See *Baudrand*, as quoted by *Mr. Reading*.

tho' a very civil, good-natur'd Man, which appears from hence. As he was washing once in a Bath, and they that belong'd to it kept the Door against others that had a Mind to come in, he gave Order for their Admission, with free Leave to them to wash with him; and when he observ'd they took no notice of the Favour, but stood silent and still, interpreting the Distance they kept as an Expression of Regard and Reverence, he left the Bath; whence he was no sooner gone, but they let out all the Water he had been washing in, as being tainted and polluted with Heresy, and order'd a fresh Supply for their own Use: Of which when he was inform'd, he thought it to no purpose for him to stay in a Place where he was so very much hated and detested, and therefore quitted it. His Successor *Lucius* was likewise abhorr'd to such a Degree, that some Children playing with a Ball in the Streets, their Ball happening to run between his As's Feet, as he was riding by, fell a crying and complaining, *That the Ball was infected and defil'd*, and in the Sight of a Servant he had set to watch, kindled a Fire, and threw the Ball backward and forward thro' the Flame to purge it. Indeed *Lucius* gave the People a great deal more Cause to hate him than *Eunomius*; for he had instigated the Magistrates to dispose of several of the Inferiour Clergy there, in the same Manner as they had done of their Bishop; and the more any Man distinguish'd his Zeal for the Faith, the further Journey he found he had to go. Thus *Evolcius*, the Deacon, was banish'd into *Oasis*, a poor, little, desolate Town, in the very Outskirts of the Empire; and *Antiochus*, *Eusebius*'s Nephew, who was also a Clergyman, and one that had done the Church great Services, was carry'd off into the utmost Parts of *Armenia*; whence returning afterwards, when upon his Unkle's Death, he was by a Synod of the Province, conven'd * according to Custom, chosen to succeed him; and the Ordainers having brought him, not without Compulsion, to the Altar, were now going to lay their Hands upon his Head; observing among them *Jovian*, Bishop of *Perga*, (who had formerly, for some little Time, communicated with the *Arians*) he put away his Hand, and declar'd, as it had receiv'd from Blasphemers the impious Resemblance of the Divine Eucharist, it should never come upon his Head.]

* *evidos*, which of Course met upon every Vacancy to elect a New Bishop.

[THE famous *Barfes*, Bishop of *Edeffa*, a *T. L. 4. c. 16.* Name still highly reverenc'd, not only where his Jurisdiction lay, and in the Places adjacent, but in *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, and *Thebais*, was banish'd into an Island call'd *Aradus*, where the miraculous Cures which God enabled him to effect, by only a Command of his Mouth, bringing the People in Crowds to him, he was remov'd to *Oxyrynthus*, a City in *Egypt*, and from thence, upon the same Account again, to *Pheno*, a Fort standing very near the barbarous Borders. His Bed, they say, is now to be seen in the Isle of *Aradus*, and celebrated for the Cures many sick People have receiv'd from it, by only laying down upon it.]

[AT the City, which Providence had put under the care of this Apostolick Shepherd, is a very *S. L. 6. c. 18.* magnificent Church, dedicated to the Apostle St. *Thomas*, where the Divine Offices of Religion are perform'd continually, at all Hours of the Day and Night. The Emperor's Curiosity led him to see this Church: When, being told that all the People who frequented it, abhorr'd his Principles, he was so Angry that, as we are told, *T. L. 6. c. 17.* he struck [*Modestus*] the Prefect for letting them assemble † there. Upon which, tho' very unwillingly, yet, to pacify and please his Master, he put himself at the Head of a Body of Men, to march to the Church, and execute the Emperor's bloody Vengeance; but not 'till he had communicated secret and timely Intelligence to the Parties concern'd of the Tragedy propos'd; which so little affected them, that the next Day (when 'twas to be acted) they flock'd to the Church, one and all. And in that number a poor Woman with her Son, a little Child, in her Hand, was making her Way, as well as she could, through the Ranks of the Prefect's Soldiers; which provoking him, he had her brought before him, and ask'd her somewhat Compassionately, *Whither she was making such haste?* She told

† Sozomen (*L. 6. c. 18.*) says, They were not permitted the use of any Church, but that their Congregation met in a Field, without the Walls of the City; where the Emperor found them assem-

bled at their Devotions. Theodorit (*L. 4. c. 17.*) agrees with him in the first Particular. The latter Historian differs from the other two in some Circumstances of this Story, not worth taking notice of.

him,

him, *To the same Place that her Neighbours were crowding to. But don't you know*, said the Prefect, *that all that are found there are to be punish'd with Death?* Yes; says the Woman, *and that makes me go so fast. And whither are you carrying that little One?* says the Prefect. She reply'd, *Along with myself to Martyrdom.* By this Rencontre the Prefect finding what a resolute and immoveable sort of Men he had to deal with, represented the Matter to the Emperor, suggesting what the World would

think of Slaughtering such a Multitude of Men
T. L. 4. c. 27. at a Stroke, in cold Blood, [and that the Expedient would only turn to their own Shame and Disgrace, instead of working upon the People 'twas design'd to humble;] and so he brought the Emperor to a better Temper; [though not absolutely to quell his Passion and Resentment; for he commanded

their Encouragers and Principals, the Presbyters and Deacons, to be seiz'd, and that Endeavours should be us'd to perswade them to communicate with the Intruder he had set over them; but if that fail'd, to banish them to the Ends of the Earth. So the Prefect assembled them, and laid himself out in very mild and obliging Terms to make them Converts to his Master; among other weighty Arguments, insisting upon *Their Inconsiderable Number, and the Emperor's Irresistible Power, and what a Madness it would be for the former to pretend to struggle with the latter.* To all these fine things not one of their Company reply'd a single Word; upon which the Prefect ask'd their Foreman, as they had design'd and plac'd him, the incomparable *Eulogius, Why he made him no Answer?* *Eulogius* told him, *He did not know that he had ask'd him any Question.* No? said the Prefect, *have not I been addressing myself to you very largely and laboriously, if it were possible, to make you sensible of your true Interest?* I understood, said *Eulogius*, *you directed your Discourse to us all, and therefore I took not upon me to speak first, when the rest were equally concern'd. But if you intended it for me only, I am ready to let you know my Mind.* The Prefect bad him communicate with the Emperor. † *Is then*

† Μη γὰρ ἔτι καὶ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱεραρχῶν μετέλαχον; Let the vile Eraftians and Latitudinarians of the present Age

think a little upon this Noble Question of the great Confessor.

his Majesty, Sir, (said *Eulogius*, severely, yet handsomely and justly) a Bishop as well as an Emperor? Stung with such a Sarcastick Reproach, the Prefect had no longer Patience, but flew out into a Passion and foul Language against the good old Man; *You Blockhead*, said he, *did I intimate any such Thing? I only press'd you to join yourselves to their Communion, with whom his Majesty communicates.* *Eulogius* reply'd, *That they had a Bishop, to whom, in Spirituals, they ow'd and would pay entire Obedience.* Then the Prefect was pleas'd to close the Dispute with seizing upon Eighty of them, and sending them off into *Thrace*. In their Passage thither, they met with so many Congratulations and Compliments, both from City and Country, upon their Conflict and Victory, that their envious Adversaries informing the Emperor of it, he order'd them to be dispers'd into different Provinces, and no more than two of them to keep together; a Sentence which they, who were to see it executed, further improv'd, by parting near Relations, even Brother from Brother. *Eulogius* and *Protogenes* were brought to *Antinous*, a City of *Thebais*; where they found the Bishop to be of their own Communion; but that Felicity was very much impair'd by the great Concern the smallness of his Congregation gave them, the Inhabitants being generally Infidels. To take away this Reproach, either of them betook himself to his respective Part; *Eulogius* to that of continual Prayer in Private; and *Protogenes*, a well-instructed Man in the Holy Scriptures, set up a School, and taught the Children to Write Short Hand, in which he made them take down such Portions of Scripture, either out of the *Psalms* or the *New-Testament*, as might prove most beneficial to them, and to commit them to Memory. One of his Scholars falling Sick, he went to visit him, and taking him by the Hand, pray'd over him, and recover'd him; as he did afterwards, upon Occasion, any others of his Scholars, when he was brought to them for that Purpose by their Parents, who readily consented to the Preliminary Condition, without which he absolutely refus'd to pray to God to restore them, *viz.* that they should receive Baptism. But as often as he converted any body, found in Health, he presently brought him to *Eulogius*, (because he was the first Presbyter in the Church of *Edessa*, though himself was the second) by him to be initiated a Member of *Christ*; and when it made the good Man Peevish, to be interrupted at his Devotions,

tions, he told him, *Saving of Souls was a more necessary Business*. And this submissive Deference to *Eulogius*, when himself was such an illustrious Instrument of the Divine Power and Grace in working of Miracles, and multiplying Believers, did not a little enhance the great Opinion which the People of the Place had conceived of his Worth and Virtue. Afterwards, when the Church had recover'd her Halcyon-Days, and these two Confessors were call'd Home, it was a very melancholy Parting between them and the *Antinoites*; particularly the Bishop was afflicted, losing their Ministry and Assistance. After the Death of *Barses*, *Eulogius* succeeded in the Chair of *Edeffa*. But *Carræ* fell to the Lot of *Protogenes*, a very Barbarous, Uncultivated, and scarce a Christian City.]

ABOUT the same Time that he thus wreak'd his Anger, to no Purpose, upon the brave *Edeffans*, the Emperor being inform'd, that an Oracle, which some of his Heathen Subjects, [impatient to have a Prince of their own Religion,] had been consulting to inform themselves who should be *Valens's* Successor, had return'd for Answer, that his Name was a compound Word, and begun with *Theod*, put to Death, in Defiance to all the Obligations of that Religion which he pretended to be so zealous and devout a Professor of, as many *Theodoruses*, *Theodotuses*, *Theodosiuses*, *Theoduluses*, and others whose Names had that ominous Beginning, as he thought he had reason to be jealous of; among them *Theodosiolus*, a Gentleman of eminent Merit and high Extraction. And such was the Danger, at this Juncture, that several Persons thought fit to change their Names upon it, [and indeed, their Garb and Habit too.

S. L. 6. c. 35. For as the Emperor had, upon the first Discovery of their Practices, so freely let loose his Passion and Revenge upon the Infidel Philosophers, (the Men that had taken this Method to satisfy their Curiosity) that he condemned them to the Flames, and upon *Theodorus*, a considerable Officer at Court, a Heathen, but otherwise a Man of Worth, (in whom they promis'd themselves the Completion of the Prediction) that he struck off his Head; so he did not acquit, or spare, even those of the learned Tribe, who were unconcern'd in the Fact that had provok'd him; nay, only to wear the Philosophick Habit, without having any manner of Pretence

Pretence or Relation to the Character, suffic'd to create a Suspicion, that the Party was conversant in Magical Studies and Curiosities; and that Suspicion was enough to cost him his Life. So that 'tis easy to imagine how few of the Gentile Professors surviv'd so general an Execution.

ATHANASIUS, that glorious Luminary of the Church, and unwearied Confessor for her Faith and Being, [having govern'd the Church of *Alexandria* about the Space of Forty six Years,] now rested from his Labours, in the second Consulat of *Gratian*, *Probus* his Colleague; and *Peter*, a very pious and eloquent Man, [who had follow'd his Fortunes, and been his Partner in the Toils, the Dangers and Afflictions of his Life, both at Home and Abroad,] succeeded him; [being elected into that Throne, upon his blessed Predecessor's Recommendation, by the Universal Suffrage of the Clergy, Magistracy, Nobility and Gentry of the whole Patriarchate; at the earnest Request and Importunity of the neighbouring Bishops and Monks, who flock'd upon that Errand to *Alexandria*; and with the joyful Huzzas and Acclamations of the Populace.] This, however, was a lucky Juncture for the *Arians*, who sent away the News of what had pass'd to his Majesty, then at *Antioch*; where *Euzoius*, at the same Time, very officiously offer'd his Service to go and fix *Lucius* in the Chair of *Alexandria*. And thither his Master immediately sent him, appointing him a sufficient Military Force to attend his Motions, and execute his Pleasure; by the Strength of which he securely * apprehended *Peter*, and clapt him in Chains, scatter'd and dispers'd his Clergy, and inthron'd *Lucius*; not without inflicting such barbarous and inhuman Cruelties upon the Catholicks, that *Sabinus*, a *Semiarian*, has been asham'd to mention any thing of them. [For the People

* Theod. (L. 4. c. 21.) says nothing of *Peter's* Imprisonment, but he tells us, That the Governour of the Province, pretending Duty to the Emperor, and Zeal to serve him, but in reality glad of an Opportunity to gratify his Malice against the *Christians*, (for he was an Infidel) assembled a Mob of Heathens and Jews, expell'd *Peter* his Church, as soon as ever he was seated in his Throne, and took Possession for *Lucius* some Days before his arrival there.

rising in a Body to make Head against *Euzoius* and *Lucius*, the Clergy and Holy Virgins were accus'd as the Incendiaries. And, indeed, the whole City appear'd like a Place taken by Storm, while the Persecuted run hither and thither, and the Pursuers apprehended [beat,] imprison'd them
T. L. 4. c. 21. [and rifled their Houses;] which, or even Banishment, or Death itself, were a Favour, in Comparison of the Tortures many of them endur'd and surviv'd.] But the excellent *Peter*, being so happy as to make his Escape out of Prison, convey'd
S. L. 6. c. 19. himself to *Damasus*, Bishop of *Rome*, [as being an Assertor of the same Faith with himself,] and communicated the Story through the whole *Christian* World, [in an Epistle, out of which it will be well worth our while to extract a more particular Account and Relation of these Tyrannical Proceedings.

‘ *PALLADIUS*, the Governour of the Province, a bigotted Heathen, and long us'd to the Work of Persecution, at the Head of the promiscuous Rabble aforesaid, broke into the Church, (that which is dedicated to *St. Theonas*) where they utter'd and acted such Things as I can scarce, for very Grief and Abhorrence, recite, *Quis talia fando temperet a Lachrymis?* They sung their Hymns compos'd in honour of the Heathen Gods; and where God himself us'd to speak by his Word, there the Walls rung with the noise of Blows, clapping of Hands, and obscene Expressions, which every good Christian stopp'd his Ears at, wishing himself deaf, rather than such Sounds should enter and pollute them. Nor did they only put the consecrated Virgins into Confusion, by their Brutish Language, but * grunting thro' their Noses, like so many Swine, cut asunder their Garments, and led them stark-naked along the Streets, forbearing no Affronts or Abuses to entertain their lewd Fancy; from which, if any Body, in pure Compassion, attempted to divert them, he was sure to carry off the Marks of their Fury and Violence. Many Virgins were ravish'd; and many others of them had their Heads so

* On purpose to increase the Affront and Insolence.

‘ broken and batter’d with Clubs, that they never spoke after ;
 ‘ and such was the Inhumanity of these Infernal Miscreants, that
 ‘ after they had thus abus’d their Bodies, they would not so
 ‘ much as let their Friends have them to bury them, and ’tis not
 ‘ yet known, to the great Grief of their Parents, what’s be-
 ‘ come of many of them. They put up a young Fellow *
 ‘ dress’d in Woman’s Apparel, his Eye-Brows and Face painted
 ‘ as they colour their Idols, upon the sacred Altar, where he
 ‘ danc’d Anticks, and acted the *Scaramouch*, while those that
 ‘ gave him his Lesson, fed their Eyes with the Farce, Laughing
 ‘ and Blaspheming. In the Episcopal Throne they plac’d a lewd
 ‘ infamous Wretch, that had stripp’d himself naked ; and there,
 ‘ at the Encouragement of his impious Accomplices, person-
 ‘ ating the Preacher, he run out into Commendations and Enco-
 ‘ miums of a Libertine Life. The Way thus prepar’d, when I
 ‘ had left the Church ; (for how could I longer oppose myself
 ‘ to an arm’d *Militia*, and a Multitude inflam’d by liberal Di-
 ‘ stributions of Money, and magnificent Promises ?) in came
 ‘ the ravenous *Lucius*, my pretended Successor, who had nei-
 ‘ ther the Designation of an Orthodox Synod, nor the Suffrage
 ‘ of a Catholick Clergy, nor so much as † the Petition of the
 ‘ Laity to plead for his Election ; attended and introduc’d (for
 ‘ he did not think fit to come alone !) not by Bishops, Presby-
 ‘ ters, Deacons, Laity, nor by the *Monks* singing Anthems be-
 ‘ fore him, but by the *Arian* Invader of the *Antiochian* Chair,
 ‘ *Euzoius*, and by *Magnus*, one of the Emperor’s principal
 ‘ Treasurers, at the Head of a large Body of armed Men. This
 ‘ *Magnus* was a notorious Enemy of our Holy Religion. He had
 ‘ burnt down the Church of *Berytus*, in *Julian*’s Time ; but
 ‘ *Jovian*, of blessed Memory, made him rebuild it at his own
 ‘ Charge, and scarce restrain’d himself from taking off his Head
 ‘ too for the Fact. Let the Consideration of these outrageous
 ‘ Injuries and Impieties excite in all, to whom these Presents
 ‘ shall come, a just Indignation, and a noble Resolution of a-
 ‘ venging the Church’s Cause. Heresy is not enough for *Lu-*
 ‘ *cius*, (of which he stands condemn’d by the whole Orthodox
 ‘ World) but he takes a Pleasure in hearing the Son of God in-
 ‘ sulted and deny’d by the very Mouths of Infidels ; which yet,

* V. Val. in loc.

† ἀντίστασις λαῶν.

' I confess, is not so much to be wonder'd at in a Man, who
 ' approaches so near them in the main Point of Worshipping a
 ' created and a new God. Hence that Salutation which they
 ' gave him aloud, *You are a welcome Bishop, who deny the*
 ' *Son's Divinity.* Serapis loves you, and has brought you hi-
 ' ther; which was no sooner out of their Mouths, but Mag-
 ' nus and his Dragoons seiz'd upon Nineteen Presbyters and
 ' Deacons, some of them above Fourscore Years Old, and bring-
 ' ing them under a Judicial Process, as if it had been a secular
 ' Case, earnestly urg'd them to a Renunciation of the Faith,
 ' deriv'd to them from the Apostles; For, says he, *let those*
 ' *Principles you insist upon, be ever so true and sound; yet an*
 ' *invincible Necessity and Compulsion will fairly release you in*
 ' *the Eyes of God and Man from all Obligation to persist in as-*
 ' *serting them.* If you will comply, the Emperor offers you
 ' *Wealth and Honours.* If not, you must expect Imprisonment,
 ' *Tortures, Sequestrations, Banishment and Misery.* They re-
 ' ply'd, *You may e'en as well keep your empty Arguments to*
 ' *yourself; for, threaten and do your worst, you shall never*
 ' *bring us to worship a God of Yesterday; nor to acknowledge*
 ' *that there was a Time, when God the Father was not a Fa-*
 ' *ther, and consequently not God; for that the Communication*
 ' *of his Divinity, which is the Foundation of his Paternity,*
 ' *must as surely have been from all Eternity, as the Divinity*
 ' *itself; and consequently God the Son, by whom all Things*
 ' *were created, must have existed from Everlasting: Agreeably*
 ' *to which evident Demonstration the Nicene Fathers esta-*
 ' *blish'd, upon clear and full Authorities of Scripture, the*
 ' *Confession of the Son's being of One Substance with the Fa-*
 ' *ther; anathematizing that Doctrine, (and all Assertors of it)*
 ' *which this * Novice and Upstart here has the Presumption to*
 ' *vindicate.* The Treasurer had no other Answer for them,
 ' but to commit them to Prison, where he kept them several
 ' Days, and exercis'd them with Tortures, which they endur'd
 ' with a Courage and Constancy, equal to the glorious Exam-
 ' ple, which help'd to support them, of the great Martyrs and
 ' Confessors that had suffer'd before them. Having, to no Pur-
 ' pose, shewn his fertile Invention in the Art of Cruelty, he

* Meaning Lucius.

' again assembled his Mercenary Crowd, and had his Prisoners
 ' brought before him, to a Bath very near the Port, where his
 ' Concourse of *Jews* and *Heathens* almost rent their Throats,
 ' with roaring and bellowing against them, and himself pass'd
 ' the Sentence of Banishment upon them in the Sight of a vast
 ' Multitude of People, who were the more deeply affected with
 ' Sorrow at the Thoughts of losing them, because they had been
 ' Eye-witnesses of the sad Severities which they had undergone, and
 ' the Patience and Bravery they had borne them with. But their
 ' Tears and Sorrows did them no Service: The Triumphant
 ' Nineteen were order'd away to *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, a City
 ' zealously and entirely Heathen, and wretchedly dissolute, situate
 ' in a waste Mountainous Country, and full of wild Beasts. Ac-
 ' cordingly they were shipp'd off, destitute of Necessaries, and in
 ' very stormy Weather; which, yet, as little discompos'd or terri-
 ' fy'd them, as the Farewell the Treasurer took of them, by draw-
 ' ing and brandishing his Sword when they were put on board.
 ' The Shore, at the same time, rung with loud Lamentations,
 ' and represented a lively Scene of publick Sorrow and Distrac-
 ' tion, in which every Age, and both Sexes, bore a Part, and
 ' which was resented so highly, that, by the Prefect's Order,
 ' many were seiz'd for weeping and bewailing themselves, (as,
 ' indeed, one may say the whole City did, both publickly and
 ' at Home, upon this melancholy Occasion) being seiz'd, were
 ' put in Prison, beat, mangled, tortur'd, and then condemn'd
 ' to the Mines; among them Twenty Three of the Monastick
 ' Profession, who had signaliz'd themselves by an Heroick Zeal for
 ' the Cause of the Church; and soon after they had another added
 ' to their Number, a Deacon, who brought me Letters of Comfort
 ' and Communion from *Damasus*, Bishop of *Rome*. Him they
 ' bound, laid upon him severer Tortures than they would have
 ' done upon a Murderer, beat and bruis'd his Neck with
 ' Stones, and Wedges of Lead, and then sent him, absolutely un-
 ' provided of Necessaries, but comforting himself with the Re-
 ' membrance of his Profession, by signing his Forehead with the
 ' Sign of the Cross, to bear the others Company to the Mines.
 ' Nor could any Petitions and Importunities of the nearest Re-
 ' lations, and, indeed, of the whole City, prevail with them to
 ' part with the Bodies, even of Children to their Parents, to be
 ' bury'd after the Torture had dispatch'd them; but they set a
 ' Watch upon them, and in this, as well as in other Circum-
 ' stances.

stances of Cruelty, distanc'd the *Egyptian* Tyrant himself, who, tho' he kill'd the *Hebrew* Males, and had his politick Jealousies and Fears to plead in palliation of the Murder, yet we do not read that he deny'd them Burial. 'Tis incredible, the Rage and Inhumanity, which the *Arians* made their Diversion and Pleasure. And when they had not left a *House* in the City in which there was not one dead, they visited the Bishops of the Province, Count *Magnus* very diligently attending them; and after they had, without succeeding in any one Attempt, travers'd and ransack'd the Country, to find out those whom their Severities could make Impression on; as their Father, the Devil, goes about seeking whom he may devour, they dispos'd of Eleven of the Bishops: (Men who had made their Lives a continued Course of Ascetick Austerity and Mortification; who had wean'd themselves entirely from any Relish of external Satisfaction; who, * by their miraculous Exorcisms, had often manifested a Power given them over all the Power of the Enemy; who boldly maintain'd the Catholick Faith which they had suck'd in with their Mothers Milk; and very forcibly and fully confuted the reigning Heresie, filling the Faces of their Adversaries with Confusion, as well by the Lustre of their Lives, as the Strength of their Arguments) These they dispos'd of in *Diocæsarea*, a City inhabited by *Jews*; nay, and opening their Malice and Fury like the Mouth of Hell, they brought the same Calamity upon the Church of *Antioch*; where the Clergy, in Conjunction with some of the Monks, declaring loudly, and bestirring themselves vigorously, against their Villainy, they fill'd the Emperor's Ears with Noise and Clamour about it, and had them sent away to *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*, a wild and waste Part of the World, where, perhaps, they are starv'd, or their Hearts otherwise broke, by this Time.] Thus far the venerable Patriarch's Epistle.

IN confirmation of all which, *Socrates* further tells us, That the *Arians*, who were all true harden'd *Gallios*, were put in Possession of the Churches, tho' they made but a very thin Body. And these Violences were soon follow'd with Orders from Court to banish all the profess'd *Homoïsans* of that Province,

* This probably is the Meaning of ἡκὺν ποταμὸς κατὰ δαυμόνων ἱπάρκοντας.

and to lay on the Rod where-ever *Lucius* pleas'd, which was done accordingly. And even the innocent Repose of the Religious Houses and Recesses was now invaded, and turn'd to a most Tragical Hurry of Calamity and Devastation.

WE have before given an Account of some of the more famous Professors of that sort of Life, who then flourish'd; particularly * Mention has been made of *Ammon*, and the voluntary Separation agreed upon between him and his Wife; to which Story we shall here superinduce one or two remarkable Circumstances; as first, That he was not without Difficulty (tho' a young Man) perswaded to enter into the Conjugal Estate; and, That the first Night of their Nuptials, when he and his Bride were left alone, he read to her those Counsels and Directions which *St. Paul* has given concerning Marriage, in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*; enlarging on the Inconveniencies, Vexations, and Sorrows attending that State, and the great Advantages, and Angelical Excellency of a single Life; which Arguments had such a Force, that she consented to their lying apart, and soon after made the first Motion for their living asunder; which they did, thenceforth never tasting Wine or Oyl, nor any Thing else but Bread, nor even that sometimes for several Days together. *Didymus*, another noted Ascetick, liv'd a recluse Life to Ninety Years of Age, [and *Cronion*, to *S. L. 6. c. 30.* above a Hundred.] *Arsenius*, another of them, was famous for the Lenity of his Discipline towards the young Offenders of his Society; for he said they would only resent and stomach it, instead of being sensible of and humbled by the Smart of it, as the more Elderly were. *Pior* always eat his Victuals walking, which he gave two Reasons for; namely, That he look'd upon Eating and Drinking to be a sort of Digression and a secondary Concern in Life; and again, That he did it to divert his Soul, at those Times, from the Perception of sensitive Pleasure. *Isidore* affirm'd, That, for Forty Years together, he had never comply'd with any one Suggestion or Sollicitation of his Passions, or so much as sinn'd in Thought. *Pambos* desiring a Friend to read a Psalm to him, (for he could not read himself) † the Thirty Eighth was dipt upon; and as soon as he had heard

* See Part I. Page 51.

† In our Translation the 39th.

the first Verse of it, *I said, I will take heed to my Ways, that I offend not in my Tongue*, he desir'd him to stop there, and told him, *That was Lesson enough for one Time*; nor did he come to his Assistant again within Six Months after, who blaming him for staying away so long, his Excuse was, *That he had not yet reduc'd to practice the Precept he went away with the last Time*, and he told a Friend Nineteen Years after, who ask'd him, *Whether he had then compass'd it*, that he could hardly answer him in the Affirmative. Being entrusted, upon a Time, with the Distribution of some Charity Money, the Person who gave it him desir'd him to tell it, *No*, (said he) *there's no Occasion for Counting and Honesty both together*. At Alexandria, whither an Invitation from Athanasius brought him, meeting with a Woman who was a Stage-Player, he burst out into Tears, and being ask'd the Meaning of it, said, *It was partly upon the Woman's Account, and partly upon his own; upon hers, to think how desperate her Condition was; and upon his own, when he consider'd how much more Pains that unhappy Creature took to please and gratify a vicious Audience than he did to render an acceptable Service to God*. 'Twas the Saying of another Recluse, * *That a lazy Monk was no better than a Pickpocket*. Peterius was very well vers'd in natural Philosophy, and had his Auditors and Scholars, to whom he never read a Lecture without introducing it with devout Addresses to God.

THE two Macarij hold a Place in the former Volume. (p. 232) Our Historian adds little to what has been related of them there, save only, That the *Alexandrian* was austere in his Carriage and Discipline towards his Scholars; and the *Egyptian* as tender, endearing, and pleasant. Evagrius, whom Gregory Nazianzen [had the Instruction of in Sacred and Philosophical Learning, and] ordain'd Deacon, and brought with him into *Egypt*, struck into their Acquaintance, gave up himself to their Institutions and Course of Life, [(a Course which he had enter'd upon before at *Jerusalem*, whither he had travell'd for that Purpose)] equall'd them in Working of

* No very bright Apophthegm, tho' as has thought it worth his while to record. as some others our Historian

Miracles, and wrote some useful Books, particularly of Monastick Discipline, and Affairs. [This * *Evagrius* was a Native of *Iberia*, situate on the Shore of *S. L. 6. c. 30.* the *Euxine* Sea; a very learned, understanding, and eloquent Man; remarkably skillful and fortunate at marking the first Occasions or Incentives of any Virtue or Vice, and at giving Directions how to promote the one, and bridle the other; of such an humble and modest Disposition, that neither Praise elated him, nor Disparagement disturb'd him. While he was at *Constantinople*, where *Nazianzen* made him his Arch-Deacon, being a Person of a very agreeable Presence, and affecting an elegant Neatness in his Garb, he fell under the Jealousy of a Person of Quality, by coming acquainted with his Lady; and it had cost him his Life, had it not pleas'd God to give him timely Warning by a Dream, in which he thought he was chain'd Hand and Foot as a Criminal, and that he was expecting to be carry'd immediately before a Magistrate, when some Body came to him with a Book of the four Gospels in his Hand, and promis'd him, if he would swear upon them, that he would immediately quit the City, he would set him at Liberty. Accordingly he submitted to the Oath, got rid of his Chains, immediately wak'd, and in Obedience to so extraordinary an Admonition, made his Escape.] Many memorable Instances of the Severity and Efficacy of the Monastick Life are recorded in his Books upon that Argument: Among others the few following. A certain Brother of that Denomination made it his familiar Rule or Apophthegm, *That Short-feeding and Charity would soon bring a Monk to a State of Apathy.* One of his Brethren being sadly troubled with frightfull Dreams †, by way of Prescription he put him upon employing himself in charitable good Offices to the Sick, attended with Abstinence and Fasting; and this Method had the desired Effect. The Question was put by another of these retired Philosophers to the great *Antony*, *How he could satisfy himself to live so, without the Comfort of any Books to read?* He reply'd, *That the Book of Nature, and the Word of*

* V. Vales. in Soz. L. 6. c. 30. n. ult. where he finds Fault, unjustly, with Sozom. for placing Evagrius in the Reign of Valens; for the Historian had told

him, in the beginning of it, That Evagrius liv'd with Ammonius Parotes, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐρχομένου Εὐσεβίου, in the next Reign † τῶν φασμάτων.

God, were enough for him. When I had Occasion, (says Evagrius) being very thirsty in a hot Day, to beg the favour of a little Water from one of the Macarii, he bid me be contented with the Refreshment of a shady Tree; Many a poor Traveller, he said, would be glad of it. Discourſing with him afterwards upon the Subject of Abſtinence he told me; That, to baulk and abridge his natural Appetite for twenty Years paſt, he had ſtinted himſelf to a ſhort Allowance of Bread and Water, and took no Reſpoſe, but a Nap now and then, leaning his Head againſt a Wall. Another of them us'd to obſerve, That all the Offices of a Monaſtick Life were cultivated and perform'd either for God's, or Nature's, or Cuſtom's, or Neceſſity's, or Employment's ſake; and 'twas the ſaying of another, That one main Thing he propos'd in denying himſelf Pleaſure was to keep his rougher Paſſions quiet; for that theſe ſerv'd the ſofter ones, in quality of ſo many Champions, or Bullies. And the ſame Perſon affirm'd, That, to the beſt of his Remembrance, the Devil had never put the ſame Trick upon him twice. Thus far Evagrius, in his Book call'd *Practicus*. But Ammonius muſt not be left unmention'd, a very conſiderable Perſon among this ſort of Men. He follow'd his Philoſophical Studies and Exerciſes to ſo good Purpoſe, that he became as perfect a Maſter, as Human Nature would admit, of his Appetites and Inclinations. He was well verſ'd in the Writings of Origen, Didymus, and other Fathers. From his blooming Years to his Death he never eat any thing which the Fire had prepar'd, except Bread. Finding himſelf in Danger of having a Biſhoprick forc'd upon him, to come within the Canon of Mutilation, and ſo eſcape it, he cut
S. L. 6. c. 30. off his right Ear, [and thence had the Name of *Parotes*; but when thoſe that were employ'd to compell him, came afterwards to underſtand that the Church, when ſhe made Mutilation an Obſtacle, meant it not of a Bodily, but a Spiritual Defectiveness, they ſet upon him again; and then he aſſur'd them, by an Oath, That if they went about to put any force upon him, he would cut his Tongue out; which prevail'd with them to deſiſt. Evagrius, who had fled from the ſame Dignity, but without offering any Violence to himſelf, meeting him ſome time after, told him, with a pleaſant Air, He could never juſtify the Injury he had done his Organ of Hearing. But what have you to ſay for yourſelf, ſaid Ammonius, that, to gratify

*gratify your own Inclinations, have * cut your Tongue out, when God has qualify'd you to make so good Use of it?*

[To *John*, an *Egyptian*, it pleas'd God to communicate as ample a Knowledge and Fore-knowledge † as the Prophets themselves had, of Mysteries and *S. L. 6. c. 28*, Events, together with the Privilege of curing &c. those Distempers, which it was not in the Power of Human Art to reach. Or commenc'd a Hermit very young. His perpetual Employment was singing Divine Songs; his Meat, Herbs and Roots; his Drink, Water; his Words were so powerful as to heel the Sick, and cast out Devils; and his Memory so great, that tho' he could not improve or furnish it from Books, being a Stranger to Learning, yet he never forgot any Thing that came under his Knowledge or Observation. In his old Age he receiv'd a Command from Heaven, to remove into *Thebais*, where he govern'd a very considerable Body of Asceticks. *Ammon* was President of the *Tabennesian* Society, and had about three thousand Scholars under him. *Benus* and *Theonas* had also their Monastick Colleges and Seminaries, both eminently favour'd with the Gift of Prophecy. The former was never observ'd to be angry, to have utter'd an Oath or a Lie, or to have spoke a rash or an idle Word. The latter was a very good Scholar; 'tis said he deny'd himself the Satisfaction of speaking for no less than the Space of Thirty Years together. *Copres* cur'd Diseases, and cast-out Devils. *Helles* had early given up himself to the Discipline: Nature was often put out of her Course by him, insomuch, that he could carry Fire in his Bosom, and neither hurt himself, nor damage his Cloaths; thus letting his Brethren understand, for their Encouragement, that a severe Course of Piety and Virtue was the true and ready Way to qualify a Man for miraculous Gifts. *Elias* liv'd an Anchoret, Seventy Years, in the Deserts; after he remov'd towards the City of *Antinous*, not abating any Thing of his usual Mortifications and Austerities, 'till he dy'd at the Age of about a Hundred and Ten. *Apelles* was famed for his Miracles; he was an Artist in, and employ'd himself at the Work of the Forge, which as he

* These two Stories seem to be somewhat confounded with one another.

† A bold and unpardonable Assertion.

was following one Night, a *Dæmon* appear'd to him in the Shape of a Beautiful Woman, and would have tempted him to unchaste Embraces; upon which he drew out an Iron he had then in the Fire, clapt it red-hot upon the Tempter's Face, and sent him away screaming and howling. Now also flourish'd *Isidore*, *Serapion*, and *Dioscorus*, three Regents, or Superintendents among the Monks. *Isidore* having first provided Necessaries for all the Occasions of his Society, had his Monastery so fenc'd and shut up, that no Body could go out of the Bounds of it. *Serapion* presided over a Body of about a Thousand Monks, whom he train'd to such a Course of daily Labour, and particularly to Reaping in the Season, as to provide, with their Work, and the Wages of it, for others as well as themselves. *Dioscorus* had about a Hundred Auditors under him. Being a Presbyter, he took a great deal of Pains in examining and preparing those that, at any Time, intended to receive the Sacrament. At the same Time *Eulogius*, another Presbyter, was, by a very extraordinary Privilege, allow'd to know what were the secret Thoughts and the * conceal'd Offences of any Person approaching the Holy Table; which it was his Way to publish in the Face of the Congregation, whether they were Sins already committed, or only projected; and refus'd to admit the Offenders to partake of the sacred Mysteries, 'till he was satisfy'd of their sincere Repentance.

CONTEMPORARY with these was *Apollos* in the Province of *Thebais*. He enter'd upon a Life of Discipline and Mortification betimes. After he had spent Forty Years in a wild and remote Solitude, receiving a Command immediately from Heaven to that Purpose, he chang'd his Residence for one nearer human Society, a Cave situate at the Foot of a Mountain; where the Miracles he wrought, and the admirable Precepts and Exhortations he deliver'd, soon render'd his Name famous, and set him at the Head of a very numerous Family of Monks. *Timothy*, Bishop

* Notandus est hic Locus ex quo concludi videtur, eos qui ad sacrorum Mysteriorum Participationem olim accedebant, absque prævia Peccatorum Confessione id facere solitos esse. Non quòd non tutius esset, Peccata sua prius

confiteri Sacerdoti: Sed quia satisfacere se existimabant Præcepto Apostoli dicentis: *Probet autem seipsum Homo, & sic de Pane illo edat, &c.* Vales in loc. *A very remarkable Concession from a Writer of the Romish Communism.*

of *Alexandria*, has writ both his and the Lives of several other venerated Monks, among the rest, of those we have mention'd. 'Twas *Dorotheus's* Employment to gather Stones, in the Day Time, upon the Sea Shore, and to build every Year a Cell or Hermitage with them, which he bestow'd upon those that were not able to make such Habitations for themselves. At Night his Business was twisting Palm-branches into Baskets, to hold his Victuals, which never exceeded Six Ounces of Bread, and a handful of boil'd Herbs; and his Drink was Water. He never slept upon a Bed, or even upon a Matt or Hurdle; never stretch'd out his Legs, or put himself in an easy Posture for Repose; which he would not admit, but when Nature forc'd it upon him; insomuch, that he us'd to drop asleep while he was eating, and let his Food fall out of his Mouth. Happening, one Time, by Surpize, to be overtaken with a Fit of Drowsiness upon a Matt, he could scarce forgive himself; and when a Friend would perswade him to take a short Nap, he told him, he might as soon prevail with an Angel to settle to Sleep, as a true Christian Philosopher. Being ask'd, *Why he mortify'd his Body almost to Death?* Because, said he, *my Body mortifies and kills me.* *Piammon* and *John*, both Presbyters, resided near *Diolcus* in *Egypt*, superintending their respective Monasteries, which were of great Name and Repute. 'Tis said, That as *Piammon* was, upon a Time, celebrating the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, he saw an Angel, near the Altar, taking down the Names of the *Monks* that were present in a Book, and dashing out the absent. Upon *John* a miraculous Power was conferr'd of curing Diseases, particularly those stubborn ones, the Gout and Palsy. *Benjamin*, an Ascetick of a great Age, who lived near *Scetis*, restor'd the Sick, whatever the Distemper was, to perfect Health, only by the Touch of his Hand, or the Application of some Oil, which he had invoc'd a Blessing on. Falling into a Dropsy, he swell'd so, that there was a necessity for pulling down the very Door Posts of his Cell before they could bring his Body out of it. During his Sickness, for eight Months together, he was oblig'd to sit continually in a large Chair; a Restraint which he bore with singular Patience, dispensing miraculous Cures all the while to Others, and so far from repining at or complaining of his own Condition, that he comforted and encourag'd those about him, whom he saw concern'd for his Case, and desir'd them to pray to God in Behalf only of his better

ter Part, for that he was perfectly unconcern'd and indifferent about his Body; *Which*, he said, *had never done him any Good, while 'twas in Health, nor any Harm since his Illness.* Such was the Indulgence of Heaven to *Mark*, another eminent Recluse of that Time, fam'd for a very early Subjection of his Passions and Appetites, and treasuring up the whole Bible in his Memory, that *Macarius*, his Director, declar'd * he had never given him any Rules how he was to carry himself to Communicants that came to receive the Sacrament from him; an Angel, whose Hand † he said he had a Sight of, having brought him Instructions for that Purpose. This *Macarius*, in his younger Years, was a Shepherd, and having had the deplorable Misfortune, in heat of Sport, to kill one of his Companions, he fled for Preservation into a desert Place, where he pass'd Five and Twenty Years in a Cell which he built himself, after he had liv'd three, destitute of any such Shelter. God vouchsafed to make the Devils subject unto him; and he always gratefully thank'd the Divine Wisdom and Goodness for bringing him into that Course of Life. *Apollonius* growing Old in a Trafficking Occupation, betook himself to the Monastick Way; and finding it too late to begin upon any Branch of Learning, he lay'd out his Money upon Variety of Druggs and Diet proper for the Occasions of the Sick, and his Time and Pains in going his Rounds to the several Quarters of the Religious, and administering Helps where he found any of them indispos'd; a Work which took him up the greater part of every Day; and upon his Death-Bed he oblig'd a Brother Ascetick to undertake the same good Office, leaving him all his Medicines and Materials. *Moses*, that had been formerly a domestick Servant, and being turn'd away by his Master for very ill Practices, took to Robbing upon the Highway, and was Captain of a Gang of Robbers, was, by a very extraordinary and providential Change of Heart, reclaim'd, and devoted himself to the Discipline; in which he became a Prodigy of Proficiency; for his former free Course of Life having so heated and pamper'd his Constitution, that he found himself often attack'd by impure Desires, he left

* So I interpret μηδὲ πώποτε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἢ διμῖς ἱερεῶσι διδόναι τοῖς μεμνημένοις περὶ τῶ ἱεροῦ τελεῖαν.

† 'Tis not clear in the Original, whether this belongs to Mark, or Macarius.

no Method untry'd of subduing his Lusts, and punishing his Body; almost even to starving it; laboriously working, and addressing himself to his Prayers Fifty Times every Day. He made a Custom of Standing a whole Night together at his Devotions, not closing his Eyes to gratify Nature for a Minute. Sometimes he pass'd the Night in bringing Water, it may be above Thirty Furlongs, to supply the Cisterns of his Brethren. Yet his Strength and Vigour was not easily broke by all the Labours and Hardships he could impose upon himself. A Knot of Thieves surprizing him in his Cell, 'tis reported he took and bound them, four in Number; carry'd them away to the Church upon his Shoulders; and left it to the Fathers to take further Care of them; for that he, for his Part, could not allow himself, in regard of his former Life, to be concern'd in any forcible Proceedings whatever towards any Man. He was a Scourge and Terror to evil Spirits; came to be Governor of the Monastick Body in *Scetis*; liv'd to about Seventy five Years of Age; and left behind him many excellent Disciples. *Paul* of *Ferme*, a Mountain in *Scetis*, spent no Part of his Time in Work, nor accepted of any Thing from the Hands of others, but what Nature requir'd as a necessary Support. His whole Business was Devotion. He put up, every Day, three Hundred Offices or Prayers, to answer to which, and know when he had done the Business of the Day, he lodg'd as many Pebbles in his Bosom, and for every Prayer threw away one.

PACHON adorn'd the Solitudes of *Scetis*, from his Youth to his Declension and old Age, with a Religious Vigilance and Guard over himself, that he was never betray'd into any Gratifications of Appetite, either by a strong and flourishing Habit of Body; by Sallies of Passion within, or Sollicitations of the Tempter from without. *Stephen's* Dwelling was near *Mareotis*; he had so well reconcil'd himself, in a Course of Sixty Years, to the sharpest Austerities and Methods of Mortification, that he became one of the most famous Monks of his Time. He was much belov'd by the great *Antony*; Prudent, Good-natur'd, Pleasant, and Obliging in Conversation; so happy in applying Lenitives to the Sorrows of the Afflicted, that he would make them Easie and Chearful under the most desperate and deplorable Tryals; and so well fortify'd against Pain and Anguish himself, that an unhappy Necessity coming upon him to part with some of his Limbs, he spent the Time of the

Operation in twisting and weaving together Palm-branches, desiring those that were about him not to discompose themselves upon his Account; for that the Divine Dispensations were always for the best, and 'twas an Act of infinite Mercy to punish for Sin in this World, in order to spare in another. *Moses*, not the same with the Former, was highly reverenc'd for his Meekness, Good Temper, Charity, and miraculous Cures. † *Pior*, very early retiring from the World, and giving up himself to Divine Philosophy, when he quitted his Father's House, made a Vow, That he would never more see any of his Relations. Fifty Years after, his Sister hearing he was Alive, and expressing an earnest Desire and Impatience to see him, engag'd the Bishop, within whose Diocese she liv'd, to solicit, by a Letter, the Superintendents of the Societies in *Scetis* to send her Brother; in Obedience to whose Commands he set out upon the Journey, taking a Companion along with him, and gave his Sister Notice of his Arrival, as soon as he came to the Door of the Family-House; which, as soon as he perceiv'd to be opening, he shut his Eyes, and said to his Sister, *I am your Brother: Gratify yourself with looking upon me as much as you please*. Transported with Joy, she return'd Thanks to God for the Pleasure which his Providence had vouchsafed her. And her Brother, after he had spent some little Time in Prayer at the Threshold, presently took his Way back again to his Place of Retirement. Where, as he was digging to make himself a Well, he came to a Spring of Bitter Water, which he drank of constantly to his dying Day; a singular kind of Mortification, which, though many try'd to succeed him in, yet no Body's Constitution was able to bear. The same *Pior*, 'tis reported, when certain *Monks* had labour'd and tir'd themselves, to no Purpose, to come at a Supply of Water, and begun to despair of Success; rebuk'd them for their Diffidence, and went down into the Hole they had dug, where, after he had pray'd and struck the Ground three Times with a Mattock, the Water issued out in Abundance. The Monks, for whom he had done this Service, desir'd him to take a Draught with them, of what he had procur'd for them; but he refus'd, telling them, *He had done the Errand he was sent upon; of which Eating or Drink-*

† Perhaps the same with the Former, mentioned page 401.

ing (he said) *was no Part*; and so having, with great Devotion, address'd himself again to God, who had thus wonderfully answer'd his last Petition, he left them.

AT the same Time flourish'd in *Scetis Origen*, one of the great *Antony's* Disciples, *Arsenius*, *Putubastes*, *Arson*, *Serapion*, who had been his Contemporaries. These of the ancient Ones. In the Number of the Younger were *Ammonius* (of whom we have lately given some Account) *Eusebius*, and *Dioscorus*, three Brothers, and for their remarkable Height fir-nam'd the *Tall*.

IN *Cellia*, the Recesses of the Monks, from which the Place had its Name †, lie at such a Distance that they never see or hear one another. Only on *Saturdays* and *Sundays* they meet at Divine Service; from which, if any Body absent himself, 'tis taken for granted, some Sickness or Mischance detains him, and therefore all his Brethren, not in a Body, but one after another, visit him, and administer their best Assistance and Physick to him. And sometimes, they go, upon Occasion, to Men of Parts and Learning, to reap the Benefit of their Suggestions and Discourses upon Religious Arguments. *Rinocorura* had then, and has had ever since, its Share of these happy Philosophers, and those Natives. The Principal of them were *Melas*, Bishop of the Place, *Solon*, his Brother and Successor, and *Dionysius*. At this Juncture, when the *Arians* were warm at Work, upon ejecting all the Bishops that dissented from them; *Melas*, at what Time the Tools came that were employ'd to turn him out, was lighting and supplying the Lamps in his Church, with a Frock upon him that shin'd with Oil, and girt with a Belt. They ask'd him where the Bishop was. *He's here*, said he, *and I'll shew him you*. So he conducted them, fatigu'd with their Journey, to his House, spread a Table for them, serv'd them while they were Eating, pour'd Water upon their Hands afterwards, and then let them know Who he was. His Behaviour so surpriz'd and pleas'd them, that, confessing the Errand they came upon, they gave him free Leave to make his Escape; but he assur'd them, *He was ready to share the Fate of his Catho-*

† A Barbarous Greek Word, from the Latin, *Cella*.

lick Collegues ; and Banishment, for so good a Cause, would be very welcome to him. He gave up himself Young to the Monastick Institution, and attain'd to the utmost Perfection of it. *Solon*, who exchange'd a Life of Business and Trade for it, gain'd his Point under the Conduct and Direction of his Brother, and others of the same Fraternity ; and made the Exercises and Offices of Religion, Humanity and Charity, his Pleasure and Employment. Happy in a Succession of such Pastors as these the Church of *Rinocorura* (the Clergy of which, by the Way, have their Habitation and Table, and all Things in common) retains, to this Day, the same Discipline and Oeconomy.

IN *Palestine*, among other ancient and celebrated Sons of the Discipline, was *Hesychas*, a Companion and Scholar of the great *Hilarion* ; and *Epiphanius*, afterwards Bishop of *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, born at *Besanduce*, in the District of *Eleutheropolis*. *Epiphanius*'s tender Years were season'd with Dictates and Directions of the greatest Masters of the Time in the Monkish Profession ; for the Benefit of which Improvements, he liv'd a great while in *Egypt*, where his eminent Skill and Practice in the Evangelical Philosophy render'd him very famous ; as it did in *Palestine*, and in the Isle of *Cyprus*, of which he became Metropolitan ; and from thence, as from a Centre, diffus'd the Lustre of his Merit and Significancy, in the Conduct of Civil as well as Spiritual Affairs, throughout the World. His Miracles were many and memorable. 'Tis reported, That after he was dead, Demoniacks were, and are still deliver'd, and the Sick heal'd, by being brought to his Grave ; miraculous good Services to Mankind which he did not pretend to dispense in his Lifetime. After he had bestow'd all his own Estate in Charity, he apply'd to the same Use the Treasure of his Church, which was a sort of General Bank, or Fund, for the Poor and Distress'd, those that were Charitably inclin'd, transmitting their Benevolences thither from all Parts of the World ; for they knew no Body could or would dispose of them better than *Epiphanius*. The Church-warden or Steward complain'd, upon a time, to him, that he distributed so fast and liberally, that the Stock was very near spent. But still the Bishop went on distributing Bounties as freely as before, 'till nothing was left ; when some Body came to the Church-warden's Lodging, and gave him a Bag full of Gold. It could not be found who he was, or who sent

sent him; so that he was justly suppos'd to have been a special Messenger from God. There is another remarkable Story, in which *Epiphanius* is chiefly concern'd, and it must not be omitted. 'Twas concerted between two Beggars who saw him coming towards them, and hoped, by their Plot, to get the more Money from him, that one of them should lie upon the Ground as a dead Man; and the other stand by him, bewailing himself upon the loss of his Companion, and wishing he had where-withal to bury him. *Epiphanius* pray'd the good God to rest his Soul, gave the Survivor enough to defray the Charges of burying him, bad him take patiently what could not be remedy'd, and not expect that *Epiphanius* should restore the poor Man to Life again, and then went away. No sooner was *Epiphanius* out of Sight, but the living Beggar kick'd the Dead one with his Foot, told him he had acted his Part admirably, and bad him rise and make Merry that Day with the Fruits of the Adventure. But alas! the Mocker had acted Death till it seiz'd him in good earnest, which his Brother-Cheat no sooner found, but he run to the Bishop, confess'd the Roguery, wrung his Hands and tore his Hair, and begg'd him to call back his departed Brother. *Epiphanius* told him he must rest contented, and sent him away. 'Twas not 'till after the present Reign that this great Man had left *Palestine*; which, at the same time, had the four admir'd Brothers, *Salamanes*, *Physcon*, *Malchion*, and *Chrispion*, that came of a good Family. They liv'd near *Bethelia*, a Village belonging to *Gaza*. Their Instructor was *Hilarion*; from whose Quarters as they were returning, on a Time, to their own, *Malchion* was suddenly snatch'd from them, and after they had lost Sight of him a while, given back to them again, in the Way before they got Home; a Prognostick, it seems, of his Death, which happen'd soon after. He dy'd Young, and as well accomplish'd and establish'd in a Habit of Virtue and Piety, as those that had grown Gray in the same Profession. In *Ammonius* of *Chapharcobra* near *Gaza*, we have another very exemplary Instance of Religious Severity and Mortification. *Sylvanus*, a Native of *Palestine*, a Person of great Innocence and Piety (and of whom the Report goes, that an Angel had been seen attending and ministring to him) as yet, (if I am not mistaken) resided, and follow'd his Business in *Egypt*, whence he remov'd to Mount *Sina*, and some time after to *Gexar*; where he form'd a very numerous and noble Society

ty of Fathers, and was succeeded in the Government of them by the excellent *Zacharias*.

SYRIA and *Persia*, emulating *Egypt*, had likewise a very great number of the Religious; among the most considerable of them, *Batthaus*, &c. *Heliodorus* made it familiar to him to keep awake for many Nights together, and keep fasting a whole Week at once. These and their Brethren were distinguish'd by the Name of *Bosci*; for that they liv'd in the Mountains without the convenience of any Cell or Covert, and never tasted Meat or Bread, or drunk Wine, but when Nature was to be recruited, mowed down the Herbs and Grass with a Sickle, and eat it as they cut it; spending the rest of their Time in Prayer and Singing Songs of Devotion; in the whole, a very new and peculiar Course of Discipline. *Carra* was happy in *Eusebius*, (who lock'd himself up in a close Confinement, the better to prosecute the Purposes of Divine Philosophy) and in *Protogenes*, its Bishop, Successor to the great *Vitus*; of whom the Story goes, that * *Constantius*, the first time he saw him, declar'd he had often seen him before in Vision, presented to him by God himself, as a Man to whose Judgment and Directions he commanded him to conform himself entirely. In *Phadana*, or *Padan-aram*, liv'd *Aones*, who, they say, first introduc'd the Anchoretick and Monastick Life into *Syria*, and with him dwelt *Gaddanas* and *Azizus*. *Edeffa* and the Places adjacent had the credit of *Barses* and *Eulogius*, whose singular Merit recommended them to the Episcopal Honour and Office, which they receiv'd within the Walls of their Monasteries, but held without any Districts; which was also the Case of *Lazarus*.

THO' all *Syria* (*Antioch* only excepted) came in late to the Profession of Christianity; yet neither was that Country destitute of this sort of Philosophers, whose Memories are the more to be honour'd for heroically resisting and defeating the malicious and outrageous Attempts of the Infidels, among whom their Lot fell; not by outward Violence, but by the Faith and Patience of the Saints. In this number were *Valentine* of *Emesa*, or (as

* See *Valesius* upon the Place.

others will have it) of *Arethuse*, *Theodorus*, and another *Valentine* of *Titta*, within the Province of *Apa-me*, [a District which also boasted of *Agape-* T. L. 4. c. 28. tus, *Symeon*, * * *Paul*, &c.] Then there was *Marofas* of *Nichila*, *Bassus*, *Basso*, and *Paul* of *Telmisus*, the Founder of a very numerous and illustrious Monastick Society in a Place call'd *Jugatum*, where in extream old Age he dy'd, and was bury'd. And 'tis observable, that almost all the Asceticks we have took notice of, liv'd very long; as if God had purposely lengthen'd their Lives for the Propagation of his Gospel, (a Work which they prosecuted with great Success in *Syria*, *Persia*, and among the *Saracens*) and for the Promotion of the Monastick Manners and Course of Life. *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and the Countries adjoining, which came over much earlier to Christianity, were stock'd with a mighty number of these Professors; who yet generally deviated so far from the common and ancient Practice, as to take up their Habitations in Towns and Villages: And, perhaps, the Coldness of the Climate made it necessary. The most eminent of the Monks of those Parts were *Leontius*, afterwards Bishop of *Ancyra*, and *Prapadius*, who, in his declining Years, was advanc'd to the Episcopal Character and Dignity. This *Prapadius* was Governor of an Hospital erected by St. *Basil*, and from the Name of the Founder call'd *Basilias*. [Among the more eminent Asceticks of *Chalcis* were *Avitus*, *Marcian*, and *Abra-* T. L. 4. c. 28. am; among those of *Zeugma*, *Publius* and *Paul*; among those of *Cyrestæ*, the honour'd *Acepsemas*, who kept himself shut up in his Cell for Threescore Years together; and the excellent *Zeugmatius*, who, tho' stark-blind, travell'd from Place to Place, encouraging and confirming the Orthodox, and exerting his Talents and Abilities against the Beasts of Prey; who, in Revenge, burnt down his humble Habitation; but *Trajan*, one of the Emperor's Generals, a very worthy good Man, built him another, and took him under his special Care and Protection. In the Territory of *Antioch*, *Marian*, † *Eusebius*, *Ammian*, *Palladius*, *Symeon*, and others, were Ornaments of the same Discipline and Institution of Life; (concerning whom, and those nam'd before them, consult (says *Theodo-*

* * Perhaps these Pauls were the same. † Perhaps the same with him of *Carra-*
rit)

rit) our *Philothean* History) as did in the * *Casian* Mountain in the Neighbourhood of that City, the two *Peters*, (the *Galatian* and the *Egyptian*) *Romannus*, *Severus*, *Zeno*, *Moses*, *Malchus*, and many more.

BUT here it may be Time to withdraw, for the Present, from these mortify'd, contemplative Men ; who were so many, that the Lives, Conversations, and Miracles of all the eminent Ones among them would take up more Room than the Compass of our History will admit of. *Palladius* the Monk, a Disciple of *Evagrius* (who, with his Master, flourish'd a little after the Death of *Valens*) has oblig'd the World with a very Accurate and Copious Book upon that Subject.

To the Cells and Solitudes of such Professors as these in *Egypt*, the Usurper *Lucius* [conducted a strong
S. L. 6. c. 20, armed Force, (a Life-Guard of Infidels)] flat-
27. tering himself foolishly, that their Love of Qui-
T. L. 4. c. 21. et and Repose would induce them to yield to
 his Measures and Designs ; and that, afterwards, the Authority of their Example would draw their Orthodox Friends and Admirers in City and Country after them ; for the People, in general, making this Conclusion, that the best Livers were the best Believers, implicitly follow'd the Perswasion of these Pious Asceticks ; and by the same Means, in a great Measure, were all the *Eastern* Provinces preserv'd from the Infection of the *Apollinarian* and *Eunomian* Pestilences.] But here to forbear Digression ; *Lucius*, by the Assistance of his Troops, seiz'd the Persons of these dangerous Adversaries, shut them out of their Chapels, and practic'd many bloody and brutish Acts of Violence upon them ; (of which *Rufinus* assures us he was not only an Eye-witness, but a Sharer) and this in a bold and impious Contempt of him, who so remarkably and expressly testify'd his Approbation of their Faith in the Exorcisms, and other miraculous Operations which he was pleas'd to work by their Hands. However, the same Infinite Wisdom and Power produc'd out of this Evil, Good, and Light out of this Darkness ; for when *Lucius* found rough Usage had no other Effect

* See *Valesius* upon the Place.

than to render their Faith and Integrity more conspicuous, he commanded the Banishment of the two Fathers, or Superintendents, of their Societies, the two *Macarii*; whom the Party employ'd to seize them [found *S. L. 6. c. 20.* restoring a Cripple to the Use of his Limbs, wither'd and shrunk up, so that he had not the Benefit of his Legs; and had the Mortification to see this miraculous Cure immediately effected, upon the pronouncing of those Words, (after Oiling his Body over) *We command you, in the Name of Christ, whom Lucius persecutes, to rise and go Home.*] The same Testimonial and Evidence of the Acceptableness of their Faith and Sufferings to God, went along with them to the Island, whither, [with *Isidore* and others,] they *T. L. 4. c. 21.* were transported, and which had a Temple in it, and an Infidel Priest, profoundly honour'd and revered by the Inhabitants; but they did not find one Christian there. Here they no sooner arriv'd than, by their Presence, they put the Demons of the Place into an open Consternation and Confusion; and the Daughter of the Priest above-mention'd falling under a sudden Possession of them, was transported into all the most vehement Efforts and Convulsions of Madness and Fury, and roar'd aloud, with a hideous Voice, against the two Strangers, demanding, *Why they came to drive them out thence too? From Cities and Towns, from T. L. 4. c. 21.* Mountains and Hills, nay, from Wildernesses and Deserts, have you chas'd us, (they cry'd) *O ye Servants of Christ: Such is your Authority and Power. We promis'd ourselves Refuge and Residence in this little Island; but, it seems, we are mistaken. For your Persecutors, as if the Thing they aim'd at were to persecute Us, not You, whom they cannot hurt, have sent you hither arm'd with Divine Lightning, to scare us away even from this Place, &c.]* The meaning of these Expostulations the Holy Exiles immediately unfolded, rescuing the Virgin out of the Power of the Evil Spirit, [which leaving her, after it had dash'd *T. L. 4. c. 21.* her against the Pavement, her Deliverers rais'd her from the Ground; perfectly restor'd to a sound State of Mind and Body. By these manifestations of the Omnipotence of that God whom they serv'd, they [brought the Spectators upon their Knees to beg the Benefit of their Mission] and converted to the *T. L. 4. c. 21.*

Faith, not only the Priest, but all the People of the Island, who immediately broke their Idols in pieces, made a Church of their Temple, and receiv'd Baptism. [No sooner *Lucius* heard of these astonishing Consequences of his frantick Proceedings, but reflecting how much the Consideration of them would add to that Weight of Odium which already lay upon him; or rather perhaps, according to *Theodorit*, (*L. 4. c. 21.*) forc'd by the tumultuary Reproaches and Clamours of the People that were gather'd in a Body against him, he privately gave Leave to the *Macarii* and their Fellow-Sufferers, to return to their solitary Coverts. In a word, the *Nicene* Faith, notwithstanding all the Opposition that Men and Devils were able to make against it, lost no Ground. It prevail'd in the Province of *Osroene*; and that it should maintain itself in *Cappadocia* the Reader will the less wonder, when he comes to know more of those two great Champions of it there, *St. Basil* and *St. Gregory*. In and about *Syria* there was great Struggling and Contending in its Defence; and tho' at *Antioch* the *Arians* far out-number'd the Orthodox, and the Latter were divided into two Communions, on the score of a double Claim to the same See, between *Meletius* and *Paulinus*; yet even under such lamentable Disadvantages the *Nicene* Faith held up its Head there too; as it did in all the Churches, where the Bishops had the Courage and Honesty to vindicate it. And this *Valens* found to be true in *Scythia*, by a vexatious Disappointment; for coming to *Tomes*, the Metropolis of that Country, he entred the Church, and would have prevail'd upon *Vetranio*, Bishop of the Province, (which to this Day, says our Author, has but one Bishop, tho' many Cities) to communicate with the *Arians*. *Vetranio*, a Man of strict exemplary Piety, and every way Eminent, deliver'd himself with a great deal of Courage and Freedom in Vindication of the *Nicene* Faith; and when he had said enough, [concluding with that of the Psalmist, *I spoke of thy Testimonies even before Kings, and was not asham'd,*] he went away to another Church; his whole Congregation, which was almost all the People of the City, following him. *Valens*, thus untowardly Deserted, in great Wrath, banishes *Vetranio*, but well knowing what dangerous Enemies the *Scythians* would be, if provok'd into a Commotion, and what useful Friends they

they might be, if not too much exasperated, he soon thought fit to let him return Home.

NOR did all this Persecution and Perplexity from without, suppress the Spirit of Opposition and Dissention within the Body of those who either were, or at least call'd themselves Christians; for now the Dispute was reviv'd, Whether the Holy Ghost was of the same Substance with the Father and the Son, and as warmly prosecuted as that of the *Homoïson*. The *Anomæans* and *Similitudinarians* affirm'd the Holy Ghost to be of a different and inferior Substance, and no more than a Ministring Spirit. The *Homoïstians* asserted him to be of one Substance with the Father, among whom *Apollinaris* of *Laodicea*, * *St. Athanasius*, *St. Basil*, and *St. Gregory*, eminently exerted themselves in the Defence of so important and divine a Truth. In the Conclusion, the Bishop of *Rome* dispers'd his Letters to all the Churches of the *East*, to perswade and engage them to concur with the *Western* Churches in the Profession of a Consubstantial Trinity; and this Judgment of the † *Western* Church lay'd the Controversie asleep.]

THE Names of the great *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, *Basil* || of *Cæsarea*, and *Gregory Nazianzen* are to be met with in the former Volume. The wonderful Capacity and Learning Providence bestow'd on the first of them, has been taken Notice of there: 'Twill be enough here only to glance upon the Use he put them to, in composing several excellent Works; as his Comments upon the Scriptures, and his three Books of the Trinity; and in translating *Origen's* Books of Principles, and vindicating

* Our Historian must be here very much mistaken, *Athanasius*, according to the Historian himself, being now dead. See *Vales.* in loc

† I take *Romanæ* to be the same with *Occidentalis*; and the Pope's Letters here to mean Letters from the several Churches in the West, communicated thro' the hands of their Patriarch. Beside, the Words *ad τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσθίων ἐπὶ τοῖς* seem to me to belong to the Words immediately preceding, *ἐπαφῇ τοῖς* &c. tho' *Valesius*

is pleas'd to give this Passage another Construction in his Translation of it.

|| *Ephraim Syrus* has also had a Place in the first Part, p. 238, &c. We shall only add here from *Theodorit*, (L. 4. c. 29.) that, tho' unacquainted with the Greek Tongue, he very successfully counter'd and confuted the Heresies that were asserted and advanc'd in it; and that his Poetical Compositions were made use of in the Annual Commemorations of the Sufferings of the Martyrs.

them and their Author from the Imputation of Heterodoxy, cast upon them by some People, *who, Didymus said, were incapable of Understanding them.* The Fame and Reputation of the other Two are so universally spread and establish'd, and their Learning shines out with such a Lustre in their admirable Writings, that there would be little or no Occasion to touch upon the Story of them, but that the Omission, especially hereafter, would look like an unpardonable Defect and Gap in our History. There was such an exact Correspondency and Equality between them in their Virtues, Learning and Tempers, that 'tis difficult to determine which of them had, in any respect, the Advantage of the other. In their Younger Years they were Fellow-Pupils at *Athens*, under the two celebrated Sophists of that Time, *Himerius* and *Prohairesius*. Afterwards, by *Libanius's* Lectures and Instructions at *Antioch*, they render'd themselves such finish'd and incomparable Orators, that they were not a little sollicit'd and importun'd to undertake the Task of teaching that Part of Learning themselves; while others recommended to them the Employment of Pleading. But they chose a Scene of Life, very different from either of these, which was that of a Monastery; conformably to which Purpose, (after they had dipt deep enough into Philosophy, with the Assistance of the Professor of it at *Antioch*,) they address'd

S. L. 6. c. 17. themselves to reading and digesting of *Origen's* Works; whence [and from other celebrated Commentators,] they extracted the true Meaning and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and those Arguments which utterly baffled and confounded the *Arians*, and so much the more, because, for want of Understanding him, the poor Wretches took *Origen* to be their Friend. *Eunomius*, and others of that Party, reputed, among their Creatures, Men of uncommon Sense and Learning, were strangely obscur'd and eclips'd, when *Basil* and *Gregory* came in their Way. The former of these two Luminaries, *Meletius* of *Antioch* ordain'd Deacon; and some Time after, when he had reason to apprehend his own and the Country of *Pontus* to be in danger of the *Arian* Infection, * he went thither with all Expedition, erected Monasteries a-

* Sozomen (L. 6. c. 15.) mentions *St. Basil's retiring into Pontus; and that another, and perhaps the true Reason of was the Quarrel that happen'd between him*
mong

mong them, built up the People in their most Holy Faith, and * in the Illue became Bishop of the *Cappadocian Casarea*; as his Friend *Gregory* did of *Nazianzum*, a poor Town of *Cappadocia*, where † his Father held the Pastoral Authority before him, and then he set himself to copy after *Basil's* Example, taking Journeys to several Cities, to fix the People in the Faith, and infuse new Life and Courage into them; as particularly he did at *Constantinople*, and soon after was, for those good Services, advanc'd to that See, [(then destitute of a Catholick Church and Pastor)] by the Suffrage S. L. 6. c. 17. of a great number of Bishops. [Indeed no Reward, nor Encouragement could surmount the S. L. 6. c. 17. Merit of his own and his Fellow-Labourers Services; for very probably the Deceivers had seduc'd the far greater Part of the Christian World, but that St. *Basil* and St. *Gregory* brought all their Projects and Politicks to nothing.

THESE Proceedings of the Venerable Pair the *Arian* Emperor had no sooner heard of, but he gave Order that *Basil* should be brought to * *Antioch*, and make his Appearance before the Prefect there; [or rather designing to pay *Basil* a Visit himself, he sent the Prefect before, with T. L. 4. c. 19. a Command to banish him if he persisted in refusing Communion with *Eudoxius*, for he knew if he should first go in Person, and *Basil* withstand him to the Face, the Defeat would strangely raise the Reputation and inforce the Exam-

him and his Bishop, Eusebius of the *Cappadocian Casarea*; but probably it lasted not long, for when the People of that Diocese in general, and among them the Men of the best Quality and Reputation laying the Loss of *Basil* at Eusebius's Door, (for so I render ἐν ὑποστάσει τὸν ἐνοικοῦντα) were so offended as to enter upon a Design of forming themselves into a separate Communion; and Valens and the *Arian* Prelates of his Retinue were coming into *Cappadocia*, glad of the Opportunity this Disagreement, and the Occasion of it, gave them to set up their Banner there, *Basil* of his own Purpose

came back to *Casarea*, struck again into Favour and Friendship with his Bishop, and by his Exhortations and Admonitions establish'd and riveted the People so well in their Faith, that Valens and his Chaplains went away strangely baulk'd and defeated in their Designs.

* Thus I understand my Author, and by this Construction of μετὰ ταῦτα (which the Place naturally bears) cut off the learned Annotator's Objection against him, in his third Note, c. 26. L. 4.

† See Valerius upon the Place. And upon Sozomen, L. 6. c. 17. n. 3.

* See Valerius upon the Place.

ple of the Bishop's Courage.] The Prefect shew'd him all outward Respect, and accosted him very calmly, asking him, *Why he would not embrace the Emperor's Faith?* In answer to which he laid himself out, in smartly exposing the Emperor's Belief, and strenuously vindicating his own. [The Prefect advis'd him, by all means, to go with the Stream, and not to throw up such a noble Preferment, such a large Jurisdiction, for the sake of a fine-spun Subtily. He promis'd him withal, if he would comply, his Majesty's particular Favour and Friendship, and such an Interest in him as to command whatever Places, Privileges or Pensions for Friends he pleas'd. The Holy Man reply'd, Those Arguments and Temptations were only for young People to be caught with; for that They, who had been longer train'd, and were better vers'd in the Knowledge of God's Word and Will, abhor the thoughts of betraying one Syllable of any Christian Doctrine, and are ready to embrace a thousand Deaths and Tortures, rather than part with it. That he should think himself extremely happy, and highly honour'd in the favour of his Prince, if he might have it consistently with his Duty to God; but separate from that, it would be to him Death and Misery. At this the Statesman took Fire, call'd him a Madman, and] told him he must expect to pay for his Obstinacy with his Head. Basil reply'd, [He hop'd
T. L. 4. c. 19. that Madnefs would never leave him; and] that he should rejoice to obtain so glorious a Release as he threaten'd from the Confinement of a mortal Body; and when the Prefect bad him consider Things better, [not without further Menaces,] You'll find me the same Man,
T. L. 4. c. 19. Sir, (said Basil) to day and to morrow. * I wish you would promise as much for yourself. [I am one of God's Creatures, and 'tis more than you can do to

* Valesius takes those Words *ὅπερον οὐ ἐκείνῳ μὴ ἐνέλαττες* to be a Rebuke to Modestus for his Apostacy; and that, no doubt, was St. Basil's Meaning, if Modestus had ever been a Catholick, which I think does not appear; and therefore I rather conceive those Words to refer to his Threatning St. Basil with Death, and to import as much as this; "I will be well

for me if you'll be as true to your Threatnings as I shall be to my Faith. Not but the Words will admit of both Senses. Dr. Cave, I find, understood them as I do. L. P. F. Vol. 2. p. 238. Theod. is clear in the Matter, *οὐ δὲ μὴ μεταβάλλῃς τὴν γνώμην, ἀλλὰ χεῖρα τοῖς ἀπειλοῦς.* L. 4. c. 19.

bring me to deify and worship what is so as well as myself. Consequently you'll find it as hard S. L. 6. c. 16. a Task to convert me to yours and the Emperor's Religion. For tho' your Authority is great, and your Jurisdiction wide, yet no Man living is to be pleas'd and indulg'd at the Expence of our Holy Faith; which, by the Grace of God, neither Confiscation, Exile, nor Death, shall scare me from the stedfast Profession of. Indeed neither of these can operate upon me. For when you have this poor tatter'd Gown, and a few Books, you have all my Riches and Possessions: And whatever part of the World I live in, I am still a Stranger, and from Home. And as for my Body, that's so feeble and infirm, that 'twill neither put you to the Trouble, nor me to the Pain of more than a single Stroke. Upon this he was remanded to safe Custody, and that Day detain'd in it, and the Governor, daunted at and admiring his S. L. 6. c. 16. heroical Constancy and Courage, sent * an Account of what had pass'd between them to his Master; who, [in a little Time,] took Occasion, upon Christmas-Day, to go to the good Bishop's Church, T. L. 4. c. 19. a numerous Retinue attending him; where [he heard his invincible Adversary preach,] and by T. L. 4. c. 19. presenting his Offerings at the Altar, put him upon the Duty of entering into serious Discourse with him, which the Bishop accordingly did, [admitting him within the sacred Curtain of his Episcopal T. L. 4. c. 19. Throne;] and what the Emperor then heard from his Mouth, [(for he gave him an Ear to T. L. 4. c. 19. the Suggestions he press'd upon him concerning the true Faith)] and the Decency and Devotion he saw in the Confessor's Ministration of the Divine Offices, produc'd in him a Regard and Reverence to- T. L. 4. c. 19. wards him. † [It happen'd at the same Time, that Valens's * * Clerk of the Kitchen was present, one Demosthenes; who presuming to rebuke Basil, and not being able to do it without Blunder upon Blunder, the learned Bishop

* Theod. Lib. 4. cap. 19. says, he brought it.

† Let it be well observ'd, that it is not said he admitted him to Communion.

* * Ἰὼν ἐσπίκουρον παραδόμενος ὅψων observ'd

observ'd with a Smile, *He had liv'd to see a Demosthenes that could not speak Grammar*; which inflaming the Courtier, and provoking him to threaten high, *Basil* told him, *his smoaky Ears wanted a clear Passage, and were uncapable of admitting Divine Truths*; and therefore advis'd him to go to his Kitchen and look after his Soups. Upon the whole, the Emperor conceiv'd such a high Opinion and Esteem of this great Champion of the Faith, that he bestow'd several considerable Estates he had in those Parts, to the Relief and Support of such poor disabled People, and Objects of Charity, as being in a very helpless and disconsolate Condition, the good Bishop took under his more immediate Care.] But this hopeful Disposition continu'd

not long; [(as 'twas impossible it should, considering what sort of Creatures he was manag'd by)] for soon after he condemn'd to Banishment the Man that had thus extorted his Esteem; and the Night appointed for his Departure was now come; when] the Emperor's Son *Valentinian*, a little Child, falling, [on a

suddain,] into such [a violent Fever] that his Life was despair'd of, and his Mother, at the

same Time, acquainting her Husband, that not only the Prince lay a Dying, but she was haunted too by * monstrous and frightful Dreams, and that these Afflictions she imputed to the Bishop's Sufferings;

he sent [in a very humble and decent manner] for *Basil*, and requir'd it of him, that, *If his were the Orthodox Faith, he would put up his Prayers for his Son*. [Basil was no sooner come but the Child

grew better, and some were not afraid to declare it their Opinion he would, without more to

do, have recover'd, if the Emperor, when he sent for a Favourite of Heaven, had not call'd for some of his own Heretical Darlings too, to pray for the Life of his Son. [Tho' indeed his own Obduration stood no less in his Way; for when *Basil* made this Proposal to him, *If your Majesty will come in to the*

Catholick Faith, and re-establish the Unity and Peace of the Church, [and let your Son be bap-

2

* Theod. L. 4. c. 19. expresses this Affliction in more general Terms *δὲ καὶ περὶ ματα*

tiz'd by Catholick Hands,] the Prince shall live, he would not submit to the Condition. *Why then,* said the Bishop, *God dispose of your Son as he sees best;* whereupon he was dismiss'd, [and the *Arian* Bishops, then in *T. L. 4. c. 19.* the Room, were order'd to Baptize the Child, which they had no sooner done, but] he dy'd.

THE two great Men, *St. Basil* and *St. Gregory*, of whose Character and Behaviour we have taken this transient View, were the Authors of many excellent Books; part of which, *Rufinus* tells us, he translated into *Latin*. *Basil* had two Brothers, [that also rose to the high *T. L. 4. c. 30.* Dignity of the Episcopat,] *Peter*, tho' not Equal to his two Brothers in Point of Learning, *T. L. 4. c. 30.* yet shin'd out a Bright Example of Piety and a good Life, and] devoted himself to an Ascetick Course. The other was *Gregory*, who made Theological Learning and Eloquence his Business, and finish'd an *Hexaameron* which *Basil* left imperfect at his Death, and compos'd several Discourses and Orations; among others, one which he spoke at *Constantinople* upon *Meletius* of *Antioch*, at his *T. L. 4. c. 30.* Interment. [Nor ought the Names of *Optimus* and *Amphilochius*, the one a *Pisidian*, the other a *Lycaonian* Bishop, famous and fearless Contenders for the Catholick Faith, to appear a-part from those now mention'd. Indeed, at that Time, God remarkably signaliz'd his Providence and Care of his Church, by calling to the Pastoral Office and Dignity, such Men as were admirably dispos'd and qualify'd to stem the Torrent, and discharge their Duty faithfully and boldly towards the Flock; in which number They were especially to be reverenc'd, whom neither Exile, nor all the Hardships and Severities of a barbarous uncomfortable Clime, made remiss in the Province which they thought incumbent upon them, of confirming their Friends by the Influence of their Letters, and confuting their Enemies by the force of their Arguments.] Besides *Gregory*, the Brother of *St. Basil*, and *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, there was another * formerly mention'd, surnam'd *Thaumaturgus*, by no Means to be confounded with either of these; for he liv'd

* *V. Abridgement of Eusebius, p. 103, 124.*

long before them. He was a Native of *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*, brought up at *Athens*; and had not apply'd himself long to the Study of the Law at *Berytus*, when understanding *Origen* was at *Cæsarea*, reading Lectures and Expositions upon the Holy-Scriptures, thither he hasted, and resign'd himself up entirely to that great Master's Instructions; with which well-furnish'd, upon a Summons from his Parents, he return'd (after he had taken leave of his Tutor with a * Panegyricall Oration in Praise of him) to his own Country, and there, by a good Use of what he had acquir'd, but more by the astonishing Miracles he wrought (for only Letters from him brought a Virtue with them to cast out Devils) made many Converts to Christianity.

IN the Reign of *Valens*, the *Novatians* subdivided into two Communions; those of *Phrygia* withdrawing from the rest, upon the Authority of a few of their less-considerable Bishops; who meeting Synodically, determin'd the Festival of *Easter* should be observ'd upon the Day of the *Jewish* Passover, in opposition to the Practice and Usage of the more Primitive Times. My Author, for this, was the Son of one of their Presbyters, who had been present at that Assembly with his Father. By the way, we must not omit, that *Phrygia* and *Paphlagonia* abounded with *Novatians*; which may be ascrib'd to the Chastness of their Manners, and the Command they have of their Passions; the same Recommendation probably, which gain'd † *Novatus* all his Party in the *West*; for 'twas observable, that at the first appearing and propagation of that Communion, it obtain'd, or was rejected, according as this or that Country were stricter or looser in their Morals, and consequently were more or less inclined to grant or deny the Principle of it, namely, That there was no Absolution in this World for ** wilful Sin after Baptism.

* *V. Vales. in cap. 27. n. 3.*

† *Socrates tells us in this Chap. that Novatus was a Martyr, which Valesius clearly disproves in his fifth Note upon it. But he does not observe (which in Favour of our Author he might have done) that*

what he relates, or remarks here, is not his own, but what he receiv'd, it may be Verbatim, from a Novatian.

* *Or rather for Apostasie, in the Language of St. John, (tho' misunderstood) in his 1st Epist. c. 5. v. 16, 17.*

THE Heresy of *Apollinaris*, which had been working its way in secret for some Time before, and has been already taken notice of in the former Part of this *S. L. 6. c. 25*, History, now appear'd in full Strength, and seduc'd a large number of Profelytes into an open Separation from the Catholick Church. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in an Epistle which he wrote to *Nectarius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, (wherein he blames him for allowing the *Apollinarists* the free Exercise of their Religion within his Jurisdiction) has given us the true Lineaments of this Heresy, from a Book of *Apollinaris* himself. There, it seems, he asserted, that the Body of Christ was from all Eternity, in his Divinity; alledging, in defence of his Doctrine, that Text in *St. John's* Gospel, c. 3. v. 13. and that Expression of *St. Paul*, *The Second Man is the Lord from Heaven*, that the Man which descended from Heaven had no rational Soul, the Uses and Offices of That being supply'd by the Divinity; and, which was yet more impudent and outrageous Blasphemy, that the Divinity of the Son of God suffer'd with his Humanity at his Crucifixion, dy'd with it, and was rais'd again to life with it by the Power of the Father. *Vitalis*, one of *Meletius's* Presbyters at *Antioch*, a Man whom the People highly valued and honoured for the Severity of his Life, and his great Diligence in the Exercise of his Function, in resentment against *Flavian* his Fellow-Presbyter, and afterwards Bishop of *Antioch*, who cut him off from his usual Access to *Meletius*, revolted to *Apollinaris's* Communion, and drew over a considerable Body of *Antiochians* with him, call'd at this Day, from the Name of their Leader, *Vitalians*. The same Sectaries had also their Bishops and Conventicles elsewhere, and their particular Ceremonies and Songs of Devotion, compos'd with that Art and Elegance by *Apollinaris* himself, (and some of them little short Compositions to make their Intervals pleasant to them, whether at Work, or at Meals) that it was no wonder so many People were seduc'd with the Beauty and Harmony of them.

THE Growth of this Monster mov'd *Damasus* of *Rome*, and *Peter* of *Alexandria*, to have recourse to the Authority of a Council, which met at *Rome*, and set a Mark of Condemnation in the forehead of it. For which, we are told, there had never

ver been Occasion, had not hard Usage provok'd the Author of it to revenge himself by inventing it. For striking into Intimacy and Communion with *Athanasius*, when that great Bishop came to *Laodicea* in his Return from his last Banishment, he was excommunicated by *George*; who, not satisfy'd with proceeding against him upon this Offence only, insisted on an unhappy Miscarriage, the remembrance of which had long since been eras'd; for when, upon a Time, his Preceptor *Epiphanius*, the Sophist, was to recite an Ode in Praise of *Bacchus*, his Curiosity carry'd him, being then very Young, to hear it; and there it detain'd him, as it did his Father too, and several other Christians: After the Sophist had, according to custom, proclaim'd, that all the Prophane and Uninitiated were to withdraw. *Theodotus*, then Bishop of *Laodicea*, being inform'd of this, thought it enough to rebuke and chide the Lay-Delinquents; but upon the two *Apollinaries*, the Father a Presbyter, the Son a Reader; after having, in a Publick Manner convicted them, and lay'd out the Heinousness of their Crime to them; he pass'd Sentence of Excommunication; which afterwards, in due Time, he took off again, and re-admitted them to Communion, when what he thought a proper Penance had prepared them for it. This handle *George* took hold of, and how unjust and partial soever it might appear, to punish twice for the same Fault, and only one Person too, when another was equally concern'd, he made it one of his Pretences to excommunicate *Apollinaris*, the Son, a second Time: Who not prevailing upon *George*, by repeated and pressing Importunities, to absolve and receive him, grew Desperate, and to make Reprisals upon his Enemy, whose Logick and Eloquence were very much inferior to his own, and whom he spar'd no Pains to expose, as one that did not understand the Holy Scriptures near so well as the Man he had us'd so Barbarously, broke in upon the Peace of the Church, and advanc'd the Heresy that bears his Name, and still survives him. *So naturally one Mischief is struck out of another, when there happens a Collision between a Superior's Knavery and Hypocrisie, and an Inferior's Pride and Pedantry.*

WHILST *Valens* was furiously driving on the *Arian* Interest in his Dominions, all was quiet in the *West*, where no Body suffer'd from *Valentinian*; 'till, upon the T. L. 5. c. 2. Death of *Liberius*, when *Damasus*, [a very Pious

ous and Indefatigable Contender for the Catholick Cause] succeeded him in the Chair of *Rome*, *Ursinus*, a Deacon of that Church; who had appear'd with him a Candidate for the Bishoprick, resenting the Disappointment, got himself consecrated in a Corner of a Parish-Church, by the Hands of some Bishops of mean Repute, and * erected a separate, or opposite Altar and Communion: The Consequence of which Schism was publick Distraction, and a popular Combustion to such a Height of Madness, that many People lost their Lives in it, and not a few, both of *Ursinus's* Clergy and Laity, fell under the Correction of the Secular Magistrate; which were such ugly Discouragements and Obstacles as stopp'd the Mouths, and restrain'd the Hands of that Faction † for the present. The Ground and Occasion of the Schism was not any Point of Faith, or Objection of Heresie, but only the Dispute *τις ὀφείλει τῇ ἐπισκοπικῇ δεῖν εὐνοεῖσθαι γενέσθαι*, Which of the two ought to be in Possession of the Episcopal Throne. [For the *S. L. 6. c. 23.* whole *Western* Church unanimously adher'd, as they had all along done, to the *Nicene* Confession: Only *Auxentius* of *Milan*, and a few of his Accomplices, fell away into the contrary Interest, and would have introduc'd the *Dissimilitude both of the Son and Holy Spirit*; which Evil, the *Gallican* and *Venetian* Bishops complaining of, soon after, a Council met at *Rome*; which excommunicated *Auxentius* and his Adherents, declar'd for the *Nicene* Faith, and pronounc'd the *Ariminum* Decrees Nullities; for that the Concurrence of the Bishop of *Rome*, and others concern'd, was wanting to them, and many of the Bishops present in this Council had protested against them, to signify which, and withal to apologize for the miscarriage of their Brethren at *Ariminum*, they sent a Letter to || the Bishops of *Illyricum*.]

* * SOME Time after, departed this Life the *Milan* Intruder, [branded with the Censures and Condemnations of several

* *παρονομεῖσθαι* is the Word. See *Valesius's* excellent Note. Men involv'd in such a schism as this, are properly, and ought to be branded with the Title of, *Paradoxians*.

† *τότε*.

|| See *Valesius* upon the Place.

* * *V. Vales. in Soc. L. 4. c. 30.*

T. L. 4. c. 6, 7. Councils; and tho' the excellent Emperor of the *West*, who, every where, and in all Points, consulted the Interests of the Church and Religion, took the right Way to prevent Disorders, by convening a Synod, and referring to them the Election of a Successor, telling them, that *They were not to be told what were the Qualifications, which should recommend a Man to the Episcopal Office, and particularly that a Bishop ought to be such a one, whose Example and Behaviour will instruct no less than his Discourse; that some Body so qualify'd he desir'd them to make choice of to supply the Vacancy of the Chair of Milan; to whom himself, tho' invested with Imperial Sovereignty, might with much Pleasure bow the Head, wherever he met him, to receive his Benediction; and by whom he might be so happy as to stand reprov'd and corrected, as often as human Infirmities (the common Lot of all Men) should call for a Cure: And tho' the Holy Bishops, after they had desir'd his Majesty, whose Wisdom and Piety they could so well confide in, to choose the Person, and he had refus'd to concern himself in an Affair, which, he said, lay far above his Sphere and Capacity, and came properly under their Care whom God had crown'd with so divine a Character, were conferring and consulting about the Choice; tho', I say, this decent and regular Method was observ'd; yet this Occasion rais'd a Tumult at Milan, which threaten'd such ill Consequences, that Ambrosius, the Governor of the Province, a Gentleman of the Consular Order, thought it necessary to go in Person to the Church, where his Presence immediately compos'd the Minds of the People, and his pacifying Discourses so prodigiously affected and charm'd them, that, with an universal Consent express'd aloud, they declar'd, that he should be their Pastor, promising a perfect Unity and Harmony under him. In this surprizing Election the Finger of God was so evident, that the Bishops, who were then upon the Place, lay'd Hands on him, and baptiz'd him; (for before he was but a Catechumen) and so far he was very well pleas'd, but try'd all ways to avoid the Dignity he was call'd to, 'till the Bishops making the Emperor acquainted with his Reluctancy, his Majesty * solemnly and hum-*

* Theod. L. 4. c. 7. differs from instances of this Story, but they are not worth taking notice of.

bly return'd Thanks to the Divine Goodness, *that had vouchsafed to think that Person worthy* S. L. 6. c. 24. *of the Sacred Episcopal Office and Authority, whom he had made choice of to govern one of his Provinces ;* and notify'd it as his Pleasure, that so miraculous a Nomination should be by all means obey'd; which accordingly it was, and thereby the Union and Concord of that City re-establish'd.

[WITHIN a few Days after his Advancement to the Episcopat, he took occasion to remonstrate, with some Freedom, to the Emperor, against the Ill Practices T. L. 4. c. 7. of the Inferior Magistrates ; which his Majesty was so far from resenting, that he told him, he knew him to be a Man of Frankness and Plain-dealing, before he encourag'd his Ordination ; and that he desir'd him not to abate any thing of that wholesome Severity, which the Duty of his Function oblig'd him to use for the good of Souls.]

SOME Time after these Transactions, the *Sarmatians* making Irruptions into the *Roman* Territories, *Valentinian* march'd against them at the Head of a very great Army, which so scar'd and alarm'd them, that they sent Embassadors to treat a Peace. These Legates made so mean and contemptible an Appearance, that when the Emperor ask'd them, Whether all their Countrymen were such poor Creatures as they ; and they answer'd, that themselves were of the highest Note and Character in their Nation, he broke into a violent Passion, lamenting that the Imperial Dignity should fall to his Lot at a Time when such miserable Tatterdemallions had the Confidence to insult and invade the Empire ; and with the fierceness of his Exclamation he so rack'd and convuls'd the very Frame of his Body, that he broke his Veins and Arteries, which discharg'd the Blood in mighty Streams ; and this Accident cost him his Life, which ended at the Fort of *Brigitio*, upon the Seventeenth of *November*, in the Year after the Consulat of *Gratian* (the third Time) and *Equitius* ; when he had liv'd Fifty four, and reign'd, [a great and excellent Prince,] Thirteen S. L. 6. c. 36. Years. Six Days after his Death, his Son *Valentinian*, then very Young, was proclaim'd Emperor by the Forces in *Italy*, which offended the two Emperors, his Brother and

S. L. 6. c. 36. and his Unkle; not because he was advanc'd to the Sovereignty, for [in a little Time] they both declar'd themselves pleas'd with his Accession, but because it had been done without their Knowledge. This young Emperor's Mother was *Justina*, the Daughter of *Justus* formerly Governor of the *Picene* Province, whom *Constantius* had put to death, upon the Report of his having dream'd that an Imperial Robe was born out of his right Side, which made the Emperor apprehensive, that from his Body was to proceed one, that would be a Rival either to himself or his Posterity. It happen'd, in process of Time, *Justina* was admitted into so perfect an Intimacy and Familiarity with the Empress *Severa*, *Valentinian's* Consort, that they wash'd together in the same Bath, and the Empress was so taken with the exquisite Beauty and Symmetry of the Virgin, which that Opportunity offer'd to her View, that she could not forbear communicating her admiration of it, in very lively Terms, to the Emperor; who, kindling at the *Idea*, * resolv'd to make *Justina* his Wife, but yet not to divorce *Severa*, who had borne him his Son *Gratian*, and not only by his Example encourag'd, but by a formal Edict, or Law, no where heard of but here, issued out an Universal Licence for Bigamy. By *Justina* he had one Son, *Valentinian* Junior, and three Daughters, *Justa*, *Grata*, and *Galla*. The two former dy'd Virgins; the last was marry'd to *Theodosius* the Elder.

LET us now retreat again into the *Eastern* Empire; and here we find *Valens* at *Antioch*, improving and glutting himself in the Art of Cruelty, and breathing out fiercer Flames of Persecution every Day; 'till an Oration of *Themistius* the Philosopher (wherein, among other Things, he observ'd to him, 'twas no Wonder there should be a Diversity of Opinions among the

S. L. 6. c. 36. Christians, since the *Greeks* [had worse Quarrels; and] were split into more than three Hundred Sects, and that these Dissentions really tended to God's Glory, as they were an Argument to all Parties of

* *Valesius justly rejects this Story as false. See his Note on the Place; and the Reverend Mr. Lowth's, in the Re-* verend Mr. Reading's excellent Edition of these Historians.

the Excellency and Incomprehensibleness of the Divine Nature) had more Effect upon him than all the Obligations and Principles of Religion and Humanity; and cool'd him so happily, that first he forbore proceeding Capitally against the Clergy, contenting himself with sending them off into Banishment, and afterwards had his Hands full of other Employment, which diverted him from that too; for the *Goths* falling into a Civil War, in which *Fritigern* headed one of the contending Parties, and *Athanasius* the other, the former, overborne by the latter, was oblig'd to desire the Assistance of the Empire, which *Valens* readily granted him, and so recover'd him a lost Game; in a grateful Return for which good Office, *Fritigern* became a Convert to the Christian; I should have said the Emperor's Faith, and by his Example, and other Encouragements, he drew many of his Subjects into the same Persuasion. * *Ulfila* further improv'd the Opportunity, by inventing the *Gothick* Letters, or Characters, and putting the Holy Scriptures into their Hands, translated by himself into their Language. But *Athanasius*,

* Socrates in the former Vol. told us, that *Ulfila* subscrib'd the Acacian Creed at Constantinople, p. 205. but Sozomen asserts, L. 6. c. 37. that tho' thro' Carelessness and Inadvertency he had appear'd in the Acacian Synod there, yet he held in Communion with the Professors of the Nicene Faith; 'till being deputed the Principal of the Embassy sent by the Goths, to solicit Protection and Reception from Valens, he was attack'd with all the Rhetorick and Arguments of the Arians, and with Assurances that they would forward the Business he came for, if he would strike into their Interest, which (whatever the Inducement was) accordingly he did, and drew all his Countrymen after him, whom his Labours and Sufferings for the Faith, in order to bring them to it, and his other great Services, had had that Effect upon, that they readily follow'd his Conduct and Example; and Theodorit tells us the Story to the same Effect, (L. 4. c. ult.) That Eudoxius put the Emperor upon engaging

the Goths in his Communion, as a means to make the League he had made with them firmer: And when the leading Men among them would not hearken to the Proposition, prevail'd upon *Ulfila* by the Power of Bribes, and fine Words and Stories; among the rest, telling him, there was no real Difference in Point of Faith between the Contenders, but that it was a Quarrel only of Interest and Preferment, to draw in his People to the Emperor's Communion; which their Bishop accordingly did, by instilling the same Notion into them; and to this day, (says that Historian) tho' they communicate with those that hold the Son to be a Creature, they do, and ever did, abhor that Doctrine, and must be understood to do so, when they assert the Father to be greater than the Son. Here, by the Way, those Men may see themselves confuted, who, to serve a Turn, are so willing to confound the Schism of the Arians with their Heresy.

when by the same Man and Method his Subjects had the same Belief infus'd into them, persecuted, even to Death, several of those Profelytes, who chearfully accepted their Dissolution for the Testimony of that *Christ*, in whom (tho' meaning well) they had but a very defective and erroneous
S. L. 6. c. 37. Faith; [and some of them he dealt by so hardly, that he took away their Lives, without suffering them so much as to utter a Word of their Faith. For one of the Ways he pleas'd himself with, in proceeding against them, was, to have an Image carry'd about in a Cart, to their several Tents; which those that refus'd to worship, were contum'd, with their Habitations about them, to Ashes. And when the Persecution had driven a Body of them, Men, Women, and Children, into one of their Oratories, there to resign up themselves more solemnly and immediately to the Divine Disposál, the Infidels set it on Fire, and burnt the whole Congregation in it.]

ERE long the [Competition and Quarrel among the *Goths*, so lately mention'd, was made up; which yet was soon * follow'd by a fatal Invasion from their Neighbours the *Hunns*, who driving them out of their own Country, they were forc'd to beg for a Reception in the Dominions of the Empire, promising all faithful Subjection, Obedience, and Service. *Valens* very inconsiderately allotted them *Thrace* to reside in; placing them there to serve as Guards and Garrisons, which he thought they were better qualify'd for against any Impressions of other *Barbarians* bordering upon that Country, than the Imperial Troops; and so laid aside all Care and Concern for these, and even for the *Veterans* among them, to the great Detriment of the Empire; for these new Guests, like strolling Beggars, rewarded their Benefactor by ravaging and making Booty of whatever their Admission had laid in their Way.

* Sozomen (*L. 6. c. 37.*) inverts the Order of the Story, and makes the Civil War between Athanarick and Fritigern, to happen after the Invasion of the Hunns.

THE News of this Defection and Treachery so surpriz'd and confounded the Emperor, that immediately he had done with his grand Affair and Diversion of Banishing the Catholicks, left *Antioch*, and came to *Constantinople*. About this Time dy'd *Euzoius*, (*Valens* the fifth, *Valentinian* Junior, the first Time, Consuls) and *Dorotheus* succeeded him.

UPON the Alarm of this formidable Insurrection, the dispirited Oppressor apply'd himself to his * Brother for Forces to help him to suppress it; but, to his great Disappointment and Sorrow, receiv'd this Answer, *That to send Succours to him that was carrying on a War against God, would be entring into a Confederacy against the Divine Majesty; and that therefore his Brother thought himself oblig'd, in Duty, to leave him to the judicial Consequences of his own Obduration.* And yet how little this affected the unhappy Man, appears too plain from his Usage of his excellent General *Terentius*; who returning triumphant from *Armenia*, upon his Master's tend'ring him the choice of his own Reward for his good Services, desir'd only this, that the Catholicks might have one Church allow'd them. No sooner understood the Emperor the Matter of his Petition, but he flew into a Passion, tore it in Pieces, and bad him think of some other sort of Gratification. To which, gathering up the Pieces of the Paper, the pious Hero reply'd, *I have my Desire, Sir, and shall ask nothing else. The Judge of the World, the great Searcher of Hearts, is Witness of my good Intentions.*

THE Rebellion of the *Goths* had scarce call'd the Emperor from *Antioch* before the *Saracens* also took Arms, and, with *Mavia* their Queen at the Head of them, did a great deal of Mischief in the Eastern Parts of the Empire; [and might have done much more, having defeated a very considerable Body of Forces that made Head against them,] but that it pleas'd the Divine Providence to [bring *Mavia* to the

T. L. 4. c. 31,
32.

S. L. 6. c. 38.

T. L. 4. c. 23.

* A great Mistake. See *Valesius* upon the Place.

Knowledge of his Truth, and to] put it into her Heart † to propose a Peace upon this Condition, that one *Moses* an *Anchoret*, a Subject of hers, very much talk'd of, and celebrated for his Faith, Piety, and Miracles, should be invested with the Episcopal Character, in order to exercise it over her People. The Imperial Generals, [their Master approving it,] accepted the Motion with an Extasie of Joy; and the good Man's Person was seiz'd upon, and brought to *Alexandria*, where, [in the Presence of the Magistracy and a vast Multitude of the People,] he absolutely refus'd to let *Lucius* ordain him, telling him, *He knew himself unworthy to receive that sacred and high Authority; but if, for the Interest of Christianity, and the good of the Church, he must be forc'd to undertake it, he resolv'd,*

S.L. 6. c. 38. [nay he call'd the great God of Heaven and Earth to witness, that the Hands of] *Lucius*,

T.L. 4. c. 23. reaking with the Blood of Martyrs, [as his Mind and Mouth were full of Heresy] should never come upon his Head. * *Lucius* advis'd him to forbear Affronts, and rather submit himself, as it became him, to be instructed by him in Faith. 'Tis no Matter, said *Moses*, for any Dispute about that: What sort of a Faith yours is, you show by your Works. A Christian, a Servant of God, must neither Revile nor Fight. What are you then,

S.L. 6. c. 38. that, as every Body knows, have banish'd [sent to the Slavery of the Mines] burnt, and bury'd

S.L. 6. c. 38. in the Bodies of wild Beasts, so many noble Confessors, [even Bishops, Priests, and Deacons?] And, let me tell you, the Evidence which comes in at our Eyes brings easier Conviction than what is receiv'd by our Ears. [In a Word, he call'd God to witness

S.L. 6. c. 38. that he would never undertake the great Office

† The Romans reduc'd to great Difficulties, sued for it first, says *Sozomen*. *L. 6. c. 38.*

* In *Sozomen*, (*L. 6. c. 38.*) we find him express himself more modestly, You deal hardly with me, says he, if

you condemn me at a venture, before you know what Faith I profess; and therefore I desire you to take it, not from the Representations of my Enemies, but from my own Mouth, and then I submit it to your Judgment.

he was design'd to, if he must be ordain'd by *Lucius*; and so * those that were about the *T. L. 4. c. 23.* brave Man [(*Lucius* also himself consenting to prevent a renewal of the War)] found it necessary to carry him to some of the banish'd Bishops, by whom being Consecrated [he return'd, and discharg'd *S. L. 6. c. 38.* his Duty among the *Saracens*, improving and confirming their good Inclinations towards their Allies of the Empire; and withall, reconciling Multitudes of them to the greater Interests of Religion; to which but few had been yet converted, and none of them 'till a little before the Reign we are now concern'd with. For whereas this Nation were Descendants of *Ismael*, and heretofore call'd *Ismaelites*, that they might appear the Sons of the Free Woman rather than of the Servant, they gave themselves † the Name of *Saracens*. They observ'd many Ceremonies and Sanctions of the *Hebrews*, antecedent to those deliver'd by *Moses*; and such as were not in use among them, were lost and obliterated either by the Treachery of Time, or their Mixture and Incorporation with their Neighbours; which affected them to such a Degree, that at length they utterly degenerated into the reigning Superstition and Idolatry; wherein they continued 'till some of them, by conversing with *Jews*, being inform'd of their Origin and Extraction, re-united themselves in Religion, Oeconomy, and Amity with the *Hebrews*; and many of them persevere therein to this Day. The Conversation, Piety, and Miracles of the Clergy and Monks that liv'd near them, brought them over to the Faith. One entire Tribe of them ow'd their Conversion to God's miraculous Mercy and Indulgence to *Zocomus*, their *Phylarch*, or Governor, who having no Issue (a calamitous Case among that People, and, if I mistake not, among the *Barbarians* in general) came to a certain famous Monk, to let him know his Misfortune. The Monk betook himself to Prayers; which finish'd, he assur'd him he should have a Son, if he would believe in *Christ*; and accordingly, in due Time, the Blessing promis'd arriving, he receiv'd Baptism,

* *The Imperial Officers*, says Sozomen, *L. 6. c. 38.*

† See *Valelius upon the Place.*

and prevail'd upon the People he govern'd to follow his Example; and that Tribe has ever since been a very thriving one, and terrible to their Neighbours.] But here to end this Digression; *Mavia*, their illustrious Queen, took so much Satisfaction in the Peace she made, that to settle it firmer, she marry'd her Daughter to *Victor*, the Emperor's General.

'Twas a double Jubilee at this Time at *S. L. 6. c. 39. Alexandria*, [(and in the Churches every where)] when, not only the Emperor was gone from *Antioch*, and his Sport of Persecution interrupted; but their Bishop *Peter* was return'd to them with Letters from *Damasus*, in which he signify'd his Approbation of *Peter's* Faith and Ordination. This arrival of their beloved Pastor gave such Life and Fire to his faithful Flock, that they put him in Possession of his Church, and rid it of *S. L. 6. c. 39. Lucius*, who immediately took Ship for *Constantinople*, [where the Emperor had other Work upon his Hands, at present, than that of supporting him and his Interest.] But the Blessing recover'd they did not long enjoy; for *Peter* dy'd soon after, whose Successor was his Brother *Timothy*.

By the Time that *Valens* was got into the Imperial City, the *Goths* were ravaging the Suburbs, and meeting with no Opposition advanc'd towards the very Walls. The Inhabitants were so exasperated, and distracted at this, that they could not forbear reflecting upon the Emperor's Negligence and Tardiness, nay, and his Honour too, intimating as if he had given the Enemy Invitations thither; and took a publick Opportunity to exclaim against him to his Face, desiring him, with vehement Clamours, only to put Arms in their *T. L. 4. c. 33. Hands*, and they'd fight for themselves. [*Trajan*, one of his Generals, had been sent already with some Forces against the Invaders, and was come back worsted; for which, when the Emperor call'd him Coward, and rail'd at him plentifully, he assur'd him, in plain Terms, he might thank himself for what had happen'd. *Sir*, said he, *you are at open War with the Omnipotent Disposer of Victories, and you have provok'd him to take the Part of the Barbarians.*
You

You know very well, from whom you have taken the Churches, and to whom you have given them. Arinthæus and Victor, two other of his Generals, declar'd themselves of the same opinion, and intreated his Majesty not to be displeas'd at so just and reasonable a Rebuke.] But he scorn'd to believe them, or take their Counsel; and at the same Time the Condition of Affairs forc'd him to expose his own Person. Wherefore, enrag'd at the rough Importunity of the People, he march'd out against the Enemy; and vow'd, if ever he return'd, to level that City with the Ground, and draw the Plow over it for this Affront, and an old Arrear of their Kindness to *Procopius.* [As he was leaving the Imperial City, one *Isaacius*, a Monk, a Man of extraordinary Character and Merit, and arm'd with a true Confessorial Courage, came to him, and told him, *If he would restore the Churches to the Catholicks, he should conquer his Enemies [with a great deal of ease; for that these Barbarians were the Scourge of God upon him for the Affronts he had offer'd to his Name, and the Injuries he had done to his Church. But if he ventur'd, without coming to these Terms, to fight the Enemy, he should find how hard a Thing it was to kick against the Pricks; he should certainly lose his Life and his Army.]* The Emperor [in great Wrath] order'd him to be taken into Custody, and kept there in Expectation of the Punishment that was to light on him at his Return. *Sir, said Isaacius, you shall never return unless you restore the Churches. [If you do, dispatch me as soon as you please.]* And the Event answer'd the Prediction.] For tho' the Emperor oblig'd the Barbarians to retire as far as *Adrianople*, yet coming [without Conduct or Consideration] to a Battle with them, he lost his Life, upon the third of *August*, in his own sixth Consulat, and the Younger *Valentinian's* second; consum'd, as one Account runs, in the Flames of a Village, which he had * fled to, and

* Theodorit, (L. 4. c. 36.) says he was not in the Action, but lodg'd himself there before it.

the Enemy set on Fire, [when the main Body of them had past the Place in pursuit of him, and he *S. L. 6. c. 40.* might have sav'd his Life, had not those that were with him shot down upon the Heads of some Straglers coming up in the Rear; who gave the Alarm to the whole Army, and so quickly drew them together to his Destruction.] Others say, That he was slain among his Infantry, into the midst of whom, flinging off his Imperial Purple, he desperately threw himself, when he saw them left by his false and cowardly Cavalry to be surrounded by the Enemy; and that his Body was lost in the Multitude of those that fell with him. He liv'd Fifty Years, and reign'd Thirteen with his Brother, and Three after him: And Sixteen is the Number of Years comprehended in the History of this Fourth Book.

The End of the FOURTH BOOK.

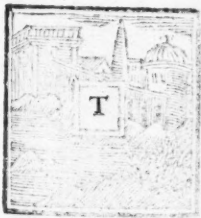


T H E



T H E
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
O F
Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit.

B O O K V.



THE *Goths* having thus, at one Blow, entirely defeated the *Eastern* Emperor's Forces, and put a Period to his Life, [ravag'd and depopulated all *Thrace*, and] advanced again to the very Walls of *Constantinople*, plundering, and laying Waste the Suburbs, 'till the Citizens, equipping and arming themselves as well as they could, and encourag'd by a Military Donative from the Hands of the Empress *Dominica*, and by the Assistance of some Auxiliaries which the *Saracen* Queen had sent them, march'd out against them, and oblig'd them to retire.

K k k

GRATIAN

GRATIAN, [a Prince very terrible to his Enemies, and tender of his Subjects,] had no sooner taken the
T. L. 5. c. 12. Reins of Sovereignty into his Hand (which he held in Concert with *Valentian* the Younger) but he call'd Home the good Men that had been banish'd by his Unkle *Valens*; [(whose rough Measures he never approv'd)], and promulg'd a Toleration to
S. L. 7. c. 1. all Sorts and Parties of Men, the *Eunomians*, *Photinians*, and *Manichees*, only excepted. His next Care was to rescue and re-establish the Empire; in order to which he chose *Theodosius* his Collegue, (a Noble *Spaniard*, whose great Services and Successes in the Conduct of War had long before merited that Dignity in the Judgment of the World) and declaring him so at *Sirmium*, upon the Seventeenth of *January*, (*Ausonius* and *Olybrius* Consuls) assign'd him his Share in the great Work of chastizing and quelling the Barbarians; and the *East*, with *Illyricum*, (which was also at this Time infested by the same Invaders) for his Part in the Empire.

THEODORIT tells us, That this great and deserving Man had retir'd from the Envy of the Court
L. 5. c. 5, 6, 7. (the usual Lot of the best Men that belong to it) to his Native Country; that his Master call'd him thence, made him his General, and sent him into *Thrace* against the Barbarians; and that he totally routed and overthrew them, leaving very few of them alive to repass the *Ister*; and that, when he had quarter'd his Victorious Army in the Cities thereabouts, himself rid Post to the Emperor to carry the News; that the Emperor could hardly believe his Story, and the General's Enemies at Court would have had it believ'd, That he had lost his Army, and was run home in Confusion; that *Theodosius* appeal'd to the number of Standards, &c. he had brought with him, and besought his Majesty, the Persons that were thus forward to eclipse and ruin him, might be sent to satisfy themselves, and his Majesty, of the Truth of the Fact; and that when they had done so, the Emperor made him his Collegue, according to the Import of a very memorable Dream which immediately preceded his Advancement; that *Meletius* of *Antioch* came to him, invested him with the Imperial Purple, and put the Crown upon his Head. And, it seems, the Representation so well answer'd
to

to the Reality, that afterwards, at the Meeting of the Council of *C. P.* he forbid any to inform him which was *Meletius*; and distinguish'd that Bishop from among all the venerable Fathers of that Assembly, by the pure Remembrance of his Person in the Dream; and no sooner had he found him, but he run to him, embrac'd him, kiss'd his Eyes, his Mouth, his Breast, his Head, and the Hand which he dreamt had crown'd him, and told him which Way he came to know him.]

DAMASUS still sat in the Chair of *Rome*; and *St. Cyrill* in that of *Jerusalem*. The Triple Communion continued at *Antioch*; whither *Meletius* was by this time return'd from Exile, having been call'd Home, among the rest of his Brethren, by *Gratian*. *Timothy*, in succession to *Peter*, govern'd the *Alexandrian* Catholics; and *Lucius* (in Exile) the *Arians*. *Demophilus*, *Eudoxius's* Successor, was in Possession of the Churches at *Constantinople*; the Orthodox in the mean Time holding their Congregations by themselves; *S. L. 7. c. 2.* [and, indeed, the *Arians* had still the Possession of all the Churches of the *East*, *Jerusalem* only excepted.]

THE *Macedonians*, who, from the Time of their Reconciliation, had hitherto communicated with the Catholics, upon *Gratian's* publishing his Indulgence, met at *Antioch* [in *Caria*,] and renounc'd the *Consubstantial*, and all Communion with the Professors of it, [returning to their Vomit, the Doctrine of *bare Similitude*;] by which Act of *S. L. 7. c. 2.* Levity and Treachery they lost the greatest Part of their Body, who came over, and continued firm to the Catholics: [Some of whose restor'd Bishops were, on the contrary, so eagerly dispos'd to an Accommodation with the *Arians*, that they invited the Rival-Intruders to share their Preferments and Dignity with them, and unite themselves to their Communion. *Eulalius*, particularly, of *Anasia* in *Pontus*, offer'd the Usurper he found there these advantageous Terms, tho' his Adversary had not Fifty Persons that adher'd to him; which when he rejected, his whole Number soon forsook him, and reconcil'd themselves to the Church.] *S. L. 7. c. 2.*

MEAN Time the *Meletians* at *Antioch*, upon the Return of their Bishop, were advancing and pressing a Project to reconcile the two Orthodox Communions, by prevailing with *Paulinus*, being very old, to admit *Meletius* for his
S. L. 7. c. 3. Colleague; which the former, [and his Party,] refusing, for that the latter had receiv'd his Ordination from *Arian* Hands; the People, not a little exasperated, were upon the Point of Inthroning *Meletius* in one of the Churches without the City; and all Things tended to an open Mutiny and Tumult, when the Fire was happily and timely put out by the Expedient of bringing *Flavian*, and five others, among whom they had reason to think the next Election would lie, under the obligation of an Oath, [nei-
S. L. 7. c. 3. ther to seek nor accept of the *Antiochian* Throne, as long as *Paulinus* and *Meletius* should live,] nor, upon the Death of either of them, to come in his Place, but to submit themselves to the Survivor. And * thus that lamentable Schism was heal'd; † the *Luciferians* however standing off upon the same Objection against *Meletius*, which *Paulinus* had urg'd, and we have mentioned before.

[WE have already seen, in Part, the Impiety and Extravagance of *Apollinaris's* Singularities; *Theodorit*
T. L. 5. c. 3, 4. adds, That he asserted || Proportions or Degrees of Superiority and Inferiority in the Deity; and that the Soul of Man is not sav'd by the Merits of Christ, because he did not assume a human Soul; not that the conceited Caviller was always constant to himself, in reference to Christ's Body; for sometimes he allow'd it to have been of the Substance of the Blessed Virgin; sometimes he made it to have descended with the Deity from Heaven; and sometimes he said it was form'd, or produc'd, out of the Deity itself. Not to mention a Thousand more of his wild Positions; which, as absurd

* 'Tis observable, that *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do not expressly affirm, that *Paulinus* and *Meletius* came to an agreement about the Terms of Communion, during their own Lives, but leave it ra-

ther to be suppos'd, from what they tell us, that the Schism was heal'd at this Time.

† *Sozomen* says, only some of them.
 || *Εαδης τως ἀζωπότεν.*

and monstrous as they were, found their Followers and Admirers, even among the Catholicks; who, tho' they were almost all so much ashamed of their Heresy and Separation as not long to adhere to them openly; yet, when the Church had receiv'd them again, were so far from being themselves found within, that they tainted and corrupted not a few that were so. And 'twas this Root of Bitterness out of which sprouted afterwards the *Eutychian* Heresy, which confounded the two Natures in *Christ*, and that of the *Theopaschites*, which made the Divinity to suffer; to name no more that were of the same Extraction.

THE same Historian varies from the other two, in his Account of the Proposal for an Union at *Antioch*. According to him, *Sapores*, an Imperial General, was order'd thither with the Emperor's new Edict, obliging all Parties to communicate with Pope *Damasus*. *Paulinus* affirm'd, That he was in Communion with him; *Apollinaris* pretended the same; whilst *Meletius* sat silent by. But *Flavian*, who was lately mention'd, turning himself to *Paulinus*, ask'd him, how he could say he was in Communion with *Damasus*, when * he deny'd the three Hypostases, which *Damasus* confess'd? and then rebuk'd *Apollinaris*, for making the same Boast; whereas *Damasus* held, that *Christ* assum'd and sav'd the Soul as well as the Body; and if he did the same, he desir'd him, at this Time, to declare it. And thus both their Mouths were stop'd. The meek *Meletius* then address'd himself to *Paulinus* thus condescendingly and courteously, *My Friend*, said he, *our Lord has given these Sheep into my Hands, and you have taken upon you the Care and Government of those that are with you. Their Faith is one, and let us make their Fellowship so too. Let us lay aside the Dispute about the true Title, and unite our Pretensions and Endeavours in a common Superintendency for the Good of the Flock. If we cannot agree which of us should sit in the Throne, let us first place the Holy Gospels there, and then ourselves have our Seats on either side. If I die first, the whole Flock shall be yours; if you, I will Feed and Oversee it as well as I*

* *Paulinus* did not deny the three Hypostases, as *Hypostasis* signifies a Person, but only as it signifies a Substance distinct from any other Substance. He rejected the Term, because he conceiv'd it very liable to Misconstruction. See Vales.

can. Paulinus * rejecting the Proposal, *Sapor* gave *Meletius* Possession of the Churches. *Paulinus*, however, still had his distinct Assemblies, and *Apollinaris* now boasted himself the Author of that Heresy; which, it seems, he had not so openly publish'd before, tho' he had some Time since consecrated *Vitalis* (a Man of a most exemplary Life 'till his Fall) Bishop of *Antioch*, his own ordinary Residence being at *Laodicea*.

MELETIUS was, on his Part, as careful to preserve and propagate an Orthodox Succession. He ordain'd the great *Diodorus*, before taken notice of, Bishop of *Tarsus*, and the pious and learned *John* (mention'd before) Bishop of *Apamea*; the Place where the Terrors of the raging Persecution had not been of force enough to scatter a Congregation of the Faithful which had the Care of these. *Stephen*, a very learned, and in all respects a great Man, *John's* Assistant and Fellow-labourer, *Meletius* consecrated Bishop of *Germanicia*; a Church overrun with *Eudoxian* Weeds, but soon Purg'd and set in Order by so diligent and able a Hand. *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, ere this, return'd from Exile, † ordain'd *Acacius* Bishop of *Beræa*; *Theodotus*, of *Hierapolis*; *Eusebius*, of *Chalcis*; *Isidore*, of *Cyrus*; *Eulogius*, of *Edessa*; (the great *Barses* being Dead) and *Maris* of *Dolicha*, all Men of singular Merit; and *Eulogius* set his Fellow-Confessor, *Protogenes*, (for they had been banish'd together) over the Church of *Carra*, which had very deeply imbib'd the Heretical Contagion. Reserv'd for these Services, thro' a long Series of Distresses and Dangers, the great *Eusebius*, as he enter'd *Dolicha* to celebrate the solemnity of *Maris's* Enthronization, died a blessed Martyr to the Catholick Cause, by the Hand of a Woman, (one of the many *Arian* Bigots which the Place abounded with) who, from the Top of a House, cast down a Tile upon his Head, the Stroak of which put a Period

* See Val. on this chap. n. 4, 5.

† Valesius supposes that these Ordinations, which were not Canonical, because *Eusebius* had no Authority to ordain in any Province, or District, except his own, without the Metropolitan's or Diocesan's leave, were, by an Extraordinary Divine Appointment and Direction, and that they

were afterwards admitted and approv'd by the Metropolitan of the Province. But I see not why we may not very well suppose him to have had the Metropolitan's Leave; who was no less zealous against Arianism, and studious of propagating a Succession in Opposition to it, than *Eusebius* himself.

to his Life, after he had had respite enough to oblige his Friends by an Oath, from prosecuting the Woman. But to return to *Meletius*.]

AFFAIRS being settled for the Present, as we have seen at *Antioch*, *Meletius* went to *Constantinople*, being sent for to ordain *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, who, about that very Time, was, by the Suffrage and Designation of a large Number of Bishops, * call'd to the See of *Constantinople*.

THE two Emperors, *Gratian* and *Theodosius*, having reduc'd the Barbarians, were now upon their Way, the one to *France*, where the *Almains* were ravaging and destroying the Country, [but soon felt his Vengeance;] the other to *Constantinople*, where, before he arriv'd, he was stop'd by an Indisposition that seiz'd on him at *Thessalonica*, and growing worse and worse, he sent for *Ascholius*, the Bishop of that Place, [a Man happy in all those Graces and Qualifications which add Lustre to the Pastoral Office,] desiring to be admitted by him into the Christian Church, as he had always, after the good Example of his Ancestors, profess'd the Christian Religion, and the true Catholick Faith; and accordingly, after he had first [receiv'd from the Bishop the preparatory Lessons and Institutions, and] put the Question to him, What Faith he profess'd, and was answer'd, That *Arianism* had never got Footing in those Parts; and that he, and all the Churches, [in *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*] adhered to the Apostolick Faith, assert'd and confirm'd by the Holy *Niceene* Council; receiv'd Baptism at his Hands, [and before he left the Place, promulg'd a Rescript, directed to the City of *C. P.* (whence he knew it would diffuse itself into all other Parts concern'd, so that the Obstinate would have timely Notice every where) requiring all his Subjects to profess that Faith which was held by *Damasus*, Bishop of *Rome*, as he had receiv'd it from his great Predecessor, *St. Peter*, † the Pror-Apostle, and by *Peter*, Bi-

* See *Valesius* upon the Place.

† ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων.

shop of *Alexandria*; and that, as only the Professors of this Faith should be call'd Catholics; so whosoever deviated from it should be stigmatiz'd with the Name of Heretick, and take to himself Infamy and Punishment for his Portion.] Recovering within a few Days after his Baptism, he came to the Imperial City, upon the Twenty fourth of *November*, in his own first Consulat, and *Gratian's* fifth; and within two Days after his Arrival, he turn'd the *Arians* out of the Churches there, (after they had kept Possession of them Forty Years) and restor'd them to the Catholics. But, before he did this, he sent for *Demophilus*, and requir'd him to embrace the *Nicene* Faith, and return with his People into the Bosom of the Church; which, when he refus'd to do, the Emperor told him, *Since he was thus resolv'd to keep Peace and Unity out of God's House, he should be shut out of it himself.* Whereupon *Demophilus*, knowing that it would be to no Purpose to oppose his Strength to that of the Higher Powers, call'd his Disciples together into the Cathedral, and gave them to understand, by a perverse Application of the Text, *That, as the Gospel commanded, if they Persecute you in one City, flee to another*; so the Emperor having Occasion (as his Expression was) for the Churches, they were to assemble for their publick Devotions, To-morrow, without the City; and accordingly he went out

S. L. 7. c. 5. of the Church, [where the Emperor, immediately entring, said his Prayers, and the Catholics have ever since kept Possession of that and the other Churches there;] and *Demophilus* held his Conventicle, as he promis'd, without the Walls; his Brother *Lucius*, who, as we intimated before, resided here an Exile, sharing his Fortune, and abetting his Measures. [But tho' thus discountenanc'd and corrected, the *Arians* were Proof against all Dis-

T. L. 7. c. 6. couragements. They met in Bodies, and had their publick Debates and Conferences; and their Friends at Court were employ'd to revive the Game there, which they had play'd in former Reigns. This Insolence and Industry of the Adversary, the Catholics were afraid of; as they were also of the Power of *Eunomius's* Eloquence, to whom, residing in *Bithynia*, (for thither he retir'd * upon his

* That is, I suppose, he retired thither from C. P. where Socrates left him before, p. 374. otherwise there seems to be an Inconsistency between the two Historians.

Quarrel with the old *Arian* Faction) there was too general a Resort of People, some to learn of him, * others to sift him and try his Skill. *Theodosius*, among the rest, was upon the Point of making him a Visit, when the pious Empress *Flaccilla* dissuaded him from exposing himself to such a dangerous Temptation. [This Lady was, indeed, *T. L. 5. c. 19*, as a Guardian Angel to him. She had accomplish'd herself in the Knowledge of her Duty, and took all Opportunities of cherishing and exciting the pious Disposition and Resolutions of her Lord; inculcating, that he ought to be perpetually comparing his Past with his Present Condition, that so he might the more carefully and strenuously do his Duty, especially in the Point of good Government, having always before his Eyes those wonderful Obligations of Gratitude which God had lay'd upon him in the Course of his Life. The Dignity and High-Station to which the Divine Providence had rais'd her, was so far from Tainting her Heart with any Tincture of Pride, that she made it the Means of acknowledging God's Goodness, and an Occasion of a most exemplary Humility, particularly by Visiting the Hospitals and private Lodgings of the Disabled and Mutilated; and ministering, with her own Hands, even in all the Offices of a menial Servant, to their Occasions and Necessities; and whenever any thing was attempted to dissuade, or divert her from these Acts of Condescension, she us'd to say, *The Scattering of Donatives is proper to Emperors; and why may not an Empress express her Thankfulness to God for advancing her to so great a Dignity, by this Employment of her Hands?* This admirable Woman dy'd before her Husband; to whom how dear she was, will easily appear from that Evidence of his Tenderness and Zeal for her Memory, which the Reader will meet with hereafter in the Story of the Insurrection at *Antioch*. [But here to return;

THE good Resolution which the Empress had wrought in *Theodosius*, not to venture himself with *Eunomius*, was, at the same time, very happily confirm'd, and improv'd by the seasonable Freedom of † a certain venerable Prelate, a plain honest

* οἱ ἀποπειράεσθαι.

† V. Val. in Soz. L. 7. c. 6. n. 23.

Theodorit (L. 5. c. 16.) says this Bishop was Amphilochius of Iconium.

Man, but a very understanding Divine ; who putting himself, upon occasion, among several other Bishops, that, as they happen'd to be then at *C. P.* went to Court in a Body to pay their Duty to the Emperor, and kiss his Hand ; after he had acquitted himself decently to his Majesty, came up Negligently to * one of his Sons, who sat at his Side, † and chucking him under the Chin, say'd to him, in plain Language, *Child, God bless you.* The Emperor, angry that the Imperial Prince had no more Respect shew'd him, order'd them to take away that sawcy old Man out of his Sight ; upon which the Bishop desired him to consider, whether God the Father was not equally displeas'd with those who deny'd that Honour and Worship to the Son, which they pay'd to himself. Upon this the Emperor begg'd his Pardon, confess'd the Truth and Pertinency of the Application, and from that Time gave no more Countenance to the Adversary, but, on the Contrary, broke their Disputatious Conventions and Cabals, || and stopp'd their Mouths, by the Terror of a Penal Law.

AND now his Majesty Summons a Council of Orthodox Bishops to *Constantinople*, further to ratifie the Holy *Nicene* Confession, and ordain a Bishop into that See, from whence *Gregory* was resolv'd, and preparing to depart, having exercis'd the Functions of his Pastoral Office, for some Time, *S. L. 7. c. 5.* in a little ** Chappel [made so by the Catholics of a poor private House] within the City ; and the Reason of this Resolution was, that there were those,

* *Arcadius newly declar'd Augustus.* Theod. L. 5. c. 16. *V. Vales. in loc.*

† *The Story runs in Theodorit (L. 5. c. 16.) that he took no Notice at all of the Young Prince, which the Emperor imputing to forgetfulness, order'd him to pay his Respects to his Son. Amphilochius said, 'Twas enough that he had discharg'd the usual Ceremonies to himself ; which the Emperor highly resenting, told him, He took himself to be Abus'd, and insulted, in the Affront he had put upon his Son : And then Amphilochius*

return'd him an Answer to the same Effect with that in Sozomen.

|| *The Thing which Amphilochius came to Petition for, but could not obtain till he had us'd his Stratagem.* Theod. L. 5. c. 16.

** *This Chappel was afterwards enlarg'd by the Addition of a very magnificent Edifice in the great Church of St. Anastasia. So says my Author ; but how much he is mistaken in this Particular, may be seen in the learned Annotator's Note upon the Place.*

[particularly

[particularly the *Egyptian* Bishops,] who took exception at him, as being a Foreigner. He waited only, and that impatiently, for the Emperor's Arrival; however, the Course of Things so conspir'd, that he did not resign before the Sitting of the Council. [And certainly his Humility and indifference to Preferment well deserve our Admiration; in that, having been recommended, for his great Piety and Learning, by the Emperor, and that Choice admitted and approv'd by far the greater Part of the Bishops then assembled, he did not decline the discouraging Care and Government of a Church, oppress'd and crush'd almost into Nothing by the prevailing Power of insolent Hereticks; and yet, when another Bishop too was ordain'd into the See of *Nazianzum*, * which he had left to come to *C. P.* he quitted this likewise, as soon as he found it was † expected and wish'd that he would do so; and this without expressing any Resentment or Vexation, that his great Labours and Perils in asserting the Catholick Cause met with no better a Requital. [Instead of any such Complaint, he desired them, not to let a Private Injury || turn to an Occasion of a Publick Breach and Discord. *Let me, said he, obtain the Pleasure of exchanging a Life of Cares and Business, for one of Retirement and Quiet; while you, by that Means, enjoy and cultivate your late Harmony and Unity, and cut off all occasion of Triumph and Contempt from the Adversaries, whose Hands are now ty'd up from those other Efforts of their Malice which we felt so lately; and so he requested them to choose a fit Person for so difficult and important a Province. Accordingly they proceeded to Election;]* of which more presently.

IN this Assembly appear'd an Hundred and Fifty Catholick Bishops, of which number was *Timothy of Alexandria, Cyril*

* He never was Bishop there, but only his Father's Coadjutor. See Vales. on the Place, and Cave's Hist. Literar.

† The Council seem'd chiefly to be influenc'd by the Canons against Translations and other lesser Irregularities; as I

conceive Sozomen intimates in these Words, ἡ σινοδος ἐν τῇς παλαιαῖς νόμοις ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τὰ ἐν φυλάττειν, &c. L. 7. c. 7.

|| A Private Injury, as he modestly call'd the Usage he had met with.

of *Jerusalem*, * * e'er this, become a Convert to the *Nicene* Faith, *Meletius* of *Antioch*, [(which three presided jointly over the Catholick Part of the Council)] *Ascholius* of *Theffalonica*, [*Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, *Acacius* of *Beræa*, *Helladius*, Successor to *St. Basil*, *Gregory* *St. Basil's* Brother, accompany'd by his Brother † *Peter*, *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, *Optimus* of *Pisidia*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, *Eulogius* of *Edeffa*, *Isidore* of *Cyrus*, and *Gelasius* of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, a very learned, pious Man.] The *S. L. 7. c. 7.* *Macedonian* Bishops were also summon'd, his Majesty conceiving * [great] Hopes of recovering them to the Church. Thirty six of them came; the two Chief *Eleusius* of *Cyzicus*, and *Marcian* of *T. L. 5. c. 7.* *Lampsacus*. The Council met [in the Emperor's Palace] (who receiv'd them one by one very graciously) in the Month of *May*, *Eucharinus* and *Evagrius* Consuls. The Emperor and the Catholick Bishops labour'd hard to regain the *Macedonians*, putting them in mind of what had pass'd between them and *Liberius*, and of the Faith they had profess'd themselves of to him, and the Communion they had then reconcil'd themselves to. But they stood to their last perfidious Resolution, left the Council and the City, and sent abroad their Circular Letters to confirm the Obstinacy of their Party against the *Nicene* Confession: While the Catholick Bishops in Council went upon the Business of chusing a Collegue into the Chair of *Constantinople*; in [which *S. L. 7. c. 7.* they could by no means come to any sort of Unanimity and Agreement; for, as the Emperor had been earnest with them to look out for some very deserving Man, so every one blazon'd the Character, and solicited the Advancement of some or other particular Favourite or Friend, 'till at length] the Lot fell upon *Nectarius*, Prætor of the City, by Birth [a *Cilician* of *Tarsus*

* * See Dr. Cave, in that Life where he makes two Cyrils of Jerusalem.

† Peter was only a Presbyter.

* These Hopes, says Soz. *L. 7. c. 7.* were grounded upon their nearness to the Catholicks in Faith; which is cer-

tainly very unintelligible after that Historian himself has told his Reader, That they had deny'd the Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghost, in the Reign of *Constantius*.

and] of the Senatorian Order, a very good Natur'd, and every way an Extraordinary Man; whose Promotion to the Chair the People press'd in a very vehement and compulsory Manner, and in whose Ordination concurr'd and assisted no less than a Hundred and Fifty Bishops. [His Election (as I have heard an Account of it) was strangely Pro- *S. L. 7. c. 8.* vidential, and very Extraordinary. Having occasion to take a Journey to the Place of his Nativity, he thought it his Duty to wait upon *Diodorus*, the Bishop of that City, and receive his Commands; into whose Presence he was no sooner come, but the Bishop, whose Thoughts were, in that Instant, at work upon the great Affair of the Election, mov'd by his venerable Look, and reflecting upon the Excellency of his Temper, determin'd him, in his secret Judgment, to be a very fit Person for so high an Office and Dignity, and carry'd him, upon some Pretence or other, to the Bishop of *Antioch*, to whom he gave a just Character of *Nectarius*, and desir'd his Vote and Interest for him. *Meletius* smil'd at the Extravagancy of the Proposal, as it confronted the Interests and Pretensions of so many more noted and eminent Men; however, he bad him stay some Time in Town. Soon after, when the Bishops, by the Emperor's Order, gave in the Names of the several Persons they recommended to that high Station, in order to his Majesty's Nomination, the Bishop of *Antioch* for *Diodorus*'s sake, gave *Nectarius* a Place, tho' the last both among those that had his good Opinion and Recommendation, and of the whole List; upon the first Perusal of which, the Emperor made a Pause at the Name that stood at the Foot of it, clapp'd his Finger there, run over the Catalogue again, and nam'd *Nectarius* the Man. This occasion'd a general Astonishment and Inquiry into the Life and Character of this *Nectarius*; † by which 'twas quickly known (tho' undoubtedly *Diodorus* took the contrary for granted) that he was not yet so much as baptized; but the Emperor, notwithstanding so considerable an Objection, urg'd as it was too by a great Number of Bishops,

† It may seem strange, that the Life and Character of a Creator of *P. Bishops* were Strangers, and came from remote Places, should not be better known; but this is, in a great measure accounted for, by reflecting, that great Part of these remote Bishops were Strangers, and came from remote Places.

persisted in his first Choice and Resolution, being directed by God's especial Providence, or, as some will have it, by an immediate Revelation ; and so [the whole Body of the Prelates at length concurring, *Nectarius* was immediately baptiz'd, and then ordain'd, and declar'd Bishop of *C. P.* by the Council ; in which, when he had taken his Place, they proceeded to the dispatch of further Business.] They made a Canon, That the Bishop of *Constantinople* should have the next Place of Honour and Precedence to the Bishop of *Rome*, in regard *Constantinople* was *New-Rome*. They added their Authority and Suffrage in confirmation of the *Nicene* Faith ; and they distributed and fix'd the Bounds of Provinces and Dioceses, tying up the Hands of the Bishops from ordaining in Foreign Jurisdictions ; a Practice introduc'd by the Exigencies of Persecution.

S. L. 7. c. 9. [They requir'd all Churches to Conform themselves to the ancient Canons, and * *Maximus*, a Native of *Alexandria*, and a Professor of the *Cynick* Philosophy, whom, † as being a strenuous Assertor of the *Nicene* Faith, the *Egyptian* Bishops had taken upon them clancularly to ordain over *Gregory's* Head, they declar'd never to have been a Bishop, and pronounc'd his Acts null.] *Nectarius*, at the same time, was made || the Centre of Communion in *Constantinople*, and the Provinces of *Thrace* ; in the Pontick

S. L. 7. c. 9. Diocese, [from *Bithynia* to *Armenia*, *Helladius* of *Casarea*, *Gregory Nyssen*, and *Otreius* of *Melitine* in *Armenia* : In the *Asiatick*, *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, and *Optimus* of the *Pisidian Antioch* : In *Egypt*, *Timothy* of *Alexandria* : In the *East*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, and *Diodorus* of *Tarsus* ; reserving still the Honour of Precedence to the Church of *Antioch*, and giving it, at that

S. L. 7. c. 9. Time, to *Meletius* present : [In *Thrace* and *Scythia*, *Terentius* of *Tomis*, and *Martyrius* of *Marcianopolis*.] Another Canon they pass'd, That, as occasion requir'd, every Province was to have its Disputes and other

* See *Valesius* upon the Place.

† *Theod. L. 5. c. 8.* makes him an *Apollinarist*, adding, That the Orthodox Bishops avoided his and his *Egyptian* Brethrens Communion, and joyn'd with *Gregory*.

|| See *Valesius* upon *Socr. L. 5. c. 8. n. 8, 9.* *Soz. L. 7. c. 9.* seems to say, This was done by the Emperor's Appointment only.

Matters fettled by a Provincial Synod. To all these Decrees the Emperour added his Approbation, [publishing, at the same Time, a Law, by which he requires *S. L. 7. c. 9.* all his Subjects to concur in the *Nicene* Faith, and that all the Churches, every where, be deliver'd up to the Professors of it ;] and so the Council broke up.

[*Neſtarius* had now more Time to apply himself to the Study of his Duty, and a true Understanding of the Obligations and Measures of it, in which Part *S. L. 7. c. 10.* he had the Assistance of *Cyriacus*, Bishop of *Adana*, and for the same Purpose solicited *Diodorus* to continue with him, and many others of the *Cilicians*, particularly *Martyrius*, his old Friend * and Physician, and one that had known all the Faults and Failings of his Youth ; whom he would have perswaded to take Deacon's Orders : But *Martyrius* refus'd it, handsomly alledging and insisting upon his Unworthiness, and beseeching *Neſtarius* to convince himself of it, by only looking back upon his Friend's former Course of Life. *Neſtarius* told him, that as he had made use of him in his Riots and Extravagancies, he must needs know, he had led a much looser Life than himself. But, Sir, said *Martyrius*, you have received Baptism, and since that, the Sacerdotal Character, † both which Institutions God has provided for the Cancelling of Sins ; so that you are in the same Case with a New-born Infant Regenerated : Whereas I was baptiz'd long since, and yet have not reform'd myself, as I would wish, to this Day. A very memorable and decent Excuse in the Opinion of my Author.] But to return ;

SOON after the Dissolution of the great Council, the Emperour order'd the Body of *Paul* of *C. P.* to be brought from *An-cyra*, and receiving it with all Expressions of a serious Reverence for the Memory of so great *S. L. 7. c. 10.* and good a Man, repos'd it in the Church, which, [tho' built by his inveterate Enemy and Rival, *Macedo-*

* Perhaps *ιστεον* may rather be Metaphorical, and refer to *ημαρτηματων*, *V. Loc.*

† The Falseness and Absurdity of this,

as to Ordination, *Valesius* has well expos'd in his Note upon the Place ; tho' he might much better have done so, if he had forbore speaking of it as a Sacrament.

ninus, has its Name from *Paul* of *C. P.* [and
S. L. 7. c. 10. yet many mistaken People, especially of the Ignorant Sort, derive it from *St. Paul* the Apostle, as if he lay bury'd there.] At the same time dy'd *Meletius* of *Antioch* (to whom *Gregory Nyssen* pay'd the Honour of a Funeral Oration) and his Body was carry'd [with
S. L. 7. c. 10. unusual Pomp and Solemnity] to *Antioch*, [and deposited near that of the Martyr *Babylas*.]
S. L. 7. c. 10. And now the Schism there so lately compos'd broke out again; those that had been *Meletius's* Adherents getting *Flavian* substituted his Successor instead of continuing their Submission to *Paulinus*; [which
S. L. 7. c. 11. yet so scandaliz'd many of his former Friends that they left him, and joyn'd themselves to *Paulinus*.] Thus, once more, was that unhappy Church split in two, not by any Disagreement in any Point of Faith, but purely by the Pretensions of two Rival Bishops
S. L. 7. c. 11. to the same See. [The whole Western Church disown'd all Commerce and Communion with *Flavian*, and his two Ordainers, *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, and *Aca-cius* of *Beræa*, whom they requir'd to be brought to a Synodical Tryal; and for the settling of these Things, they, and the Western Emperor, invited the Eastern Bishops into the West, there to assemble with themselves in Council. So much was a mere Breach or Violation of Succession in one single Church understood, in those Days, to affect all the Churches in the World.]

THE Expulsion of the *Arians* being attended in several Places with publick Disorders and Tumults, the Emperor, to put a stop to them, came soon to a Resolution of convening another Council, and call'd the several Factions to it; hoping, by conferring and debating Matters together, they would settle at last into one common true Judgment and Interest. They met, from all Quarters, in the Month of *June*, in the Consulship of *Me-robaudes* and *Saturninus*; when his Majesty, sending for *Neclarius*, and entring into Consult with him about recovering the Unity of the Church, propos'd it as his Project to bring the whole Dipute to an Issue by a fair and free Discussion of the Arguments on both Sides. *Neclarius*, perplexed for the Present, communicated the Emperor's Proposal to *Agelius*, the Nova-
tian

spective Advocates, and with the utmost Caution and Care. *Nectarius* and *Agelius* came on the Part of the *Consubstantialists*; *Demophilus* for the *Arians*; *Eunomius* himself for the *Eunomians*; and *Eleusius* for the *Macedonians*.] His Majesty receiv'd them, and taking their Papers retir'd to the Privacy of a Chamber; where he made it his humble Petition to the Majesty of Heaven to direct and conduct him upon this important Occasion. And having ended his Devotions, and read over all their Confessions, he resign'd up himself entirely to the *Consubstantial*, declar'd against the rest as separating the Three Persons in the Godhead from one another, and tore them in Pieces. And because the *Novatians* concurr'd so heartily and zealously with the Catholicks in asserting the true Faith, the Emperor, by an Edict, not only let them have their * Churches to themselves, but allotted them the same Privileges with those of the Catholicks: While the Heads and Patrons of the other Dissenting Communions fell under the Disgrace and Correction of their Brethren for Quarreling among themselves, and separated every Man to his own Home, full of Vexation and Despair, having now no other Card to play, but by their Epistles to comfort and encourage their drooping Creatures, and to make that an Argument of their own Election, which they had never allow'd the Catholicks, when their Affairs were at a low Ebb; that they were not to wonder at the revolting of such Numbers to the *Nicene* Faith, for *Many are call'd, but Few chosen*. At the same Time, † so indulgent was the Emperor to them, that he gave them Leave to build and use their Oratories without the Walls of the Cities; only *Eunomius* he banished, who had a private Conventicle || at *Constantinople*, and seduc'd not a few unhappy Souls by his Sermons and Books. But the Triumph of the Catholicks receiv'd a very considerable Check and Alloy from a Breach that happen'd among the Members of the late venerable Council; the *Egyptian*, *Arabian*, and *Cyprian* Bishops Re-

* Or, at least, Places for Prayer;
 ἀνατολὴν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν αὐτῶν.

† On the contrary, says *Sozomen*, L. 7. c. 12. he forbade them, by severe Laws, the Use and Exercise of all Ecclesiastical Duties, and doom'd some of them to expulsion from City and Country, and others

to Disfranchisement, and all the Marks of Disgrace, but this only in terrorem, for he never let these Edicts be put in Execution. Vid. *Vales*.

|| A Mistake. See *Valesius* upon *Socr.* L. 4. c. 7. n. 3, 5.

assembling

assembling and Voting *Flavian's* Deprivation and Expulsion; and those of *Palestine*, *Pbœnicia*, and *Syria* defending his Cause, [together with the greater S. L. 7. c. 11. Part of the *Armenian*, *Cappadocian*, *Galatian*, and *Pontick* Prelates.]

[To this second Assembly the *Western* Bishops had sent a Synodical Epistle, inviting them to *Rome*, to assist at a great Council * then sitting there; to which they return'd an Answer, declining the Trouble of a Journey which they thought unnecessary. T. L. 5. c. 8, 9, 10, 11.]

Their Epistle put them in mind how great a Fight of Afflictions the *Eastern* Church had undergone from the Adversaries and Persecutors of the Faith, while their Brethren in the *West* (for so they broadly and handsomely hinted) stood still and look'd on unconcern'd; and let them know, that notwithstanding that Flame was extinguish'd, and they were again in Possession of the Churches, yet they had enough to do to guard against the Incurfions of the Wolves dislodg'd, who, under their Sheeps Cloathing had their separate Folds, and under pretence of Religion disturb'd the publick Peace, and embroil'd the State; and that, therefore, they could not possibly, in compliance with the gracious Invitation of the *Western* Emperor, remove so far from the Care and Inspection of their Flocks; neither had they the Consent of the Bishops they had left at Home to meet any where else than at *C. P.* or to go any further; the Letters the *Western* Bishops had sent, the Year before, to the Emperor *Theodosius*, proposing to them to assemble there; so that they had never dreamt of being sollicitated to a longer Journey, 'till they were come to the End of that propos'd; neither were they at all provided for it: That these, and other Obstacles and Inconveniences forbidding them to think of travelling to *Rome*, they had perswaded a Triumvirate of their Collegues, *Cyriacus*, *Eusebius*, and *Priscian*, to go their Commissioners and Representatives, and acquaint them with their Brotherly and Peaceable Intentions, and their Zeal for the Holy *Nicene* Confession, which, agreeably to the sacred Form of Baptism, asserts a Trinity of Hypostases, or Persons in one Godhead, in opposition as well to

* οὐκ ἀποτεμνόμενος. Val. translates it, quæ illic parabatur.

the *Sabellian* Heresie which confounds them as to the *Eunomian*, *Arian*, and *Pneumatomachian*, which so distinguishes and separates them, as to destroy the Second and Third, converting and degrading them into Created Beings; and withal, that they held and maintain'd our Blessed Saviour * to be perfect Man, as well as perfect God, of a reasonable Soul as well as human Flesh subsisting; † and that as he assum'd, so he redeem'd the Former as well as the Latter; that, for a more particular Account of their Faith, and Abhorrence of all the modern Heresies, they referr'd them to the Acts of the Synod that had met at *Antioch*, and the General Council held, the Year before, at *C. P.* in which (conformably to that ancient Custom and the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, approving, that the Bishops of every Province should ordain within their respective Provinces, and have the Assistance, if they pleas'd, of the neighbouring Bishops) they had ordain'd *Nectarius* Bishop of *C. P.* by the Appointment of an || Oecumenical Council, in the presence of his Imperial Majesty *Theodosius*, and not without the general Suffrage and Concurrence of the Clergy and Laity; and approv'd and ratify'd the Ordinations of *Flavian* and *Cyril*, the one Bishop of the most ancient and truly Apostolick Church of *Antioch*, and so declar'd to be not only by a Synod of his Province, but of the Bishops of the whole *Eastern* Diocese, to the great and universal Satisfaction of those Churches; the other, an illustrious Confessor, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the Mother of all Churches, ordain'd into that Throne by the Bishops of the Province; desiring them also to make no Scruple or Dispute of admitting and owning the Bishops aforesaid, as their Brethren and Collegues, that so all occasion of Quarrel, Partiality and Disunion might be happily cut off.

AND here it may not be improper, or unseasonable, to take notice of an Epistle of * * *Damasus* to the *Eastern* Bishops, in

* So I express in the Words of the *Athanasian Creed*, ἡ τὸν τῆς ἰανθωπῆσιως διὰ τὸ χρῆμα.

† The contrary to which is certainly the ἀρετὴς οἰκονομία τῆς σαρκὸς.

|| Not properly so: See *Valesius* upon the Place.

** Not only of him, but of a Council of Western Bishops, as appears from what is added in the Conclusion of this Chapter, ἡ δ' ἅλα διὰ τῆς συνάξεως ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ βῆμῃ &c.

which

which he gives them to understand, that he had long since condemn'd the Doctrine of *Timothy*, one of *Apollinaris's* Disciples, and both the Man himself and his Master with it; and that *Peter* of *Alexandria*, then present, had concurr'd with him herein; and exhorts them, if that Pestilence should break out again, which he hoped (and had done his part towards an effectual Eradication of it) was bury'd and extinguish'd, to make the Word of God and the *Nicene* Faith their Antidote and Preservative, and to stop up the Ears of their Clergy and Laity against all such venomous Positions and Topicks; averring, that whoever impair'd or derogated from either the Divinity or Humanity of the Son of God, was under the Power of the Devil, and that whoever shall oppose himself to the Censure and Judgment of the Church in favour of the Hereticks condemn'd, shall perish with them. And this in answer to the Desire they had signify'd to him, that he would strip *Timothy* of the Exercise of the Sacerdotal Office.

THERE was another Declaration of Faith, which the same Council, assembled at *Rome* under Pope *Damasus*, sent to *Paulinus* then at *Thessalonica*. It condemn'd and anathematiz'd the *Sabellians*, *Arians*, *Eunomians*, *Macedonians*, *Photinians*; all who Deny'd the Son to be of one Substance with the Father; or his Existence before he was born of the Virgin *Mary*; or that he is equal with the Father, or that he was with the Father whilst he was upon Earth, or that he suffer'd in the Flesh and rose with it, and sits with it at the Right Hand of the Father, and shall come with it again to judge the quick and the dead; or that the Holy Ghost is of the same Substance with the Father and the Son, or that he is equally God with the Father and the Son; or that he is to be alike adored with the Father and the Son; or whoever shall entertain any wrong and unworthy Conception of the Third any more than of the First and Second Persons in the Blessed Trinity; or whoever shall Deny, that the Father made all Things, Visible and Invisible, by the Son and the Holy Ghost; or that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are Three Persons equal to one another, and united in one Godhead, Omnipotency, Glory, Dominion, Will, Truth, and * Energy; or whoever shall Affirm,

* *πνεῦμα διυπουργεῖτα.*

that the Son, or the Holy Ghost is a Creature, or that the Holy Ghost was created by the Son, or that there are Two Sons, one from before the Foundation of the World, another after the Incarnation; or that the Divinity of *Christ* suffer'd upon the Cross; or that it supply'd the Place of the Rational Soul, whereas it assum'd it without Sin, and having assum'd it, redeem'd it; or that the Son is * no more than as a Ray or Emanation from the Father, or of a Finite duration; or that there are Three Gods, the Father by himself, the Son by himself, the Holy Ghost by himself; or that the Father is only properly, and the Son and Holy Ghost but improperly God, as Angels, and Holy Men are stil'd Gods in Scripture; (a Position by which the Assertors of it, as this Council observes, put themselves upon the same Foot of Infidelity with the *Jews* and Heathens; in that they also allow'd the Baptisms of Hereticks, nay, of *Jews* and Heathens, in the Name of Archangels and Angels.) Further, the Synod shuts out of Communion all Persons translated from one Bishoprick to another, 'till such time as they return to the Sees which they left, suspending those, whose relinquish'd Sees were fill'd, from the Episcopal Office, 'till the Death of the Persons that then fill'd them.] But to return.

THE pious Endeavours and Proceedings of *Theodosius*, in favour of the Catholick Faith and Church, Heaven rewarded, and crown'd very visibly with so remarkable and Providential a Blessing, as the Submission of the barbarous Nations to his Government; the † *Gothick* King, *Athalarick*, in particular submitting himself, and resigning his Dominions into the Emperor's Hands; which he had no sooner done but he dy'd at *Constantinople*. Upon the Sixteenth of *January*, in the foresaid Consulship, the Emperor conferr'd the *Augustal* Dignity upon his Son *Arcadius*. But the Western Empire, God was pleas'd to visit at this time with one of his severest Judgments upon Earth, a Rebel-Urper, and him Successful. For *Maximus* having now left *Italy* || had

* τὸν λόγον τῷ Θεῷ, τῇ ἐκτάσει καὶ τῇ συστάσει ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κληρονομαί, καὶ ἀντιπρόσωπον εἶναι.

† See *Valesius* upon the Place.

|| He began his Affair in Britain. So *Socr. Son. and Zosim. Hist. L. 4.* as quoted by *Mr. Reading* in his excellent Note on *Socr.* p. 276.

set up for Emperor, and advanc'd his Banners against his Master *Gratian*, taken up with his War against the *Almains*; whom he basely and barbarously dispatch'd by a Traiterous Artifice of his General *Andragathius*, who putting himself in a * Woman's Litter, and sending a Report before him, by his Soldiers, that the Empress was there, met the Emperor near *Lyons* as he was passing a River; where his Majesty securely and chearfully approaching to receive his Consort, [(for he was Young, lately marry'd, and a kind Husband)] *S. L. 7. c. 13.* the Villain leapt out, and murder'd him; in the Consulship of *Merobaudes* and *Saturninus*, after a Reign of Fifteen Years, and a Life of Twenty Four. The Success of this impious Conspiracy oblig'd *Valentinian* to admit *Maximus* his Colleague in the Empire [who, good Soul! continued his March, pretending, all the Way, that his Business was the Defence and Preservation of the Catholick Church and Faith, [as he had before taken hold of the Young Emperor's hard *T. L. 5. c. 14.* Treatment of St. *Ambrose* to commence a Quarrel, and very Gravely, and Religiously, no doubt, admonish'd him, by a Letter, to tread in his good Father's Steps, and not offer any violence to the Church; for that else he should be oblig'd to come with his Sword in his Hand to her Deliverance. The true Cant of all ambitious Invaders, and Hypocrites in Power; and he made his words good; insomuch that] *Valentinian* with his Mother and (*Probus* at that time the *Præfectus-Prætorio* of *Italy*, and intrusted with the Direction and Conduct of Affairs there, which the Emperor himself was too Young to be fit for) was forc'd to retire into *Illyricum*, and fix their Residence at *Thessalonica* in *Macedonia*. However this Misfortune had more than one good Effect, observable in the Sequel.

THE Emperor, *Valentinian's* Mother *Justina* was an *Arian*, but during her Husband's Life had it not in her Power to molest the Catholicks, [and therefore thought fit to dissimble and conceal her Opinion.] After his *T. L. 5. c. 13.* Death, and while her Son was yet but a Boy, she

* ἐν φορέῳ κλισίῳ μινεμένη

came to *Milan*, where she set upon St. *Ambrose* with all her Malice and Fury, and [accus'd him to her Son
S. L. 7. c. 13. with having affronted her; whereupon the Young Emperor sent a Party of Soldiers to the Church to seize him, and] order'd his Banishment. Which the People, who lov'd him too well to part with him easily, contesting by a very brisk Resistance, [the Empress, more enrag'd and impatient for revenge than ever, sent for *Benivulus* * the Master of the Records, and lay'd her Commands upon him, immediately to draw up a Rescript to establish the *Ariminum* Confession. Which her Authority not prevailing with him to do; she tempted him with promises of better Preferment; and when *Benivulus*, flinging his Sash at her Feet, told her she might take away, if she pleas'd, the high Poste he held already; for, by the Grace of God, he would never be guilty of such a Wickedness; she found those that penn'd a Law for her, giving free Liberty and Encouragement for all Professors of the *Ariminum* Faith to † take Possession of the Churches, and making it Capital any Way to hinder or oppose the same. But before she could put it in Execution, the News arriv'd of what had happen'd to *Gratian*, and turn'd *Jezebel's* Thoughts and Purposes quite another Way.]

[Thus *Socrates* and *Sozomen*; but *Theodorit* gives the Story another Air. For, according to him, the Emperor
T. L. 5. c. 13. himself being a soft Young Man, and much addict-ed to his Pleasures, had imbib'd the Poison from his Mother; and when he had, in vain, attempted, in the Way of Discourse, to corrupt St. *Ambrose*, who begg'd him to recollect and imitate the Piety and Orthodoxy of his Father, and set before his Eyes the perfect Agreement and Consonancy of the one Faith with, and the absolute Repugnancy of the other to the Holy Scriptures; the angry Youth, his zealous Mother still blowing the Coals, kindled into a mighty ferment of *Passion*; beleaguer'd the Church, and the Bishop in it, with Soldiers; and,

* Or the President of the Imperial Clerks; τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς γραμματέσι τῶν δεσποτῶν τότε τεταγμένον.

† At least to hold their Meetings securely, ἀδελῶς συνίηαι.

that menacing Method not fearing the good Man out of his Place, he commanded him, in plain Terms, to quit it, and get him out of the Church-Porch. *That, said Ambrose, I cannot consent to; I will never deliver up my Sheepfold to Wolves, nor the Temple of God to Blasphemers. If your Majesty pleases, * I am ready to receive your Sword or your Pike in my Heart within these Walls.]*

THEODOSIUS, extremely apprehensive that *Valentinian* would follow the Fate of *Gratian*, prepar'd to march against the Invader with a very great Force; at what Time Embassadors from *Persia* came to solicit a Renewal of the Truce they had formerly made with the *Romans*; and *Honorius*, his younger Son, was born to him of his Empress *Flaccilla* upon the Ninth of *September*, *Richimeres* and *Clearchus* Consuls; some little Time before whose Birth, in the Sixth Year of *Theodosius's* Reign, dy'd *Agelius*, the *Novatian* Bishop, after he had presided Forty Years over the People of that Persuasion at *Constantinople*; and *Timothy* of *Alexandria* departed this Life the Year after, in the Consulat of *Arcadius* and *Bauto*, and was succeeded by *Theophilus*. The Year after that, dy'd the *Arian* *Demophilus*, to supply whose Vacancy the *Arians* sent for one *Marinus* out of *Thrace*, but a Quarrel happening (of which more hereafter) he did not continue long with them; and after him they had *Dorotheus*, whom they translated from the *Syrian Antioch*.

THE Eastern Emperor, (from whose Motions we digress'd) [having first, by a sharp Letter, rebuk'd *Valentinian* for provoking the Majesty of God by the *T. L. 4. c. 15.* Injuries he had offer'd to his Church, to withdraw his Favour and Protection from him, and to leave him expos'd to the Mercy of a Rebel Usurper, assuming the Defence and Rescue of the Church and Faith for his Pretext of taking up Arms,] left his Imperial City, and his Son *Arcadius* Regent there; and came at the Head of his Army to *Thessalonica*, where he found *Valentinian* and his Court labouring under anguish and confusion for yielding so far to the Necessity of the Times, as to

* A memorable and noble Instance of Primitive Passive Obedience.

admit *Maximus* into a Partnership of Imperial Dominion. [The first Thing *Theodosius* took Care of, was to recover the Young Prince to the Catholick Faith; *T. L. 5. c. 15.* in which, very happily succeeding, he reviv'd him out of his Dejection, and bad him entirely dismiss his Fears; and, as to *Maximus*, for the present he kept himself upon the Reserve; * neither entring into Treaty with his Ministers, nor yet declaring he would not. Afterwards, no longer enduring to see the *Roman* Empire enslav'd to the Insolence of a bold Usurper, he drew all his Forces together, and march'd towards *Milan* † whither the Rebel was advanc'd, and upon his Approach struck such a Terror into the Enemy, as soon as they understood his Numbers and Strength, that [without striking a *T. L. 5. c. 15.* Stroke] they deliver'd up their Leader into his Hands, who received the Reward of his Treason || upon the Twenty Seventh Day of *August*, *Theodosius* and *Cynegius* Consuls; and *Adragathius*, as soon as he heard of it, drown'd himself. This difficult and dangerous Affair thus happily got over, *Theodosius* sent for his Young Son *Honorius* from *Constantinople*; by whom attended the Two Emperors enter'd *Rome* in Triumph, where they exhibited publick Games and Entertainments upon so joyful a Turn of Affairs; and *Theodosius* gave a memorable Instance of his merciful Temper, in vouchsafing his Pardon (at the Petition of *Leontius*, the *Novatian* Bishop at *Rome*; for, as we hinted before, the *Novatians* had a Place in his Favour and Esteem, because they were true to the Faith of *One Substance*) to *Symmachus*, ** the First Man in the Senate, a great and elegant Master of the Latin Tongue, (his Orations are Extant) who being impeach'd of High-Treason for an Harangue which he had compos'd in Praise of *Maximus*, and which was spoke in the Traitor's Presence, had taken Sanctuary at the Altar, and upon tasting the Clemency and Lenity of so good a Prince, wrote his *Apologetick*, where he has been liberal in his Encomiums of *Theodosius*.

* See Valeſius upon the Place.

† It ſhould rather be Aquileia; ſee Valeſius.

|| See Valeſius upon the Place.

** πρῶτος τῆς ἐν ρώμῃ ſυγκλήτου.

BUT it must not be forgotten, that the *Arians* had taken the Advantage and Opportunity which this Rebellion offer'd them; and which they very artfully manag'd and improv'd: Their Method was to invent and disperse ill News; and before any thing of Moment had pass'd, they were full of Confident Reports, and very Particular as well as Bold in them; as that the Emperor was routed, and would find it hardly possible to make his Escape, [nay, was actually fallen into] the *S. L. 7. c. 14.* Enemy's Hands; and they told you the very Numbers of those that were Kill'd of either Side, in the Action. And the Cheat went so far, that the very Inventors believ'd their own Lies, hearing them at Second Hand very seriously and religiously averr'd for real Truths; and when they had thus impos'd upon themselves the Belief of their own Fictions, their Resentment at their late Expulsion easily blew them up into an open Insurrection and Tumult; in which they burnt down *Nectarius's* House to the Ground. This Outrage happen'd in the Consulat aforesaid.

AT *Antioch*, *Paulinus* dying, those that had been of his Communion would have nothing to do with *Flavian*, and got one *Evagrius* ordain'd in the Place of their old Pastor; who dying not long after, *Flavian*, with much ado, prevented the Ordination of a Successor, but could not dissolve the separate Assemblies of those, who, insisting on his Perjury, were not to be reduc'd to his Communion, 'till, some little time after, he had reconcil'd *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* to him, who, with Pope *Damasus*, was incens'd at him, for the Breach of his Oath, and the Schism he had renew'd by it; and further, *Theophilus* had, by his Presbyter *Isidore* (whom he sent to *Rome* on that Errand) gain'd him likewise the Friendship of *Damasus*, suggesting, That to re-establish the Publick Unity, 'twas necessary to take no further Notice of *Flavian's* Personal Crimes. Thus strengthen'd by the Accession of these Two Interests he broke, in some time, the adverse Combination, and compass'd a compleat Union. About the same Time dy'd *Cyrell* of *Jerusalem*, and *John* succeeded him.

[WE find in *Theodorit* the Affair of *Flavian's* Competition with *Paulinus*, and struggle with the Bishops of *T. L. 5. c. 23. Rome*, differently represented from the relation of our other Two Historians. He tells us * the Bishops and Clergy of that Patriarchate made *Paulinus's* Rejection of *Meletius's* late Proposal their main Inducement to ordain *Flavian*; that *Evagrius* was afterwards substituted in the Room of *Paulinus*, deceas'd, in defiance to several Canons, particularly in that he had only *Paulinus's* Nomination and Election, whereas he should have been chosen by all the Bishops of the Province; and again, his Ordination had wanted three (the Canonical Number of) Consecrators; and that, notwithstanding these Objections, the Western and *Egyptian* Bishops not only communicated with *Evagrius*, but fill'd the Emperor's Ears with Remonstrances against *Flavian*, not suffering his Majesty to rest 'till he had summon'd him to *C. P.* and then order'd him from thence to *Rome*; a Command which *Flavian* assured him he would obey at the Return of the Spring, if he might be allow'd to defer his Journey till then, and so went Home. But the Matter rested not here. *Damasus* still pursued his Point, and *Siricius* and † *Anastasius* after him, teasing and reproaching the Emperor for his Favour and Indulgence to those that invaded the Dominion of Christ, and usurp'd upon the Authority of his Church, while he took such Care and Pains to quell and reduce the Rebels of the State. These Importunities, and Upbraidings, had that Effect upon the Emperor, that he sent *Flavian* a Second summons, and laid his former Command upon him. *Flavian* let him know, in very fair and free Terms, *That if any Thing was objected either against his Faith or his Manners, he desired his Accusers might sit his Judges; but if the Episcopal Throne and Primacy was the Bone of Contention, he was very ready to resign, and desired his Majesty to place whom he pleas'd in the Chair of Antioch.* And this generous and handsome Submission so affected the Emperor, that he sent him Home agen to govern that Church in Peace; and when, a considerable time after, he happen'd to be at *Rome*, and the Old Complaint was reviv'd, his Majesty took

ὁ ἁγὼν ἐπὶ τῷ Χριστῷ.

† A Mistake.

Flavian's Cause upon himself, and requir'd of his Accusers and Adversaries to offer what they had to alledge. They reply'd, they would not presume to bring Articles of Accusation against his Majesty. And he exhorted and besought them to have done with this Quarrel, and re-unite the two Churches, by acknowledging the Title of *Flavian*, (*Paulinus* being long since Dead, and *Evagrius* uncanonically ordain'd his Successor) a Title which all the Eastern Churches, the *Asiatick*, *Pontick*, *Thracian*, and *Illyrican* had approv'd. And the Emperor's Persuasions heal'd this Wound which had been so long fretting and festring; for the Western Bishops promis'd him they would pursue the Dispute no further, and that, if *Flavian* would send a Delegacy to them, the Persons deputed should be welcome; which accordingly he did, of several eminent Bishops, and some Presbyters and Deacons, *Acacius* of *Beræa* being their Foreman; who came with them to *Rome*, where he put a glorious End to a lamentable Schism that had Reign'd for Seventeen Years; for the *Egyptian* Bishops no sooner understood that the Western were reconcil'd to *Flavian*, but they struck in with him too. *Innocentius*, a Man of great Wisdom and Sagacity, was, at this Time, Bishop of *Rome*, being *Anast'sus's* Successor.] Thus much in relation to the Church of *Antioch*: Let us now turn the Current of our History to that of *Alexandria*.

THEOPHILUS, the Bishop there, being intrusted by the Emperor with the Execution of what he had earnestly solicited and labour'd for, the [converting *S. L. 7. c. 15.* the Temple of *Bacchus* into a Church, and the] Demolishing the rest of the Idolatrous Temples in that City, omitted no Method of making the Infidels ashamed of their Superstition. [He lay'd open the Cheat *T. L. 5. c. 22.* of their Speaking Images, by causing some hollow ones to be made, which he plac'd with their Backs against the Walls, and then sent those who, having convey'd themselves by secret Passages into the Bodies of them, gave thence their Orders and Commands, like so many Deities. He expos'd to publick Ridicule and Contempt the Lewd and Inhuman *Sacra*, and disfigure'd and purg'd the Subterraneous Office of *Mithra*. [He broke in Pieces a vast Image of *T. L. 5. c. 22.* *Serapis*, which 'twas a common Report and

Belief, if any Body should presume to approach to, an Earthquake would immediately swallow up the * whole City. *Theophilus*, it seems, was but little afraid of being bury'd alive; for he order'd a Man with an Ax in his Hand to go and strike this bulky God with as much Force as he could. The Blow frighted the superstitious Spectators extreamly, but *Serapis* being all Heart of Oak, neither felt nor express'd either Pain or Anger; no not when they cut off his Head, in which they found a very numerous Family of Rats and Mice, and which they dragg'd thro' all the Streets of the City in the Sight of those that once Worshipp'd, but now † made Sport with him; the rest of him they hew'd in Pieces, and converted to a Bonfire.]

THESE were such insupportable Affronts and Provocations to the Heathen Inhabitants, especially to the Philosophers, (as they call'd themselves) that, upon a Signal concerted and given, they rose immediately in a Body, and fell to Cutting the Throats, and Knocking out the Brains of the *Christians*, who, on the other hand, defended themselves as well as they could, but lost many more of their Numbers, than they destroy'd of their Enemies, tho' the Wounded amounted to Multitudes on both Sides. [The Heathens, when they thought it Time to conclude their first Onset, retir'd into the Temple of *Serapis*, a very ancient and magnificent Structure, whence they made their Sallies, and Seizing the Christians, put to Death as many as refus'd to sacrifice, by Impaling and Crucifixion, Breaking and Mangling their Legs, &c. These bold and barbarous Outrages call'd aloud for the Interposition of the Magistracy, particularly of *Romanus*, at that Time Commander of the Forces in *Egypt*, and *Evagrius* the Governor of the City; who, when they had try'd milder Methods in vain, sent an Account to the Emperor of what had pass'd. The Rioters, hereupon, became still more desperate, and that Desperation was cherish'd and heighten'd by one *Olympius*, a Fellow that set up for a mighty Philosopher among them, who told them, They should

* Perhaps the whole Country, πανωλε-
σεια ἅπαντας.

† This, if we will reconcile it with

what immediately follows out of Socrates,
must be understood only of some of the Hea-
thens there.

be glad to die rather than desert and betray their Religion; and (when they shew'd some Dejection upon the pulling down and breaking in Pieces the Images of their Gods) he bad them remember that those Images were but Passive Matter; obnoxious to any external Violence, but that the Powers which once inhabited them were still over-head. The Emperor, acquainted with the whole Matter of Fact, pronounc'd the Christians happy Martyrs that had been sacrific'd, and pardon'd their Murtherers, which was an Act of such Lenity and Clemency as he hop'd would captivate them to Christianity. This Determination of the Emperor was no sooner known; but (as the Story goes) the Christians, in whose Favour it run, set up a mighty Shout; which put the *Serapian* Garrison into such a Consternation, that they quitted their Castle, and the Christians took Possession of the Place, which they kept ever after, and the Emperor *Arcadius* turn'd it into a Church. *Olympius*, as I have been inform'd, was gone before; for Hearing a Voice chanting out *Hallelujah* in the *Serapium*, in the Dead of the preceding Night, and being convinc'd it did not come from any human Mouth, he easily understood the Meaning of it, slipt away from his Company, and got into *Italy*.] *Socrates* omitting this whole Story of the *Serapium*, only has it, that the Gentiles, after they had glutted themselves in one General Assault with a publick Execution upon the Christians, being, in cooler Blood, very justly apprehensive of a Load of Vengeance from the Hands of the Emperor, either absconded or left the City, and dispers'd themselves into distant Habitations. The City, now compos'd again, and the Governor, with the Commander of the *Egyptian* Militia, Guarding and Assisting *Theophilus*, all the Temples [(among *S. L. 7. c. 15.* the rest * that of *Serapis*) as being the Occasions of the Infurrection,] were, [in Obedience to a repeated Order from the Emperor,] soon reduc'd *S. L. 7. c. 15.* to Rubbish, and the Statues either melted down into Plate for the Use of the great Church, or coin'd into Money

* This does not agree very well with what Sozomen has told us before, That this Temple was afterwards turn'd into a Church. Perhaps he might mean that a

Church was afterwards built out of the Ruins, and erected upon the Foundations of it.

(the Emperor so directing) for the Support of the Poor ; only one Image the Bishop reserv'd for a publick and perpetual Memorial, to disprove the Heathens, if they should, hereafter, deny that they made such Gods, the Object of their Worship ; a Device which (says my Author) I remember my Tutor * *Ammonius* was very angry at ; as *Helladius* boasted that he had kill'd nine Christians with his own Hand in that dreadful Massacre.

[NOR WAS *Alexandria* the only Place where still the Heathens by Force and Violence oppos'd the Destruction of their Temples ; [which is the less to be wonder'd at, because *Constantine*, and his Sons, and *Jovian*, and *Valentinian* had only forbid their Worship and shut up their Temples ; and as for *Valens*, he was so far from discouraging any Profession or Religion, except that of the Catholick Church, that he indulg'd the *Pagans* in the full and free Exercise of their most extravagant Solemnities ; but *Theodosius* resolv'd to put an End to the Abomination, by demolishing the Recesses of it. And this, undoubtedly, went to the very Heart of them.] The *Petræans* and *Areopolites* in *Arabia*, the People of *Raphia* and *Gaza* in *Palestine*, and the *Heliopolites* in *Phœnicia* had also Recourse to the Measures of Resistance upon the same Account. The Inhabitants of *Apamea* in *Syria* procur'd themselves a Guard for their Temples from *Galilee*, and the Villages that lie about *Libanus* ; and *Marcellus*, the Bishop of *Apamea*, (who had Reason to believe 'twas impossible to convert them 'till all their Temples were laid level with the Ground) advancing with a Body of Soldiers and Gladiators to demolish a stately one which they had in *Aulon*, some of the Infidels who had got Intelligence that he kept himself at a Distance alone and unguarded ; (which he did, being lame, while his Men were Fighting their Way into the Temple) drew off from their main Body where they could best be spar'd, came upon him very surprizingly, and lighting a Pile of Wood burnt him alive. The Sons of the Bishop, upon the Discovery of the Murderers, which did not happen till some Time after, had taken a Resolution to revenge his Death, but were restrain'd by

* In Grammar. See Vales. and Pagi.

the Authority of a Synod of the Province, whose Judgment it was, That the Fact, tho' a most inhuman one, having advanc'd their Father to a Crown of Martyrdom, they ought to spare the Instruments, and thank God for the Event. [This *Marcellus* was Successor to *John* of *Apama*. Of *T. L. 5. c. 21*. all the many Excellencies that compos'd his Character none was more conspicuous than his Apostolick Zeal and Fervour. The Party which he went with had the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the East at the Head of them; and the Temple they went to demolish, was dedicated to *Jupiter*. So strongly Cemented and built they found the Structure, that the Prefect despair'd of destroying it. The Bishop undertook for that Difficulty, and dismissing the Prefect to go before, and proceed in this Work elsewhere, he betook himself to Prayer; beseeching God, that he would be pleas'd to discover to him a way to throw down this Building. The next Morning came a Poor, Ignorant Man to him, whose Livelihood was carrying Wood and Stones, and promis'd him, if he would let him have the Assistance of two Workmen, he would easily do the Business; which was immediately assign'd him. The Temple stood upon the Top of a Hill, and contiguous to the Sides of it were Porticos, or Piazzas, the Pillars of which were as high as the Temple, and sixteen Cubits in compass, of Stone that One may say was almost impenetrable and indissoluble. From three of these, one after another, they dug away the Foundation Ground, under-propping and supporting them at the same time as they proceeded, with Beams of Olive-Tree, to which they afterwards set Fire: When a black *Demon* presented it self, and put it out, and that as often as they lighted it, which they did several times. This they let the Bishop know, who immediately repair'd to his Church, and order'd some Water to be put in a Vessel, which he plac'd under the Altar, and prostrating himself with his Face to the very Pavement, begg'd of God, for the Vindication and Glory of his Name, to manifest his own Power, among the Unbelievers, upon this Occasion, and expose the Impotency of the Infernal Adversary. Having ended his Petition, he made the Sign of the Cross upon the Water, and delivering it to one of his Deacons, *Equitius*, a Man full of Faith and Zeal, he order'd him to carry it to the Place, and scatter it there, nothing doubting; and then to set Fire to the Props. The *Demon* fled upon the sprinkling of the Water, and the Fire

feeding upon it, as if it had been so much Oyl, presently deprived the Pillars of the Support of the Beams; and those three Pillars falling, brought down Twelve more, with that Side of the Temple which they cover'd. The City, alarm'd by the Noise of the Fall, came thronging out in a Body, and no sooner understood what a Victory the Bishop had obtain'd over the Evil Spirit, but they united their Voices in Songs of Praise to the great God of Heaven. The rest of the Temples thereabouts met with as little Favour from *Marcellus*; who deserves to take up a great deal more room in our History than consists with the Limits of it. Only this I will add, That he kept a constant Epistolary Correspondence with Martyrs, and that he dy'd a Martyr himself.] But now to step back again to *Alexandria*.

UPON the pulling down the Temple of *Serapis*, there were found some Stones with Hieroglyphical Characters upon them representing so many Crosses. These the Christians and the Heathens interpreted, severally, to the Advantage of their respective Causes; 'till certain of the Former rescued from the Infatuation which possess'd the Latter, and acquainted with the Import of such Figures, construed them *ζωή ἐπερχομένη*, *Life to come*, and took Notice of other Characters foretelling, That *when this Life should come*, *Serapis's Temple should be no more*: which was so clear and full a Prediction, and at this time so evidently fulfill'd, that it brought over many more Unbelievers to the Acknowledgment and Reception of the Truth. This is, (says my Author) what I have heard.

THEODOSIUS * made no long Stay in *Italy*; but, during that Time, he bestow'd his Benefactions and Favours very generously upon the City of *Rome*, and abolish'd two enormous and scandalous Customs which prevail'd in that City. There were certain very large and spacious Offices, that had been built for common Store-Houses of Bread for the People, but were in Time prostituted, by the Officers that belong'd to them, to the Trade of Kidnapping; for which they made them very conveni-

* ἐπ' ὀλίγον κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατρίψας, &c.; which may also be render'd, Had not been long in *Italy* before he bestow'd &c.

ent by Building Stews and Booths for Eating and Drinking, upon the Edges of the Vaults where the Mills were to grind the Corn; and into these they trepann'd their Customers * thro' False Doors, and there held them to the Work of the Place, many of them for Life. And this Abuse went on, 'till one of *Theodosius's* Soldiers falling into the Trap, and having a Dagger about him, made his Escape by Stabbing his Keepers; and so the whole Contrivance reaching the Emperor's Ears, he made an Example of the Officers, and a Heap of Ruins of the Houses. The other Infamy he took away, was a strange Method that had obtain'd of Punishing Adulteresses, whom they shut into close Brothels, and there made them common to the Use of all Comers, tinkling with Bells as often as the libidinous Scene was renew'd, to give Notice to the People in the Streets what Sort of Correction was going forward. These lewd Houses were, by the Emperor's Order, pull'd down as soon as he heard of them; and he made a much better Provision for preventing that Sin, and punishing those that were guilty of it. These Enormities thus reform'd, and other Matters as happily regulated and settled for the publick Good, [particularly *S. L. 7. c. 14.* what related to the Church in those Parts, whose great Enemy, *Justina*, was now Dead;] *Theodosius* return'd with *Honorius* to *Constantinople*, which he enter'd upon the Tenth of *November*, *Tatian* and *Symmachus* Consuls.

It was about this time that *Nectarius* abrogated † the Office of the Penitentiary Presbyters, which was to receive Confessions of Sins committed after Baptism, and which had been instituted from the Time of the *Novatian* Separation, and receiv'd in all other Communions, except the *Novatian*, [particularly in the Churches of the Western Empire, and, among them, in that of *Rome*; where the Penitents have a Place appointed for them to stand in, and by their outward Appearance to signify their Sense of their Sins, and their Sorrow for them: And Prayers ended, they must not presume to approach the Holy Table, but they prostrate them-

* ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

† Within the Limits of his own Jurisdiction.

selves upon the Pavement with Groans and Tears : After which, the Bishop comes up to them Weeping, and throws himself too upon the Ground ; and the whole Congregation join in * a general Confession, with lively Expressions of a hearty Sorrow and Contrition : Then the Bishop rises first, and raises up the Penitents, and having Pray'd, in a proper Form, for Repenting Sinners, he sends them Home, where they punish and mortify themselves, either by denying themselves those Kinds of Food which are most agreeable to them, or by absolute Fasting, or by forbearing Washing, or some other Sort of Penance, such as the Bishop imposes, and for as long Time as he pleases ; which Time expiring, they receive Absolution, and so are admitted to the same Condition, and perfect Communion with the rest of the Congregation. This has been of old the Discipline and Practice of the Church of *Rome*, and still continues so.] At *Constantinople* the Change happen'd thus. A Lady of Quality came to the Penitentiary, and made a particular Confession to him of her Sins from the Time of her Baptism, and was enjoyn'd Fasting and Frequency of Prayer, which were to be taken as Arguments of her sincere Contrition and Fruits worthy of Repentance. Some Time after she came again, and confess'd that one of the Deacons of the Church had committed Folly with her ; † upon which the Deacon was turn'd out of his Office, and the People were not a little disturb'd and incens'd, not only at the Crime that had pass'd, but at the Dishonour and Reproach it had brought upon the Church. In a Word, when the Discovery of this Miscarriage had rais'd Plenty of Censures and Obloquies against the Clergy, *Nectarius*, at the Counsel and Perswasion of ** one *Eudemon*, a Native of *Alexandria*, but a Presbyter of that Church, abolish'd the Penitentiary Office, and left every Man to his own private Confession and Preparation, to qualify him for Approaching the Holy Table ; an Example which, as he begun, so the Bishops, almost ||

* See *Valesius upon the Place*.

† *Sozomen* says, Before she had pass'd the Time of her Penance, and so the Word *προκαθουσα* in *Socr.* may signifie, While she was proceeding in that Work, answering to ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διατρέγουσα here.

** *Sozomen*, *L. 7. c. 16.* says, More than one advis'd him thus, but names no Body, *συμβουλευσάντων δὲ τινῶν ἕτε.*

|| I suppose in the Eastern Church ; See *Valesius on Sozom. L. 7. c. 16.*

every-where, follow'd.] For my Part (says my Author) I * told *Eudæmon*, from whom I receiv'd what I now communicate, that the Advice he had given hinder'd the Duty and Benefit of Brotherly and Neighbourly Reprehension, and was inconsistent with that Rule of the Apostle, *Have no Fellowship with the Unfruitful Works of Darknefs, but rather reprove them.*

[*Sozomen* observes further, That the Consequence L. 7. c. 16. of the total Abolition of this ancient and solemn Discipline was too general a Looseness of Life and Corruption of Manners; which the Shame of Confession, and the Smart of Penance before, in a great Measure, prevented and restrain'd; and moreover, That, probably, for preserving and inhancing the Dignity and Honour of Church-Discipline, *Theodosius* enacted a Law excluding all Women from the Office of Deaconess that had not Children, and were not full Sixty Years of Age, pursuant to 1 *Tim.* v. 9, 10. and again, That no Woman should be admitted to Communion with her Head shorne, and that the Bishop who admitted her should be depriv'd. But of these Points (adds the Historian) every Man is left at Liberty to judge for himself.]

AGELIUS, the Old *Novatian* Bishop, when he found himself drawing near his End, substituted *Sisinnius* his Successor; (of whom we have had occasion to speak before) to the great Displeasure of his Laity, who would rather have had him ordain *Marcian*, a Man of a severe Sanctity, and one that had preserv'd them from Persecution all *Valens's* time. To gratify them therefore he ordain'd *Marcian* too; and recovering Strength and Spirit enough, went to the Church, where he lay'd his Commands upon the People to receive *Marcian* as his immediate Successor, and after him *Sisinnius*. In *Marcian's* time, one *Sabbatius*, a Convert from Judaism, and ordain'd a Presbyter by *Marcian* himself, prejudic'd in favour of his old Jewish Customs, and withal hankering after the Episcopal Title and Honour, two Confidants, who were let into the Secret; *Theoctistus* and *Macarius*,

* The Word *περὶ* *Valesius* cannot account for: I take it to have been a Note crept into the Text, from the Hands of a Transcriber, to intimate that this last Part

of the Chapter beginning at *ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ*, &c. should come in before, i. e. immediately after *τὸ ἀνασφάμνον*.

his Brother-Presbyters, concurring with him, set up for observing *Easter* according to the Rule of the Synod of *Pazus*, * and withdrawing from the Communion of his Fellows, under the Notion of separating himself to a very strict and contemplative Course of Life, he at first pretended that the Unworthiness of some who were admitted to the Sacrament, gave him great Scandal, but afterwards he explain'd himself better by gathering a Congregation of his own. This Defection very sensibly afflicted *Marcian*, who would often say, *He wish'd he had thrust his Hands upon Thorus, when he lay'd them on Sabbatius's Head*, and call'd a Synod of *Novatian* Bishops to compose the Difference, which met at *Sangarus* in *Bithynia*, and summon'd *Sabbatius*, and learning from him what was all the Ground of the Breach, and the Matter of Complaint, they first bound him up by an Oath from ever taking the Episcopal Dignity, which they had reason to believe he aspir'd to; and then, by a Canon, declar'd, that this Dispute about *Easter* was not, nor had ever been thought to be, sufficient to justify a Separation; particularly not among those of their own Denomination, the *Novatians* at *Rome*, who had never follow'd the *Jewish* Rule, having at no time parted Communion from their Brethren elsewhere, who did; and that therefore the Determinations of the Synod of *Pazus* were not to take place to the prejudice of what *they call'd* Catholick Unity, [and their several Churches, as to the circumstance of Time, were to be left to their own Discretion.] After this Provision, *Sabbatius*, unless when the two Computations met in the same Day, observ'd two *Easter* Days, one at Home by himself, the other, at the publick Time, at Church, for several Years together; in which Practice he had the satisfaction to see himself follow'd by some of the Weaker Brethren, particularly those of *Phrygia* and *Galatia*. And indeed the same Controversy had very various and different Effects upon the Body of that Communion, for they disagreed not only about Days of the Month, but the Days of the Week too, and a great many other matters as minute, which some made a sufficient Cause for separating Communion, and others did not.

* A Novatian Convention.

BUT because we have had occasion here to speak of the Paschal Dispute, let me be permitted (says my Author) to observe, That the Apostles and first Preachers of Christianity were so far from prescribing and insisting upon the Observation of the *Jewish* Festivals, and among the rest even their *Sabbath*, that they blam'd those who, after the Substance was come in the Place of the Shadow, Liberty in the room of Bondage, and the Law chang'd with the Priesthood, look'd upon those Ordinances as still Necessary and in Force; nor in the New-Covenant has our Saviour or the Apostles any where appointed the Day of the Year, on which the Feast of his Resurrection should be precisely kept, but left the Time of that and all other Christian Festivities, everywhere, to the Discretion and Choice of the * People, who were most concern'd in them, as affording them a Relaxation and Respite from their ordinary Labours and Cares. Hence it is, I conceive, that that great Festival ever has been, and still is, observ'd at different Times in different Places. It has been the ancient Practice of the Christians of *Asia Minor* to keep it upon the Fourteenth Day, whether it fell upon a *Saturday* or not; alleging, That the ancient *Jews* did so, as appears from *Josephus*, [*Philo*, *Aristobulus*, and *S. L. 7. c. 18.* others quoted in *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*;] and hence they were call'd *Quartodecimani*; some of the Easterns kept it upon † a *Sabbath*, but disagreed as to the Month; the Western, and all other Churches, after the Equinox. The *Quartodecimans* affirm, That they derive their Rule and Practice from the Apostle *St. John*. The Western Churches ascribe theirs to the Authority of *St. Paul* and *St. Peter*, but neither can produce any *Written Evidence*. Nor, in truth, had their Disagreement in this any other Ground or Original than in their other Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies, that is to say, *Prescription*. Thus at *Rome* they Fast three Weeks, (*Saturdays* and *Sundays* excepted) before *Easter-Day*: In the *Illyrican* and

* Our Author should have added, Not without the Concurrence of their Ecclesiastical Superiors.

† See *Valesius upon the Place*.

Greek Churches, and at *Alexandria* [in *Africa*, *S. L. 7. c. 19.* *Egypt*, and *Palestine*,] Six Weeks, which they call the *Quadragesimal* Fast. Others, [as the *S. L. 7. c. 19.* Church of *C. S.* and all the Churches as far as from thence to *Phœnicia*,] begin their Fast in the Seventh Week before *Easter*; and tho' * they Fast but three Weeks after, five Days to each Week, and not without Intervals between them, they call theirs likewise a *Quadragesimal* Fast. [Some begin their Fast three Weeks before *Easter*, (others, as the *Montanists*, but two) and go through with it without Intermission.] Then they as little agree as to the Meats which they eat or abstain from at these times. Some eat no sort of Animals; Others only Fish; Others Fish and Birds too, as having been at the Creation produc'd out of the Water; Others no Eggs nor Fruit; Others only Bread; Others not so much as that; and Others, neither Eating nor Drinking 'till three of the Clock in the Afternoon, take afterwards any sort of Food Indifferently. In these Circumstances and Peculiarities (which are accounted for a thousand ways) as the Apostles determin'd nothing, so 'tis plain they left every Church to choose and appoint for it self. Thus again, as to the Times and Rites of Divine Worship, 'tis not the Custom of the two Churches of *Alexandria* and *Rome*, † if ever *S. L. 7. c. 19.* it has been, to celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist every *Saturday* which [almost] all other Churches do. The Churches of *Egypt* lying near *Alexandria* and those of *Thebais* have || their Office for that Day, and a Sacrament too, but (contrary to the Way of all other Churches) not 'till the Evening after they have Eat a Festival Supper. At *Alexandria*, on *Thursday* in the *Passion-Week* and *Good-Friday*, they have, besides Prayers, Lessons of Holy Scripture read and expounded to them; upon which Days *Origen* generally preach'd there in his time, (for the Usage is of a very ancient date) who, by the way, perceiving the Mystical Import of the *Mosaick*

* *Son.* distinguishes those that Fasted by Intervals, as a part of their Number, who Fasted but three Weeks.

† ἐκ τινος ἀρχαίας παραδόσεως.
|| σινδζεις.

Passover was only to be regarded, asserted, That, properly, there had never been but one Passover, that on which the Son of God vanquish'd the Powers of Death and Hell. Again; every-where else, only Baptiz'd Persons are admitted to the Office of Readers and * Singers; but *Catechumens* too are capable of it at *Alexandria*. In *Thessaly*, if any Clergyman, who was marry'd before he took Orders, lies with his Wife afterwards, he is excommunicated; (the Author of which Custom in that place was *Heliodorus*, Bishop of *Tricca*, he who, 'tis generally believ'd, in his younger Days, compos'd the *Ethiopick Romance*) and thus it is too at *Thessalonica*, and in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*; whereas, throughout the East, tho' the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy are pleas'd to impose that Restraint upon themselves, no Canon obliges them to it; and many of their Bishops have had their Wives with them, and begot Children of them, after their Promotion to the Episcopat. Another singularity, which prevails in *Thessaly*, is, that Baptism is never administer'd but upon *Easter-Day*; so that almost all the People there die Unbaptiz'd. At the *Syrian Antioch*, the Cathedral stands with the Altar towards the West, and not, as elsewhere, to the East. In *Achaia*, *Thessaly*, and at *Jerusalem*, they have Prayers at the time of lighting up the Candles, as the *Novatians* have at *Constantinople*. At the *Cappadocian Caesarea*, and in the Island of *Cyprus*, on *Saturday* and *Sunday Evening*, after lighting the Candles, the Bishops and Presbyters expound Scripture. The Manner and Form of Prayer is not the same with the *Novatians* of *Hellepont* and those of *Constantinople*; but approaches nearer to that of the Catholick Church; And, indeed, there are scarce any two Churches in the World that have exactly the same Liturgy and Ceremonies. No Presbyter preaches at *Alexandria*, nor has done, since the Time that *Arius* brought so much mischief upon that Church. The Church of *Rome* Fasts ordinarily on *Saturdays*. The Church of *Caesarea* concurs with the *Novatians* in receiving none to Communion that have fallen into Sin after Baptism. So the *Macedonians* in *Hellepont*, and the *Quartodecimans* in *Asia*. The *Novatians* of *Phrygia* exclude all Persons that marry a second Time; those of the West freely admit them; those of *Constanti-*

* See Valesius upon the Place.

nople neither openly admit nor excommunicate them ; all which Variety, no doubt, owes its Original to the Authority of several Bishops in several Places, and Ages; [In *Scythia* there are many Cities, and but one Bishop; Elsewhere, as I *S. L. 7. c. 19.* have found (says *Sozom.*) in *Arabia*, in *Cyprus*, and among the *Novatians* and *Montanists* of *Phrygia*, the Villages have Bishops. The Church of *Rome* has the same number of Deacons as the Apostles ordain'd at first ; in other Places their number is undetermin'd. The same Church sings the *Hallelujah* but once a Year, and that upon *Easter-Day*, and has no * publick Sermons, either from the Bishop or any One else. At *Alexandria* the Bishop does not rise up when the Lessons are read out of the Gospel, as he does in all other Churches; and only the Arch-deacon reads those Lessons there, which, in other Places, are read by the Deacons; in others again, by the Presbyters only; and in others, by the Bishops themselves upon great Holy-Days, as particularly at *C. P.* upon *Easter-Day*.

THE spurious Book which bears the Title of *The Revelation of St. Peter*, is read in some of the Churches of *Palestine*, upon every *Good-Friday*, the principal Fast of the Year. And *St. Paul's Revelation*, as 'tis call'd, known to none of the Ancients, is much valued in the Monasteries. There are those that would make us believe this Book was recover'd out of the Earth, where it lay bury'd in a Marble Cabinet, under *St. Paul's* House at *Tarsus*, by a Divine Revelation communicated and obey'd in the present Reign. But, upon Inquiry, I am very well satisfy'd the Story is false, and probably some Hereticks, who might find their Advantage in it, set it Abroad.] 'Tis impossible to reckon up all the Distinctions of this kind that run thro' the *Christian* World. The Taste we have given the Reader above will make him sensible, that what I am, in this Matter, chiefly concern'd for, the Difference between Churches about solemnizing of *Easter*, is owing to mere Use and Custom; and shews how little reason † some Men have to say, the Time of that Solemnity was chang'd by the *Nicene* Council, which, in Truth, look'd no fur-

* *ἐκ' ἐκκλησίας.*

† Viz. *The* Audians. See *Valesius upon Socr. L. 5. c. 22. n. 4.*

ther for the Decision of this Affair, than to bring in the Smaller Number of Churches to an Uniformity with the Greater. In the Apostolick Times we find the like Variety, *Acts c. 15.* and yet there are those, who, in direct Contradiction to the Tenour of the Synodical Epistle there recorded, while they make no Sin of Fornication, are as warm and importunate in the Point of their Holydays, as if Life and Salvation depended upon it. It might also be insisted on, That the *Jews* themselves are not without Mistakes, as well as to the Time of the Paschal Solemnity, as the Purport of it; and again, That the *Samaritans* always observe it after the Equinox. But, for Brevity, I shall rather close these Remarks with a Suggestion or two to those People who make a Conformity to the *Jewish* Rule so necessary in this Point; as first, That they are as much oblig'd to take Care, that there should be Ceremonies to answer exactly to all the several seemingly Incidental Transactions and Passages of our Saviour's Life and Sufferings; especially those that were typify'd under the *Mosaick* Dispensation, and those that carry'd a Figurative Meaning with relation to the Times of the Gospel and the Church. They should have some Body to Personate him Preaching out of the Ship; and they should have his Appointing the Passover to be got ready in an Upper-Chamber represented too, with the previous Circumstances, as the loosing the Ass and the Colt, and the Man bearing the Pitcher of Water. Next, let me intreat them to consider, That if the *Jews* are under a Curse for ascribing a Literal and Proper, instead of the True Mystical and Typical meaning to the *Mosaick* Law, they ought to think themselves concern'd in the same Sentence, who make an exact Observation of Days and Times necessary, as if their Significancy and Sanctity were not Relative, but Real. Thus much by way of Digression: Let us now resume the Thread of our History.

DISPUTE and Cavil, as nothing is more natural, had driven the *Arians* into very perplexing Questions, and wild Positions. Thus, in Particular, it came to be debated among them, [at *Constantinople*,] *Whether God could be said to have been the Father before the Son subsisted.* *Dorotheus* maintain'd the Negative: *Marinus*, glad of such an Opportunity to gratifie the Resentment which he had conceiv'd at *Dorotheus's* leaping over his Head in the great point

of Preferment, declar'd for, and stood to the Affirmative: So they parted Communions. * The *Dorotheans* held their Assemblies in their usual Places; and the *Marinites* built

S. L. 7. c. 17. themselves Chappels. The latter had *Selenas*, Bishop of the *Goths*, [*Amanuensis* and Successor

to *Ulphila*, whence they were call'd the *Goth-Arians*) on their Side, famous for preaching in two Languages equally natural to him, the *Gothick*, and *Greek*, his Father being a *Goth*, and his Mother a *Phrygian*. The *Marinites* were call'd *Pfathyrians*, from one of their great Sticklers, *Theoëtistus*, one that sold Cakes; which is in plain *Greek* *Pfathyropoles*. Soon after a Subdivision happen'd between *Marinus* and *Agapius*, whom *Marinus* had advanc'd to the See of *Ephesus*, upon the Point of Primacy. The *Goths* held to the latter. Mean time many of their Clergy, who plainly saw there was nothing but Interest, and Pride, and Envy, at the Bottom of all their Pretensions, came over to the Catholics. The rest, after they had stood off from one another Thirty Five Years, re-united in the Reign of *Theodosius* the Younger. and the Consulship of *Plin-*

S. L. 7. c. 17. *thas*, [(a Great Man in the Government, and at Court, and the chief Instrument of their Accommodation)] the *Pfathyrians* resigning and conforming themselves, on condition the Question which at first made the Breach, should never after be so much as mention'd. But this Agreement took Effect only at *Constantinople*; for elsewhere the two Parties, if any scatter'd Fragments remain of them, continue unreconcil'd to this Day.

As little could the *Eunomians* keep together. *Theophronius*, a *Cappadocian*, *Eunomius's* Scholar, [and now after his decease, the great Champion of his Cause, (whose Master

S. L. 7. c. 17. liv'd but a little time after his Banishment, and was bury'd at the place where he was born, *Dacora*, a Village in the District of the *Cappadocian Cæsarea*)] had by the strength of a little Smattering in some of *Aristotle's* Writ-

* διὰ τὸ προελθεῖν αἰτίσιν says the *Historian*; making it a Dispute about a Trifle; as indeed it was between Men so wretchedly agreed in the main Point.

ings ventur'd to publish a Book περὶ τῆς γυναικείας
 τῆς ψυχῆς, OF HUMAN UNDERSTANDING, [being an S. L. 7. c. 17.
 Introduction to *Aristotle's Organon*,] which
 gave such offence to his Brethren, that they excommunicated
 the Author as a Traytor to the Cause. Thus discarded he set up
 his own Sect and Heresy, and left it behind him known by the
 name of the *Eunomio-Theophronians*. [The main
 Principle, among many other new Absurdities, S. L. 7. c. 17.
 which made the Breach between him and his old
 Brethren, was an Opinion, which he pretended to prove from
 Scripture, *That the Ideas, or Notices in the Divine Mind of*
Present, Past, and To come, as they were distinct from one ano-
ther, so affected the Deity differently, and produc'd in him a
Change, Diversity and Succession of Conception and Thought.
Eutychius carry'd off another Detachment of them at *Constanti-*
nople, where he now heads them; and these are
 call'd *Eunomi-Eutychians* [The occasion of this S. L. 7. c. 17.
 last Division by *Eutychius* was the Starting of a
 Question, *Whether the Time of the last Judgment was known*
to the Son. The *Eunomian* Bishops deny'd it. *Eutychius* as-
 serted it, for that the *Father had reveal'd all things to the Son*,
 broke off from their Communion, and went away to *Eunomius*,
 who was then in Banishment; and tho' a Deputation of the
 other Party, whose Errand was to accuse and dispute with him,
 reach'd him first, * *Eunomius* gave the Cause for *Eutychius*,
 and communicated with him, tho' destitute of Communicatory
 Letters. But after his Death, the *Eunomian* Bishop at *C. P.*
 being baffled in a Dispute with him concerning his Principle; and
 the more angry because *Eutychius* was but a Layman, excluded
 him his Communion, and then, *Eutychius* with his Followers
 form'd their own. 'Tis not worth while to insert all those little
 Variations and Distinctions in Expression upon which the Parties
 pretend to ground their Separation from one another; Only let
 me observe that their Form of Baptism is not in the Name of the

* Here our Historian forgets himself; his abandoning *Eunomius*, we are to un-
 derstand the *Eunomian Faction* after *Eun-*
 omius's Death.

Trinity, but *into the Death of Christ*, [and that *S. L. 7. c. 17.* this Innovation is charg'd upon *Theophronius* and *Eutychius*.] The *Macedonians* also bred a Division in their own Bowels, which held, some time, on the score of one of their Presbyters, *Eutropius*, who form'd to himself a Party, and *Carterius*, who remonstrated to it. These things happen'd at different Times, tho' most of them at one Place, *Constantinople*. Elsewhere these Divisions may have spawn'd many more ; but that City (says the Historian) I design for the Principal Scene of my Story, where the Transactions have been very memorable and of great Consequence, and my self an Eye-Witness of some of them. If the Reader would see a Catalogue of all the Variety of these Heretical Weeds, let him have Recourse to *Epiphanius's Anchoratus*.

[SUCH a jargon of Quarrels, and Divisions *S. L. 7. c. 20. 21.* among the Heretical and Schismatical Factions did not a little diminish their Numbers ; their People deserting them and reconciling themselves to the Catholic Communion. At the same time the *Pagans* flock'd in apace to Christianity ; the great and good Emperor having made use of the proper Means and Methods to reduce them ; for, at the very Beginning of his Reign, he made it Capital for them, with Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels, to sacrifice to any of their Gods, how privately soever ; and, not content with prohibiting all Access to their Places of Worship, he lay'd many of them in Ruins. At which time the *Nile* not rising and overflowing the Country so early as it usually did, the *Egyptians* were full of Anger and Complaints at their not being suffer'd to Sacrifice to the River ; insomuch that the Governor of *Egypt* was apprehensive of an Insurrection, and sent his Master Word of it ; whose Judgment upon it was worthy of himself, That better the *Nile* should never flow, than that God should be offended and provok'd by diabolical Charms and Inchantments, and mingling the Blood of impious and inhuman Sacrifices with the Waters of Paradise, to bring on a Tide. But 'twas not long ere the *Nile* swell'd, and discharg'd it self so prodigiously, that the higher Parts of the Country were under Water, and Part of *Libya*, and even *Alexandria*, in Danger of an Inundation. Then, 'tis reported, the Infidels chang'd their Language, broke Jest upon their Deity of the

the River in the publick Theatre, and declar'd that they thought,
He was grown old and doted, and was troubled with a Diabetes:
 And the greatest Part of them became *Christians*.

ABOUT the same Time, St. *John* the Baptist's Head was translated to *C. P.* It had been found by certain *Monks* of the *Macedonian* Perswasion; of which the wicked Emperor *Valens* being inform'd by his Eunuch *Mardonius* order'd it to be brought to *C. P.* but when they were come with it as far as to *Pantichium*, a Town in the Territory of *Chalcedon*, the Mules that drew the Carriage it was brought in, stopp'd, and would not go further; which the Emperor and every Body else looking upon as an extraordinary Suggestion or Signification of the Divine Displeasure from Heaven itself, they dispos'd of the Head in the Village of *Cosilaus*, which lay near, and belong'd to *Mardonius*. Thither, some Time after, went *Theodosius*, either God himself or the Prophet so directing, with a Purpose of removing the venerable Remains; in which he met with no Opposition but only from a Matron or Consecrated Virgin, who had the Keeping and Tending of them. The Emperor, unwilling to take them away by Force, earnestly solicited and importun'd her to part with her Charge. At length she obey'd, upon a Presumption, that God would no more suffer him to carry them away, than he had suffer'd his Predecessor *Valens*. The Emperor then took the Cabinet wherein they were kept, wrapt it up in his Imperial Robe, and brought it away to *C. P.* where he erected a very beautiful and noble Church in the Suburbs, and there repos'd the valuable Treasure. The Lady that had been the Keeper of it, and was a Disciple of the *Macedonians*, he could not bring over to the Church, by most earnest Importunities, or encouraging Promises. * So she continued to her Death at *Cosilaus*, where she presided over a Society of devoted Virgins. Most of them, as I have heard, are still living; and in their Lives and Conversations witness and observe that religious Conduct and Severity, which their Governess taught them and exemplify'd in her own Practice. But *Vincentius*, a Presbyter, who was likewise concern'd in the study of the Relicks, and had serv'd at the Altar under which

* Sozomen speaks too favourably here of a Woman that was an Heretick.

they

they were repositèd, very soon became a Convert. We are told by the *Macedonians*, that he had taken an Oath never to forsake them, but, afterwards, he chang'd his Mind; and plainly declar'd, if he found the Baptist would follow the Emperor, he would make no Scruple of embracing the same Communion. He was a Native of *Persia*, whence the Persecution in *Constantius's* Reign drove him with *Addas* his Nephew into the Dominions of the Empire. *Addas* was the Father of the celebrated *Auxentius*, an orthodox, pious, friendly, honest, and very learned Man, and tho' much belov'd and caress'd at Court, and prefer'd to an Eminency of Station there, yet appear'd a singular Example of Humility and good Nature. The worthiest of the Monastick Class, and indeed all good Men, that were acquainted with him, have a Reverence, at this day, for his Name and Memory.] But to come again to Matters of a more publick Nature, and take a short Survey of another Usurpation which, at this Time, befell the Western Empire; *Eugenius*, who, from keeping a Grammar-School, had risen to no less an Office at Court than that of * Lord High Treasurer, conceiv'd such an opinion of his own Merit, (puff'd up, as he was, with the Reputation of his extraordinary Eloquence) and such a Confidence of his Fortune, that taking *Arbogastes*, an Imperial General, into the Plot, a † *French* Man by Birth, a Villain in his Temper, he enter'd into Measures to make himself Emperor; and, by his Assurances and Promises of what great Things he would do for them, influenc'd the Eunuchs of the Bed-Chamber [(already angry with his present Majesty for following his Father's Maxims, and not gratifying them in every Thing)] to such a desperate degree of Treachery, that || they took an Opportunity, as their Master *Valentinian* was Sleeping, and put an End to his Life by Smothering ** him; [a Youth of an admirable Shape and Symmetry of Body, and of such a generous, just and noble Soul as promis'd

* ἀντιρραφεὺς

† See Valesius upon the Place.

|| Others report, says Soz. L. 7. c. 22. That in the Heat and Rashness of Youth he was for gratifying his Passions in some Instances against Law and Right; which, when he was restrain'd from, he lay'd

violent Hands upon himself, thinking it better to be out of the World than live an Emperor in it, and not be at Liberty to do what he pleas'd.

** Or by Strangling, or both. The word is ἀπὸ πνιγῆς.

Book V. of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit. 489

even a greater Man (had he liv'd to a due Maturity of Years) than his Father.] * The Murder was no sooner committed, but he that had kill'd, took Possession, and discover'd the Monster in it's full and true Shape. *S. L. 7. c. 22.* [A Monster indeed; for he was a *Rebel-Pagan-Christian*, outwardly the first and last, because inwardly the second. The Diviners and Astrologers (and among them there were some People of great Quality and high Character) gave him all imaginable Assurances that he should gain a compleat Victory, and with it the Empire, and banish the Christian Religion out of the World. *Eugenius*, very willing to believe such fine Predictions, got a great Army together, and made himself Master of the *Julian Alps*, where he lay among the Mountains very securely and advantageously encamp'd.] The News extreamly surpriz'd and perplext *Theodosius*, who likewise drawing together a very considerable Number of Forces, after he had conferr'd the Imperial Title on his Son *Honorius*, upon the Tenth of *January*, (himself and *Abundantius* Consuls) [and having consulted *John* a very famous Monk in *Thebais* [(resorted to by those who were solicitous to know future Events)] as well about the Conduct as the Issue of the War; [(the same Thing which he had done before upon the Rebellion of *Maximus*)] and receiv'd in Answer by the Messenger he sent to him (for he could not be perswaded to come to Court himself) that he should get a compleat, [tho' a bloody] Victory, rid the World of an Usurper, and, soon after, die himself in *Italy*,] march'd into the West. *T. L. 5. c. 24.*

[But before we follow him thither, the Reader is to be told a very memorable Instance of this excellent Emperor's Clemency and Piety,† which *S. L. 7. c. 23.*

* What ever might be Sozomen's meaning in this, he seems to raise the Young Emperor's Character too high, in this comparison with his excellent Father.

† A Chronological Mistake. See Valerius upon the Place.

happen'd at this Time. The City of *Antioch* gathering into a Tumult, on Occasion of the extraordinary Taxes levy'd for the Support of the War, tore down the Statues of the Emperor and Empress, drew them with Ropes about the Streets, and treated their Persons with their Tongues as roughly and insolently as the Similitude of them with their Hands. So bold an Indignity and open Assault upon his Authority and Character put the Emperor upon Thoughts of Cutting off not a few of the Parties concern'd; which was no sooner reported, but the Face of Things was quite chang'd, and nothing to be heard but Groaning and Sobbing, Deprecations and mournful Hymns to God, that he would pacify their offended Prince, and divert him from the Purpose of so terrible a Vengeance; and *Flavian* went to Court to procure their Pardon, which when the Emperor would not hear of, the Bishop engag'd the Consort or Chorus of Youths, that sung at the Emperor's Table, to sing the Penitential Compositions, which used to be sung in the Church-Service at *Antioch*; and this mov'd and dissolv'd him to such a Degree of Pity and Compassion, that, shedding a Stream of Tears into a Cup which he had in his Hand, he forgave them. 'Tis said, that the Night before this Uproar happen'd, an Apparition, of a prodigious Size, in the Shape of a Fury, was seen Flying along the Streets with a Whip in her Hand, (like one of those which the Wild-Beasts are lash'd with at the Theatres to inflame their Rage) and Snapping it dreadfully in the Air.

[*THEODORIT's* Account of this Affair is remarkably different from that of *Sozomen*; He tells us the
L. 5. c. 20. Tax-Officers were so very severe, as even to put to the Torture those that were any way refractory, and that this so provok'd the People that they had Recourse to Arms; that the Magistrates apprehending some of the Rioters put them to death without the Emperor's Knowledge; and that the Emperor took away their Charter, transferr'd the Place and Order of Precedence from them to *Laodicea*, which had before contested it with them, and threaten'd to lay their City in Ashes, only leaving enough of it to make a poor Village. And, instead of *Flavian's* Delegation and Intercession, he has it, that *Elebichus*, an Imperial General, and *Casarius*, Master of
the

the Offices, * acquainting the *Antiochians*, from the Emperor, who sent them for that purpose, with the Fate which they were to expect, they were strangely scared and confounded: When the excellent Monks, that resided near, set upon the Commissioners with urgent Admonitions and Importunities; and one of them, *Macedonius*, a Man not only absolutely sequester'd but wean'd from the Things of this World, not at all vers'd in the Holy Scriptures themselves, but dedicated to a perpetual Course of Devout Offices, in which he exercis'd himself on the Mountain-tops day and night, lay'd hold on the Garment of one of the Commissioners, and bad them both light off their Horses. At first they flew into a Passion, to be thus affronted by a poor little ragged contemptible old Fellow; but soon understanding who the Person was, they immediately alighted, flung their arms about his Knees, and begg'd his Pardon. What he had to say to them, in the Name of God, was to this effect. *Tell your Master, my Friends, he ought to remember he is not only an Emperor; He is a Part of Mankind too as well as those whom he governs, and we all carry alike in us the Image of God; which, if he shall presume to assault and break, he may be sure the Almighty Artificer will as much more highly resent the Injury than himself does that of abusing and defacing a Brass Statue; as an animated and living Representation, endued with Reason, is better than one void of Life and Motion: Besides, that he may have as many new Statues cast as he pleases; but when he has put a Man to death, he cannot make or form so much of a new one as a single hair of his Head.* The Commissioners acquainted the Emperor with *Macedonius's* Reproof, who graciously answer'd the Design of it, still insisting (as he had good Reason to do) that his Asperity had been grounded upon a very flagrant Provocation, as great an Indignity as could be offer'd to the Memory of an incomparable Woman by way of Revenge upon him, and withall, confessing, that he was much troubled that the Hands of his Inferiour Magistrates should be imbrued in the Blood of his Subjects upon this unhappy Occasion.]

* Καισάρης ὁ τῶν βασιλείων ἐγέρμης; who presided in the Direction of Affairs in the Imperial Palace or Family.

THEODOSIUS arriving in *Gall*, found *Eugenius* ready to receive him with a powerful Army ; [and indeed one considerably superiour in number ; which, however, the Rebel did not think fit to command in Person, but Seating himself upon a convenient Eminence, talk'd of nothing but the Emperor's Rashness in throwing himself into the Arms of Death, and gave Order to his Captains not to kill him, but to bring him to his Hands in Chains. The Emperor's Officers, at the same time, advis'd him in Regard of the great Disparity of his Forces, to avoid a Battle 'till the next Spring, when he might bring an Army into the Field more numerous than that of the Usurper. The Emperor answer'd them, that, by the Grace of God, he would never suffer such a Dishonour to the Banner of the Cross, as to let it be defy'd and insulted so long time by the Image of *Hercules* ; which, it seems, was pompously carry'd, as a Tutelar, before the Enemy's Army. Nevertheless his Men were dejected and droop'd, 'till he procur'd himself and them a very satisfactory Encouragement from Heaven itself by [the sure Expedient
T. L. 5. c. 24. and Remedy which he had always Recourse to, and which never fail'd him,] his Prayers, in which he spent a whole night in a little Chappel upon the top of a Mountain in the place where his Army lay incamp'd. About Cock-Crowing he fell asleep upon the Ground and dreamt he saw two Men cloath'd in white Garments, and riding on white Horses, who bad him lay aside all Sollicitude, and to draw up his Army in Order of Battle very early that Morning and attack the Enemy. They told him they were *John* the Evangelist, and *Philip* the Apostle ; and that they were sent to fight for him at the Head of his Troops. The Emperor wak'd and renew'd his Devotions, and address'd himself to Heaven with greater Fervency than before this Vision had come to his Relief. The same surprising Scene was vouchsaf'd a Common Soldier, who told his Captain of it ; the Captain carry'd him to the Colonel, and the Colonel to the General, who inform'd the Emperor what they had heard from him. The Emperor told the General that the same Divine Horsemen had been sent to him too ; that, for his own part, he rested secure of the good Success which they had promis'd him ; and that they came to this Man that he might confirm

confirm and establish the truth of what his Majesty had to communicate, which, otherwise, might have been thought only a Stratagem to raise the Spirits of the Army, and make them eager to fight; and his Application of the whole was this, *As few as we are, let it be consider'd under what Leaders we advance, and then let us boldly follow them 'till they Conduct us to Victory.* Accordingly his Men march'd down after him with great Alacrity and Courage from the Mountains;] and the two Armies came to a Battle at a River call'd *Frigidus*, about Thirty-six miles from *Aquileia*. Where *Romans* engag'd *Romans*, the Action was very hot and obstinate T. L. 5. c. 24. [and many fell] on both sides; but the *Eugenians* press'd very hard upon the *Barbarians*, who had flock'd from *Thrace*, and offer'd themselves in great Numbers Volunteers in this Expedition, and disorder'd them, [which they might very easily do, securely gauling their Flank and Rear from the Tops of the Mountains;] S. L. 7. c. 24. when the good Emperor [Seeing all human Expectations cut off, and] throwing himself prostrate on the Ground, recommended his Cause to God with Prayers and Tears, and had his Petition granted; [for the Officers of the Parties that lin'd the Mountains sent him Assurances, that they would come over to him if he would promise, that they should hold the same Posts under him which they held under *Eugenius*; and this he had no sooner done, under his own Hand, but they deserted to him.] *Bacurius* also, one of the Emperor's Generals, inspir'd with a sudden Resolution, and putting himself in the Front of the retreating Troops, broke the Enemy, and routed them; and (which was yet a more signal Evidence of Heaven's especial Intervention) there arose, on a sudden, a violent Storm of Wind, so violent that it not only carry'd the Weapons of the Emperor's Army with redoubled force upon the Enemy, and return'd those of the Rebels, upon themselves, [but even forc'd their shields out of their Hands, and whirl'd them S. L. 7. c. 24. back again, cover'd with Dust and Stubble, upon those that put them to so ill a Use, [and rais'd such vast and violent Clouds of Dust as almost put out their eyes; In a word, it entirely disarm'd them, and put them into Confusion, and so the greater Part of them were either kill'd upon the Spot, or soon over-

overtaken in the Rout, and made Prisoners;] and
T. L. 5. c. 24. as many as threw down their Arms, and im-
 plor'd the Emperor's Pardon, obtain'd it. Thus
T. L. 5. c. 24. the impious Usurper lost the Day, and [those, from
 whose Hands he expected the Person of his Sove-
 reign, were sent by his Master to fetch him down from his Hill.
 As soon as he saw them Climbing it, and making haste to-
 wards him, he ask'd them, *Whether they had brought Theodo-*
fius along with them. Their Answer was, They came, by the
 Appointment of God, to carry him to *Theodosius*: And immedi-
 ately they pull'd him from his Seat, infolded him with the Ensigns
 of Captivity, and brought him to the Emperor, who severely
 reproach'd and expostulated with him for the Murder of *Valen-*
tinian, and for all his Treason and Rebellion, and made himself
 merry with his Image of *Hercules*, and the ridiculous Confidence
 the infatuated Man had repos'd in it.] In the Conclusion, the
 Soldiers * struck off his Head as he was begging Quarter, at the
 Emperor's Feet, where he hoped to obtain the Grant of his Life.
 The Day of this Overthrow and Execution was the Sixth of *Sep-*
tember, in *Arcadius's* third, and *Honorius's* second Consular.
 And the traiterous General *Arbogastes*, the Occasion and Princip-
 al of all this Mischief, after he had preserv'd himself, by Flight,
 three Days, finding it impossible to escape the
S. L. 7. c. 24, Stroke of Justice, put an End to his Life by his
 25, 26, 28, own Sword. [We are told, That, within the
 29. Time of this Action, a Demoniack that happen'd
 to be in the Church which the Emperor built
 in Honour of St. *John* the Baptist, (and where, 'tis said) in
 his March, he had implor'd the Blessing of God upon his Arms)
 was carry'd up from the Ground, rail'd at, and revil'd St. *John*,
 satyriz'd upon him for losing his Head, and roar'd out aloud in
 these Terms. *'Tis you that are defeating and destroying my Army.*
 Those that were there present made a *Memorandum* of the Day
 on which they were thus surpriz'd; and found it afterwards
 to be that on which the Battle was fought.

* By the Emperor's Order, says Theod. *L. 5. c. 24.*

THE Emperor, * soon after he had obtain'd this Victory, came to *Milan*, where St. *Ambrose* deny'd him Entrance into the Church; and meeting him at the Door, took hold of his Robe, and told him, 'Twas not for Sinners, whose Hands were defil'd with Blood, to come within those Walls, and partake of the Body and Blood of *Christ*. Our Emperor receiv'd the Correction very decently and dutifully, went Home, and made a good use of it. The Offence which brought it upon him, was this: The People of *Theffalonica*, [a very large and populous City, and the Capital of several Provinces,] upon Occasion of a great Chariot-Race, demanding the Release of a certain famous Charioteer, who lay confin'd for Tempting the Butler of *Buthericus*, Commander of the Forces in *Illyricum*, to an unnatural Prostitution of his Body; and, not prevailing, broke into a Tumult and Madness, † murder'd *Buthericus*, [with some of the || Magistracy, and dragg'd *T. L. 5. c. 17.* their Bodies about the Streets;] at the News whereof, the Emperor, in a violent Passion, gave order for putting to the Sword a certain Number of the People there, as they came first to Hand in the Streets; and thus * a great deal of innocent Blood, even of Foreigners and Strangers, was shed. A Merchant begging to die in the room of his two Sons, and offering all his Money to purchase only that Favour, the Soldiers yielded to let him have the Life of one of them, (for they told him they could not make up their Number if they should spare them both) leaving him to chuse which of them he would preserve; which before he was able to do, distracted with Affection, and overwhelm'd with Grief, they dispatch'd them both before his Eyes. In the same sad Triumph of Death and Slaughter, an honest Servant, as I have heard, readily and frankly ransom'd his Master's Life with his own. For these and (as may well be suppos'd) many other Acts of Violence and Inhumanity like them, the Emperor, as the Author, was excommunicated.

* A mistake. See Valefius's second Note upon this Chapter.

† They stoned them to Death. Theod. L. 5. c. 17.

|| Perhaps ἀρχόντες here may rather signify Military Officers.

* The Number of the Slain, guilty and not guilty, was seven Thousand.

by the great Bishop, and not suffer'd to set his Foot within the Church, 'till he came thither publickly to confess and bewail his Sin; and so submissive and serious he was in his Repentance, that, during the Time allotted him for the Exercise of it, he lay'd aside all the Grandeur, and outward Appearance of his Dignity, and enacted a Law, commanding the Deferring of all Capital Executions to the Thirtieth Day after the Issuing out of the Warrant. 'Twas the same holy Bishop that remov'd the Emperor's Place in the Church from within the Rails of the Altar, (where he conceiv'd either Compliment and Flattery, or a Corruption of Discipline, had given him Possession) to the Out-side of them; where, nevertheless, he took Care his Prince should have the Precedence of the whole Body of the Congregation. Which excellent Regulation the Emperor then, and all his Successors since, have approv'd and obey'd.

[BUT *Theodorit* has represented the Particulars of this memorable Transaction so much to advantage, that I
 L. 5. c. 18. should be unjust both to my Author and Reader, if I did not insert it at large. You have it as follows. *St. Ambrose* being no Stranger to the News of what had pass'd at *Thessalonica*, when the Emperor came to *Milan*, and was going into the Church to Prayers, came out to meet him beyond the Porch, and stopp'd him from coming any further with such Discourse as this, *Certainly, Sir, after you have been turning your City of Thessalonica into a sort of an Acedama, you are not sensible of the heinousness of your Crime; and your Reason has not yet sufficiently recollected itself to shew you the blackness of your Guilt. Perhaps the Splendor of your Authority, and the Greatness of your Power, have dazzled your Understanding, and reconcil'd you to the Wretchedness of your Condition. Remember, therefore, you are a Mortal Man. Dust was our Original, and to Dust we shall return. Do not forget what a frail Body that gaudy Robe of Purple covers. You and your Subjects, Sir, are Fellow-Creatures, nay, and Fellow-Subjects too, under the great Universal Sovereign, the Creator of the World. With what Eyes do you propose to look round upon the Beauty of Holiness? With what Feet would you tread the Almighty's Court? Dare you spread forth your Hands towards infinite Justice, wreaking and dropping with Blood that crys for Vengeance? Are your Fingers, thus Pur-*
 3 *pled,*

pled, fit to touch the Sacred Body of Christ? Or are those Lips, which pronounc'd the Promiscuous Effusion of the Blood of so many of your Subjects, worthy to receive the Blood of your Saviour? I beseech you therefore to withdraw from this Holy Place, and the Offices of it, lest you add Sin to Sin. Submit yourself to the Chain I lay upon you; a Sentence ratify'd by God above. The Discipline is wholesome and medicinal, and will recover your Majesty to a State of perfect Health. The Emperor, better vers'd and instructed in the Word of God, than not to understand how distinct the Authority and Power of the Priests of God is from that of Secular Sovereigns, and how independent of it, obediently submitted himself to the Bishop's Reprehension and Excommunication, and return'd to his Palace, groaning and weeping. Eight Months had pass'd, and *Christmas* was near approaching, when *Rufinus*, his Master of the Offices, a Man of a forward Temper, a Free-Talker, and a Favourite at Court, finding him oppress'd with Sorrow, came to him, and desir'd to know what might be the Cause. The Emperor then bursting out into a greater vehemency and bitterness of Grief, answer'd him, *O Rufinus, you sport with my Misery; you do not know what I feel. Well may I spend myself in Groans and Tears, while every poor Slave and Beggar finds the Church of God open to him, enters in, and does his Duty there; but against me, Miserable Man, the Doors of the Church are shut, and consequently the very Gates of Heaven. For I well remember, that our Blessed Lord has expressly assur'd the Governors of his Church, that whatever they shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven.* *Rufinus* told him, if he pleas'd, he would run to the Bishop, and persuade him to give him Absolution. *You will never be able to do it,* said the Emperor: *What he has inflicted on me, I have very justly deserved. And he will not recede a hair's breadth from the strict Observation of any Divine Ordinance, to flatter or gratify ten Thousand Emperors.* *Rufinus*, however, persisting in his Confidence, that he could prevail with *Ambrose*, the Emperor gave him leave to go, and bad him make haste; and himself soon follow'd, unwilling to despair of his Advocate's Success. As soon as *Rufinus* came to St. *Ambrose*, the Bishop told him he had the Impudence of Dogs. *You,* said he, *that were the Adviser of this barbarous Fact, to come shamelessly upon such an Errand, instead of blushing and trembling for your own*

Crime, after you have done such horrible Despight and Outrage to the Image of God! Rufinus begg'd him to manage with Moderation, and told him, the Emperor was just a coming. At which, glowing with an Apostolick Zeal, the venerable Prelate reply'd, *Why then I do tell thee, Rufinus, that I will not suffer him to enter these Sacred Walls; but if he will turn Tyrant, and do it by force, I submit myself, and am ready to die with pleasure at his Feet.* Upon this, the Courtier sent a Messenger to the Emperor, with an Account of what had pass'd; and now his Advice to him was to keep at Home. The Express met the Emperor in the middle of the *Forum*; and when his Majesty was told how the matter went: *I will go*, said he, *and receive at his Hands all the Severities due to so great a Sinner.* Accordingly he came to the Bishop, sitting in the Vestry, * (for he did not propose to go within the Body of the Church) and besought him to take off his Chain. St. Ambrose told him, *This was a Tyrannical Invasion and Assault, a Flying in the Face of God Almighty, and a Spurning of his Laws.* Far be it from me, said the Emperor, *to violate or traverse the Institutions and Appointments of God, or to intrude, in Defiance of his Laws, into the Place of his Habitation.* All that I am come for, is to beg to be absolv'd, and that, as you know very well the Goodness and Mercy of God extends to all, you will no longer keep that Door Barr'd against me which God has left Open to all sincere Penitents. What Fruits do you shew forth, said Ambrose, of a hearty Repentance? What Salves have you apply'd to cure your dangerous Wounds? 'Tis your part, said the Emperor, to prescribe and prepare them, and mine to use them. As 'Tis your Fault and Misfortune then, said the Bishop, to let your Passion govern you, and your Anger determine for you, instead of your Reason, restrain your self by a Law from a rash and implicit Obedience to your Passions; that is to say, let it be enacted, That the Execution of all Writs, or Warrants, extending to Life or Estate, be deferr'd for the Space of Thirty Days after the Date of them; which past, let the Secretaries that drew them up lay them before your Majesty: By that time all Anger and Resentment will be lull'd asleep; and Reason will

* Or Salutatorium; *ἐν ἀσπασίῳ οἴκῳ.* See Mr. Reading's Note on the Place

be able clearly and impartially to examine and discern, whether the Judgment you have past be Just and Equitable, or not; and if she finds it the latter, will tear the Instrument in pieces; if the former, will ratifie it; and so no Inconvenience will follow from the Delay. The Emperor highly approv'd what the Bishop advis'd and requir'd, order'd an Edict for that purpose to be immediately put into Form, and set his Hand to it; and then the Bishop gave him Absolution. So the great and good Emperor enter'd the Church, where he address'd himself in Supplications to God, neither Standing nor Kneeling, but with his Body stretch'd upon the Ground, and that humble and penitential Prayer of the Holy *Psalmist* in his Mouth, *My Soul cleaves to the Dust, Quicken thou me according to thy Word.* He tore his Hair, and beat his Fore-Head, and water'd the Pavement with his Tears, imploring Mercy and Forgiveness at the Throne of Grace. As soon as 'twas the time to present his Offerings, he rose and went up to the Altar; the Tears still running down his Cheeks; and having presented them, he stay'd within the Rails, as he us'd to do. St. *Ambrose* thought fit to shew him his mistake in that Particular too. He ask'd him first, What he wanted. The Emperor reply'd, He was waiting to receive the Holy Mysteries. The Bishop return'd him this Answer by his Archdeacon, *Your Majesty is to know, that only the Priests are allow'd to put either Foot or Hand within the Rails; Retire, therefore, to the Place of the Laity. The Imperial Robe makes men Emperors, not Priests.* The Emperor, very easy and submissive under the Rebuke, sent the Bishop Word again, That it was not out of any Vanity or Disrespect, that he took his Place within the Rails, but only because it was the Custom at *Constantinople*; and, that he thank'd him also for this piece of Correction. Thus the great Character, the Graces, and the Virtues of the Priest and of the Prince display'd themselves in the Reciprocal Exercise of their respective Duties; the former exerting that Authority and Zeal which highly became a Governor of the Church; * the latter those Acts of Obedience and Piety which are the Duty of every true Son of it. And these Paternal Corrections and Re-proofs of St. *Ambrose*, the great *Theodosius* carry'd with him to

* Some Circumstances perhaps excepted.

Constantinople, where, keeping them in Remembrance, when, * upon a certain Festival, he had presented his Offerings, he immediately withdrew behind the Rails; which *Nectarius* inquiring the reason of, the Emperor sigh'd, and told him, He had but lately found a Man that would put him in Mind of the Difference between a Priest and a Prince; and, that he knew of no Bishop in the World that deserv'd to sustain that Character but *Ambrose*. Such are the Benefits and Happy Effects of Expostulation and Discipline, when they come from a Man of an eminent Character.]

LET me add another remarkable Passage of St. *Ambrose's* Life, among many that might be produc'd to illustrate that grave and religious Freedom which he us'd towards Emperors. A certain *Pagan*, a Man of Quality, having receiv'd Sentence of Death for uttering very bold and severe Reflections upon the Emperor, *Gratian*; St. *Ambrose* went to Court to solicit a Pardon for him. *Gratian* was at that time Entertaining himself (as he did too often by the encouragement of those about him, who had ill Designs) with the Sport of the Chace; and no Body at the Palace-Gate thought it convenient to let him know who desir'd an Audience; whereupon the Bishop went off to the Gate thro' which the Animals to be hunted were brought out, and going in, unperceiv'd, along with the Huntsmen, told the Emperor his Errand, and would not leave the Place, nor cease his Importunity, 'till his Request was granted.

THE World was, at this time, happy in many other excellent Bishops; in which number was *Donatus* of *Euræa* in *Epirus*, famous for the working of many Miracles, but for none more than that of delivering the Country from a monstrous Dragon, or Serpent, which had his Den near a Road, and devour'd Man and Beast as they came in his Way, 'till *Donatus*, facing him as he was coming also to seize him, and making the Sign of the Cross in the Air, spit in his Mouth, upon which he instantly fell down, and dy'd. He was so big (as I have been told, says our Author) that eight Yoak of Oxen were brought to draw him into the next Field, where he was burnt to prevent a Pestilence if his

* Or rather upon the same Anniversary, ἑορτὴς αὐτῶν πάλιν δεῖται &c.

Body should be left to Rott: This Bishop lies bury'd in a Chapel which bears his Name; and near it is a large Well, or Fountain, a perpetual Monument (as the People in the Neighbourhood attest) of the wonderful prevalency of his Prayers; For, coming off from a Journey, and others with him, lamentably tir'd and thirsty, to the Place where the Well is to be seen, he made a Cavity with his Hand in the Dry Ground, and address'd himself in an humble Prayer to God, which was answer'd by the rising of a large Source of Water, which flows there to this Day. *Theotimus* was now Bishop of *Scythia*, a Man train'd to the Rigours of the *Christian* Philosophy, and by the *Hunns*, in regard of the Miracles he wrought among them, call'd *the God of the Romans*. Being in immediate danger once of falling into the Hands of some Barbarian Robbers, he lighted from his Horse, and invoc'd the Divine Protection, which wonderfully shew'd it self in his Preservation; for the Wild Men pass'd along by him, his Retinue, and his Horses, without seeing any of them. These Barbarians were naturally very Fierce and Savage, and *Scythia* suffer'd extremely by them, 'till *Theotimus* quell'd and soften'd them, by making Entertainments for them, and giving them Presents; from whence, one of them concluding he must be Rich, resolv'd to surprize and make a Prey of him; in order to which, having rais'd his Hand, as he was talking with him, to throw a Rope about the Bishop's Body, he had not power to draw it back again, 'till *Theotimus*, at the intercession of others, had prevail'd with God, by his Prayers, to grant him the use of it again. From his first entring upon the Philosophick Course he left his Beard to its natural Growth. His Diet was light and plain; and he never Eat or Drank but when he was Hungry or Thirsty.

ACACIUS, Bishop of *Berea* in *Syria*, early initiated, and happily accomplish'd in the Monastick Life, liv'd with the Doors of his House perpetually open to all Comers. The Church now boasted likewise of *Zeno* and *Ajax*, two Brothers, who follow'd the Contemplative Discipline at *Gaza*, and strenuous Advocates of our Holy Faith; for the stedfast Profession of which, their Bodies often felt the Cruelty of the *Pagans*. 'Tis said *Ajax* marry'd a very beautiful Woman, by whom he had Three Sons; after which, he knew his Wife Carnally, no more, and renounc'd the

World; as did his Brother *Zeno*, when he was a very Young Man. They both were careful and prudent Pastors; the former Bishop of *Botolium*, and the latter of *Majuma*, where he attended the Divine Offices so carefully and constantly, that (as I myself can Witness) at a Hundred Years of Age nothing but Bodily Indisposition, at any Time, detain'd him from them, or any Part of them. He employ'd himself in weaving Linnen-Cloth, by which he got what suffic'd for his own Occasions, and contributed to support others. And he never forsook the Shuttle as long as he liv'd; tho' he was older than any Bishop in the Province, his Flock large, and his Church rich. In a Word, the greater Part of the Bishops in those Days were good Men, and God was pleas'd to give them that Testimony by the Miracles he vouchsafed them to work; which, with their excellent Examples, had the good Effect to render the Lives of the Inferior Clergy and Laity in general, conformable to theirs.]

THE Bodies of the Prophets *Habacuc* and *S. L. 7. c. 29. Micah* were found about this Time, (the Discovery being communicated from Heaven in a Dream to *Zebennus*, Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*) the former at *Cola*, once the City of *Ceila*, the latter not far from *Berathsatia*, near *Eleutheropolis*, in the Place of his Interment, which the People there (little imagining how rightly) call'd *Nephsameemana*, i. e. The Faithful Monument.]

* Epiphanius, instead of ὁ μῦθος πῖςον has ὁ μῦθος πῖςον. The Learned Mr. Gagnier has kindly favour'd me with the following Note upon this Place.

ⲛⲁⲫⲱⲥⲟ ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲟ

NAPSHO MEHAIMONO

Monumentum-Sepulchrale fidele.

ⲛⲁⲫⲱⲥⲟ Naphshon Plur. ⲛⲁⲫⲱ Napho
1 Machab. c. 13. v. 28. ubi Simon dicitur

erexisse Septem NAPSHON Monumenta unum ex adverso alterius, patri matrique sue et quatuor fratribus suis. (et fortè unum sibi ipsi ut essent Septem.) Eodem sensu Hebr. ⲛⲁⲫⲱ Naphesh, quod primario Animam significat, in Mishnah Tract. Shenalim de Siclis, accipitur: Extruunt ei ⲛⲁⲫⲱ Naphesh (i. e. MONUMENTUM) super Sepulchrum ipsius. De quo v. Pocock. Not. ad portam Mosis, p. 75. Loco citato 1 Mac. cap. 13. v. 28. Textus Græcus habet Καὶ ἔσθον ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ Πνευματικῇ.

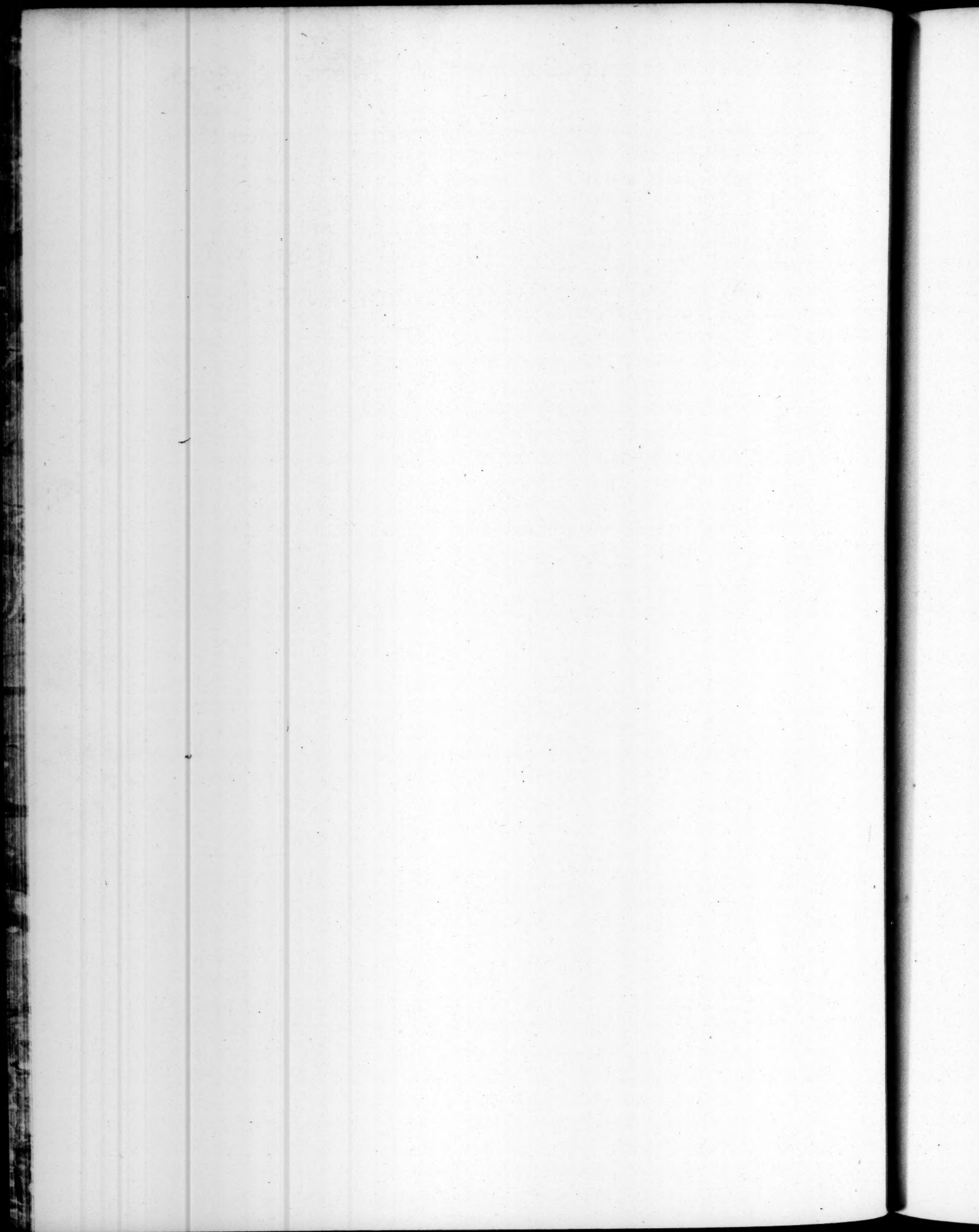
IN

IN the Death of *Eugenius* and *Arbogastes*, we have seen the deserved End of two infamous and ungrateful Traytors; but, nevertheless, it pleas'd God, that the Effects of their Rebellion reach'd that sacred and precious Life which their Arms could not; for the Fatigue of this War brought such an Indisposition upon the Emperor, as gave him the satisfactory Prospect of his Dissolution near approaching; which he was no sooner sensible of [(and he foresaw it early, remembering the latter Part of *John* the Monk's Prediction)] but, solicitous to make the best Provision he could for the Peace and Happiness of the Empire after his Decease, and particularly to settle Things well in the West, he sent, in all haste, for *Honorius* from *Constantinople*, * whom he had left there with his Brother *Arcadius* when he set out against *Eugenius*. The Prince found his Father at *Milan*, enjoying an Interval, or Abatement of his Distemper, and entertaining his Subjects on the Occasion of his late Success with Chariot-Racing in the *Circus*, which he honour'd with his Presence 'till Noon, finding himself free from all Sickness or Pain; but being taken very ill, of a sudden, after Dinner, sent his Son to supply his Place there, and the next Night left him to succeed him in a much higher Province, upon the seventeenth of *January*, *Olybrius* and *Probinus* Consuls, in the first Year of the Two Hundred Ninety Fourth *Olympiad*, after he had liv'd Sixty Years, and reign'd Sixteen; the latter of which, with the Addition of Eight Months, is the Space of Time belonging to our Fifth Book.

* See *Valesius upon the Place*.

The End of the FIFTH BOOK.

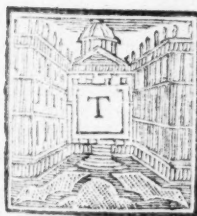
T H E





THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit.

BOOK VI.



THE Empire having thus lost the Great *Theodosius*; his two Sons, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, [both establish'd in the *S. L. 8. c. 1.* same Principles of Religion with their Father,] succeeded him; the former † took upon him the Government of the *East*, the latter of the *West*; [where, prompted by an Hereditary Piety and Virtue, he put *T. L. 5. c. 26.*

† Their Father assign'd them their respective Dominions, according to Theod. *L. 5. c. 25.*

an End to the barbarous Gladiatorial Combats at *Rome*, which one *Telemachus*, an Eastern Monk, made a Journey thither on purpose to interrupt, and, if it lay in his Power, to put an End to; and accordingly, Opportunity serving, he came into the Amphitheatre, and entering the Place of Action, interpos'd between the Gladiators as they were Fighting, and strove to part them; which so enrag'd the Spectators, that they Stoned him to Death. *Honorius*, upon the News of it, enrolled *Telemachus's* Name among the Martyrs, and suppress'd that barbarous diabolical sort of Entertainment.]

DAMASUS still continued Bishop of *Rome*; *Theophilus*, of *Alexandria*; *John*, of *Jerusalem*; *Flavian*, of *Antioch*; and *Nectarius* of *C. P.* [*Elpidius*, that had liv'd with the great *Meletius*, and was the very Transcript of all his Virtues, presided over the Church of *Laodicea*, in Succession to the great *Pelagius*. And the excellent *Agapetus* (whom we have mention'd above) succeeded the divine *Marcellus* at *Apamea*.]

THE Body of the late Emperor was interr'd at *C. P.* by *Aradius* with great Solemnity and Pomp, upon the eighth of *November*, in the same Consulat. Upon the Seventeenth of the same Month, arriv'd the Army that had serv'd against *Eugenius*; and the New Emperor had no sooner appear'd, according to Custom, without the City-Gates, to receive and welcome them, but they thought fit to sacrifice to his Safety the *Prætorio-Prefect Rufinus* at his Feet; whose Loyalty and Fidelity were very much suspected, and who, 'tis too probable, to serve his own ambitious and traitorous Designs, had invited the *Hunns* into *Armenia*, and other Provinces of the *East*, where they were, at this Time, plundering and wasting all before them.

S. L. 8. c. 1. [The ill Success of his wicked Designs had this very good Effect; that it confirm'd the young Emperors in a full Perswasion, that that Religion which their Father asserted, and supported with such singular Zeal and Activity, was acceptable to that God who had at all Times given him the Necks of his Enemies, and had bless'd the beginning of their Reign with so auspicious and prompt a Deliverance from so dangerous a Traytor. And therefore, to make some returns of Thankfulness for the Blessings already conferr'd, and to procure

cure the continuance of God's especial Protection and Favour, they added further Ratifications to the Laws and Rescripts of their Predecessors, in favour of the Church, and enrich'd her with new Benefactions and Privileges; an Example which had a prevailing good influence on their Subjects, and brought them to such a happy Temper of Mind, and Seriousness of Consideration, that the Heathens among them flock'd into the Christian Religion, and the Hereticks return'd apace to the Church. The *Arians* and *Eunomians* expos'd their own Cause, and lessen'd their own Numbers, by their Feuds and Divisions among themselves. The want of a Bishop (for they had never a one at *C. P.* but were govern'd by Presbyters only, ever since *Constantius's* Reign, when *Eudoxius* seiz'd their Churches) occasion'd great Inconveniencies and Disadvantages to the *Macedonian* Interest. The *Novatians*, it must be confess'd, had the Advantage of the others; for tho', in some Places, their Disputes about the Celebration of *Easter* had discompos'd and ruffled them, yet that Exemption from Penalties, which they enjoy'd on account of their Orthodoxy in all Articles concerning the Trinity, and the notable Qualifications of their Bishops, made their Condition very easy and comfortable.] Their Bishop *Marcian* dy'd upon that Day which was *Rufinus's* last, and *Sisinnius* (of whom before; and more hereafter) came in his Room.

NECTARIUS dying in the Consulship of *Cæsarius* and *Atticus*, upon the Seventeenth of *September*, there was a great Dispute and Struggle who should succeed him; 'till at length, with the universal consent and good liking of the Clergy and Laity, the Emperor sent away for *John*, a Presbyter of *Antioch*; a Man whose extraordinary Learning and Eloquence easily recommended him to their Choice, and of whose Life it will be proper to give a previous Account before we bring him to the Episcopal Throne. His Father's Name was *Secundus*; (a Man of great Quality) his Mother's *S. L. 8. c. 2.* *Antibusa*, a Lady of that Country, of noble Descent, who brought him into the World at the *Syrian Antioch*. *Libanius* taught him Rhetorick, and *Andragathius* Philosophy. [The former had so high *S. L. 8. c. 2.* an Opinion of his Skill and Abilities in Oratory, that when he was ask'd, upon his Death Bed, who should succeed him in his Rhetorical Province, his Answer was; *John, if*

be were not in the Hands of the Christians. But then there was an Eloquence in his Life and Actions more perswasive and powerful than even in his Words ; and as his exemplary Behaviour and attractive Virtues dispos'd his Hearers to esteem his Expositions of the Holy Scriptures ingenuous and just ; so Both together, in concert with the Elegancy of his Diction, very frequently reform'd their Lives, and set them right in their Principles. And tho' the freedom and plainness of his Rebukes (for he resent'd an Injury done to any Body else as done to himself) disoblig'd the Rich and Great People ;

T. L. 5. c. 28. [(nor was he afraid to admonish and reprove even Emperors)] yet the generality of those with whom he was concern'd, lov'd and honour'd him the more for it. But of this more hereafter.] The time approaching when he had determin'd to betake himself to the Bar ; reflecting in his Mind upon the Drudgery of that Profession, and those Temptations in the Subtilties and Depths of it, to which it would expose him, he chang'd his Resolution (as *Evagrius*, who had been bred under the same Masters, had shewn him the Way) shifted his Garb and his Mein, and prefer'd a Life of Privacy and Meditation, the Study of the Holy Scriptures, and a Course of Devotion, and Religious Exercises and Offices before the mercenary Views and idle Hurry of much Business and great Gain. And how well he was pleas'd with the Choice he had made, appears in that he had advis'd and prevail'd with *Theodorus* and *Maximus*, who had been his Fellow-Pupils under *Libanius*,

S. L. 8. c. 2. and were at that time pursuing an Ascetick Severity and Piety [along with himself,] in the Monasteries, and under the Directions of *Diodorus* and *Carterius*, to take the same Course. *Theodorus* was afterwards Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, and *Maximus* of *Seleucia* ; and *Diodorus* (who compil'd a Comment upon the Holy Scriptures, in which he has only concern'd himself with the proper and literal Sense, avoiding the allegorical) came to be Bishop of *Tarsus*. [*Theo-*

S. L. 8. c. 2. *dorus*, after he had made some proficiency in the Discipline of the Philosophick Life, and had lik'd it for some time very well, grew weary of it, and came abroad again upon the Stage of the World, which was a thing he could justify from several Examples of the Ancients. *St. Chrysostom* hearing the News, sent him a Letter so wonderfully moving and pre-

prevalent, that he presently relinquish'd his Secular Course of Life again, and lay'd aside the purpose of Marrying which he had been eager upon before, and retir'd to his Monastery. He was a Man of great Learning, and an excellent Orator; which shews what a Force of Perswasion that Man must be Master of, who could effect such a Change in his Inclinations and Resolutions. [Beside the worthy Pair of Friends now mention'd, *John* had another very good one in * *St. Basil*, with whom, being yet but a Deacon, he courted and cultivated a close Familiarity and Conversation, within which Term he was ordain'd a Reader of the Church of *Antioch*, by one *Zeno*. Before he arriv'd at the Deaconship, to which, soon after, *Meletius* admitted him, he wrote his Book *against the Jews*; and he had not been long a Deacon before he wrote his Books *Of the Priesthood*; *against Stagirus*, *of the Incomprehensibility of the Divine Nature*; and *of the Religious Societies of Women*. Upon the Death of *Meletius*, he neither continued with the People of his Communion, nor join'd with *Paulinus*, but liv'd three Years reclusely in quiet Indifference and Neutrality. When *Paulinus* dy'd, he took Presbyter's Orders from his Successor *Evagrius*. His Abstemiousness and Love of Mortification made him Passionate and Impatient; whence he deriv'd an unhappy Freedom and Indulgence of Speech. His Plainness and Innocence embolden'd him to open his Mind at all Adventures; and the Consciousness of his own Integrity would not suffer him to entertain Apprehensions of any future Inconveniences. That which he principally aim'd at, in his Preaching, was to correct and improve the Lives of his Auditors. And thus, the Severity of his Temper duly consider'd, it will seem no Wonder that those who were unacquainted with it, should mistake it, in Conversation, for Pride. The Court, and the Men in Power and Authority, were warm and earnest for his Advancement to the Throne of *C. P.* which, nevertheless, *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, whom, with many other Bishops, the Emperor had sum- *S. L. 8. c. 2.* mon'd to attend [Synodically] and give greater Authority to the Ordination, oppos'd; partly out of Envy, and

* See *Valesius upon Socr. L. 6. c. 3.*

partly out of Partiality, to procure that high Preferment for one of his own Presbyters, * *Isidore*, [to whom *S. L. 8. c. 2.* he had committed the Care and Office of looking to the *Alexandrian* Poor, and entertaining Strangers. This Man came from the Monasteries of *Scetis*, where he follow'd the Christian Philosophy with great Reputation. But some People say something else gave *Theophilus* a Fondness for him.] And that was, his having been serviceable and faithful to him in a Concern very dangerous and out of the way; for, while the War was yet depending between *Theodosius* and Rebel *Maximus*, he had sent him with † Presents and Letters to deliver to the Conqueror, which-ever of the two should be the Man; tho' it happen'd, that while he waited at *Rome* 'till that was determin'd, a Reader that bore him Company stole his *Addresses* from him, which put him in a great Consternation, and occasion'd his sudden Return to *Alexandria*. Nor was this the only Article *Theophilus* was charg'd with; for there were several other Indictments preferr'd against him to his Collegues then upon the Spot; which *Eutropius*, President of the Imperial Bed-Chamber, shewing him in Black and White, and putting it to his Choice, either to ordain *John*, or stand a Tryal, he was so frighted, that he made no Demurr of doing the former. [*Asse-*
S. L. 8. c. 2. *rius*, Regent of the East, having receiv'd the Emperor's Commands relating to *John*, had sent privately for him, as if he had a Favour to ask of him, and as soon as he came, put him into his Chariot, and brought him in all haste to *Pagræ*, where he recommended him into the Hands of the Emperor's Messengers, and then return'd to *Antioch*, where he found good Reason to think the People would not have parted with *John*, 'till they had brought upon themselves, or at least done others a great deal of Mischief, if he had not convey'd him away thus dexterously and expeditiously.] *John* was ordain'd and enthron'd upon the Sixteenth of *February*, *Honorius* and *Eutycianus* Consuls; and had not long Govern'd the Church before the harsh Methods which he took, with a

* I conceive this *Isidore* not to be the same with an *Ascetick* of that Name mentioned before; whose Character makes it

improbable that any of them would have undertaken such an Errand as this.

† *Æna*, Presents to welcome him.

very good Design, to reform, or rather refine his Clergy, to the highest degree of Regularity and Perfection possible, overstrain'd the String, and render'd him disagreeable and odious to them. *Serapion*, [his Archdeacon,] who, *S. L. 8. c. 9.* perhaps, had a Mind to ingross him to himself, fann'd this imprudent Zeal, and Fever of Severity, insomuch, that he very warmly told him, one Day, in the Presence of all his Clergy, that, *If he expected to do any Good upon them, he must e'en take a Cudgel in his hand, and beat them all in a Body out of his Presence:* And the Bishop so far took his Advice, that, soon after, upon various Pretences, he * depos'd several of them. [This *Serapion* was an *Egyptian*, *S. L. 8. c. 9.* a passionate Man, Censorious and Abusive.] These Proceedings made the Clergy, and many of the *Monks* mutinous; and fill'd their Mouths with loud Complaints and Clamours against him, [as a proud, *S. L. 8. c. 9.* ill-natur'd, imperious Man.] And this was a Character which he still lay'd himself more open to, by shunning every Body's Table, and declining and refusing all Neighbourly Entertainments and Invitations. Upon what account he did so, is uncertain. Some of his Friends tell us that his Stomach was so weak, and his Concoction so bad, that his Company at Meals would have been very disobliging and unpleasant; and some of them make it a Piece of *S. L. 8. c. 9.* Self-denial. [Another Instance of that Plain-dealing and Strictness which turn'd so much to his Prejudice, we have in the Advice which he gave *Olympias*, a Lady of a noble Extraction, ordain'd Deaconess by *Nectarius*, tho' a very Young Widow, for her extraordinary Proficiency and Conduct in the Philosophick Life. *St. Chrysostom* observing her Time and Thoughts were so entirely employ'd in religious Meditations and Offices, that, without distinguishing Cases and Circumstances, she distributed her Benevolences at large to all that made Application, talk'd to her to this effect; *Madam, I like your good Intentions*

* Theod. tells us (*L. 5. c. 28.*) that he suffer'd no Clergyman, who did not regulate his Life in all particulars according to the Canons, to approach within the Rails

of the Holy Altar; and, that he extended the strictness of his Discipline even as far as to the Pontick Dioecese.

very well, but you are strangely mistaken in choosing the Objects of your Charity and Kindness. By a voluntary Alienation and Conveyance you have made over your Wealth to the Poor; so that now you are no longer a Proprietor, but a Steward; and therefore, as you propose to yourself to do all the Good you can with the Advantages of Fortune which Providence allotted you, and to receive the Reward of that Service in Heaven, proportion your Liberality to the Wants and Occasions of those that stand in Need of it. He was also not a little angry at those Monks, (and at *Isaacius* in the Number) who came too much Abroad into the World, and took an Affection for the City; and us'd to send them Home with a rough Farewell; at the same Time highly Commending, carefully Patronizing, and liberally Providing for those that kept close to their Cells, and studiously follow'd the Duties of their Profession.] But his excellent Sermons, notwithstanding the Acrimony of his Temper, and the Asperity of his Conduct, defeated and stifled the

S. L. 8. c. 5. Invectives of his Adversaries, and commanded the Love and Applause of the People, [who crowded about him in prodigious multitudes;] which no Body will wonder at, who gives himself the Pleasure of Reading his Discourses, whether publish'd by himself, or taken in Short-Hand from the Pulpit; and finds how very Elegantly, Pathetically, and perswasively they are composed.

[AMONG others who had felt and yielded to the Force of his Arguments and Rhetorick, was a certain Person

S. L. 8. c. 5. of the *Macedonian* Perswasion, who being converted himself, very sollicitously endeavour'd the Conversion of his Wife; but to no manner of purpose, 'till he protested she should live with him no longer, unless she would communicate with him too. She promis'd she would, but design'd to put a Trick upon him; for when the Time came that the Holy Mysteries were administer'd, she receiv'd the Bread in her Hand, and there held it, stooping down her Head, as if she betook herself to her private Devotions; while her Maid, who stood at her Side, convey'd a Piece of Bread into her Hand, which she had brought from Home, consecrated by *Macedonian* Hands. This the Woman had no sooner put into her Mouth, but it turn'd to a Stone. Frighted at so miraculous a Conviction, she immediately presented herself to the Bishop; told him

who

who she was, and what had befallen her; shew'd him the Stone, which was of a singular Substance and Colour, and had the Marks of her Teeth in it; profess'd her Repentance with many Tears, obtain'd Absolution, and continued ever after a faithful Member of the Church. The Stone (says my Author) is at this Day to be seen in the Church of C. P.]

NOT dishearten'd, or restrain'd by the Untractableness and Resentments of his Clergy, *Chrysostom* (for so this *John* was call'd) carry'd Things yet higher, and brought upon himself a double Portion of Odium and Disrepute, by exercising his Authority a little too harshly upon some of the great People at Court; not that all the Stories rais'd of him upon that Account were true. He increas'd the Hatred, Interest, and Number of his Enemies, by an Oration which he made against *Eutropius*, the same we mention'd before, a Person so much the Emperor's Favourite, that he was the first that of a Court-Eunuch had ever been made a Consul, [and *Patricius*.] *S. L. 8. c. 4.* He had solicited the Emperor to annul the Privilege of Sanctuary, by which, it seems, some Offenders that had provok'd him, had screen'd themselves from his Power, [among others *Pentadia*, *S. L. 8. c. 7.* Wife to *Timasius* *, sometime an Imperial General, whom he had impeach'd of Treasonable Designs, and sent into *Egypt*, to die an Exile in *Oasis*, which accordingly he did, overcome (as I have heard, says our Author) with violent Heat and Thirst, as he wander'd in the Sandy Deserts, where his Body was found; or, it may be, scar'd out of his Life by terrible Apprehensions of a severer Portion of Punishment yet reserv'd for him.] But to see how the Oppressor and Politician are often ensnar'd in their own Devices, and fall into the Destruction which they prepare for others; *Eutropius* had scarce obtain'd his Desire, but he fell under the Emperor's Indignation to such a Degree, [(being accus'd of offering high Affronts and Indignities to the Empress)] that he was glad to have recourse to the Protection of the Altar himself, which did not preserve his Head upon his Shoulders, nor even his Name in the Consular *Fasti*,

* See more of this *Timasius* in *Suidas*.

or Register, * any longer than while *Chrysostom* had time to [take Occasion, from his Fall, to exercise his Eloquence upon the Topick of the Vanity and Instability of Worldly Power and Grandeur, and the Folly of all Pride and Arrogance grounded upon it, and to load him with Rebukes and Reproaches from the Pulpit; which however was look'd upon as unmerciful Usage. 'Tis said he bore as hard upon *Gainas*, then the Emperor's General, a *Goth*, and an *Arian*, for petitioning his Master to let his Brethren have one of the Churches within the City; [tho' it were but for his sake; urging, That it was a Shame that the Emperor's General should be forc'd to go out of the Imperial City to Church. This soon brought St. *Chrysostom*, with as many Bishops as he could meet with in Town, to the Emperor's Palace; where the Prelate gave his Majesty the Detail of *Gainas*'s ill Actions and Character, before his Face; and put the Sawcy Mutineer in mind of the Obligations which he ow'd to his late Majesty, and the Oath he had taken to be True to him and his Children, and to the Interest and Constitution of the Empire, which, nevertheless, he had the Presumption to infringe, by thus contemptuously Opposing himself to an excellent Law, (and he produc'd it in his Hand) which *Theodosius* had enacted, forbidding Hereticks to hold their Assemblies within the City-Walls. And he concluded with exhorting and solliciting the Emperor not to let the Legal Provision that had been made against Heresy lose any thing of its Force or Effect, assuring him, He had much better run the risque of losing his Crown, than desert or betray the Cause of the Church: And thus the Bishop gain'd his Point, and diverted the Mischief which impended over the People committed to his Charge.]

[*THEODORIT* has related this Transaction to more Advantage, and left us the Particulars of *Chrysostom*'s Entercourse and Conference, as well with the Emperor, as *Gainas*. He tells us, The Emperor having dismiss'd the *Goths*, with an Answer which en-

* *Soz. adds, (L. 4. c. 7.) That the Law which he procur'd against Sanctuaries, was obliterated and abolish'd.*

courag'd him to expect he should obtain his Desire, sent for *Chrysoſtom*; acquainted him with the Request that had been made to him; lay'd before him the Consideration of *Gainas's* great Interest and Power; gave him broad hints of the Suspicion which, it seems, his Majesty then had of his Evil Designs; and perswaded him to consent to a Concession which might make a Change in the Man, and prevent those dangerous Consequences. *Sir*, (reply'd *Chrysoſtom*) *let me beseech you to promise no such Thing; nor to give that which is Holy unto Dogs. I can never approve, that Worshippers and Adorers of God the Son should quit the Church to Blasphemers. As for any Mischief the Barbarian can do your Majesty; fear it not. Let us both be commanded to appear before your Majesty; and only be pleas'd to have the Patience to stand silent by, and hear what passes between us. I will soon prevent his making such insolent Motions any more.* This Encouragement and Advice was very Satisfactory to the Emperor. So the next Day he sent for the Bishop and the General. The Latter earnestly press'd his Petition: The Former told him, that he could not expect the Emperor should fly in the Face of God Almighty for his sake. *Gainas* answer'd, He was hardly dealt with, if he might not have so much as one Church to say his Prayers in. *All the Church-Doors*, said *Chrysoſtom*, *are Open to receive you. My Religion*, said the Barbarian, *is not the same with yours. I desire a Church for myself and others of my Principles; and I think my Services for the Publick deserve it.* *Chrysoſtom* reply'd, *You have been amply rewarded already. Are you not General? And do you not wear the Consular Robe? Recollect what a ragged Condition you were in, when you came over the Ister, and what good Cloaths you have upon you now. Compare the mighty Favours conferr'd upon you, with the little Trouble you have got them by; and beware of making ill Returns to your Benefactors.* This Authoritative Rebuke seal'd up his Adversary's Lips.] But the Dispute between him and the General happen'd (says *Sozomen*) later, some Time after *Gainas's* Submission of himself to his Master at *Chalcedon*; of which more in the Sequel.] And thus openly and plainly our Patriarch dealt with several others of the Nobility, [whose Vices he *S. L. 8. c. 8.* could not permit himself to connive at.] Such resolute and bold Management gave *Theophilus* a very lucky Handle and Opportunity to supplant and ruin his Rival, almost

as soon as he had ordain'd him; in order to which he strikes into a Confederacy with some People near, and into a Correspondence with others at a Distance. Thus inauspiciously St. *Chrysostom* commenced the Execution of his Episcopal Office.

GAINAS we have just now had occasion to take notice of, not a little to his Dishonour. What follows is as agreeable to what went before of him as Rebellion and Heresy are Twin-Sisters. He was by Birth a Barbarian, but had deserted to the Imperial Service, in the Army, and was so Fortunate as to rise [from a Common Soldier] to the Chief Command of it. A Height which turn'd his Head, and put him upon a Thousand Projects and Attempts to reach the Imperial Dignity. In order to which he call'd in the whole Nation of the *Goths*, and dispos'd of all Posts and Offices in the Army among his own Relations and Creatures; One of whom, *Tribigildus*, a Tribune, he set at work to raise Commotions in *Phrygia*, and Plunder the Country there; and then got himself sent by the Emperor, who had no manner of Suspicion of him, to quell and compose those Disorders. A vast Multitude of *Goths* he carry'd with him, and instead of delivering the Country, harra's'd it worse than *S. L. 8. c. 4.* *Tribigild* had done; [and from thence brought his Multitude into *Bithynia*:] Which did not a little fright and confound the whole Empire, when 'twas consider'd how great Force he had with him, and how absolutely all the best Part of the East lay defenceless and expos'd to him. The Emperor had now no other way to manage him, but by fair means, and accordingly he sent a Civil and Complaisant Embassy to him, [desiring him to propose his own *S. L. 8. c. 4.* Terms of Accommodation, and they shall be granted.] He demanded Hostages, Two Gentlemen of the Consular List, and Superior Senators, *Saturninus* and *Aurelian*; who, he knew well enough, were like to be untoward Stops and Obstacles in the Way of his Ambition. The Emperor found himself under a Necessity of requiring them to surrender themselves to the Traitor, which they were better Subjects and Patriots than to be tempted to decline by the apparent Danger they incur'd, by their Obedience to their Rightful Prince, of being sacrific'd to the Villain's Machinations and Malice; So, meeting him near *Chalcedon*, they put themselves

in his Power, and they receiv'd no hurt. Then *Gainas* assuming a Mask of Peace and Well-meaning, came to *Chalcedon*, where the Emperor *Arcadius* met him; and there, in the Church where the Body of St. *Euphemia* lies, they gave mutual Security upon the Holy Evangelists, that neither should act any thing in opposition to the other. An Oath, which the harden'd Rebel soon forgetting, let in such prodigious Shoals of Barbarians into *C. P.* itself, that the Imperial City seem'd to be, or, indeed, rather was, in a State of Captivity; an Evil worthy to be portended by that blazing Comet which presignified it, extending its Flame and Malevolence from Heaven to Earth. His first Attempt was, to seize the * Treasures of the Bankers; in which Design a timely Discovery having disappointed him, he quickly thought of another Expedient, and sent his Barbarians in the Dead of Night to Fire the Palace; who, to their great Astonishment, beheld an Army ready to receive them, in Appearance a formidable Body of robust Gigantick Soldiers, but in reality, a Detachment of the Heavenly Host. And this so surpriz'd and frighted them, that they retired, and acquainted *Gainas* with what they had seen; who, knowing that the greatest Part of the *Roman* Army were far enough off, and distributed into Garrisons, would not believe it, 'till he had sent Party after Party; and finding them all confirming the Truth of the Fact, went himself, attended by a large Number of his Accomplices, and soon saw what he had heard. Concluding, therefore, that this must be a Lurking Body of Men [drawn out of other Places,] that only made their *S. L. 8. c. 4.* Appearance in the Night, he try'd another Stratagem; and feigning himself seiz'd with a Demoniacal Possession, went to the Church of St. *John* the Apostle, distant seven Miles from the Town, pretending his Errand was to Pray there. Thither some of his Barbarian Countrymen waited on him; and they had contriv'd to carry out Arms with them by several very close and secret Ways. But the Guards of the Gate scent'd out the Plot, and lay'd an Embargo upon their Goods; which the Conspirators hoping to take off, drew their Swords, and dispatch'd them. This occasion'd a dreadful Uproar and Conspiration in the City. The Emperor then thought it high

* Perhaps the Money in the ...

time to proclaim *Gainas* a Traitor; and order'd all the Barbarians in the City to be put to the Sword; who, being shut up within the Walls, fled to the *Gothick* Church, where a Multitude of them were cut in Pieces, and the Church was burnt down: Which *Gainas* no sooner understood, but, leaving the Church of *St. John*, he made the best of his Way for *Thrace*. Arriving at the *Chersonesus*, he resolv'd to get over to *Lampascus*, and surprise that Place, whence he projected to make an Irruption into the East. Which as he was attempting in some Transport-Vessels, patch'd together in haste for that purpose,

the good Providence of God brought down, very
S. L. 8. c. 4. unexpectedly, the Imperial Fleet upon him, [(under the Command of his Countryman *Fravitus*)]

by a West-Wind, which blowing rough, sufficiently toss'd and shatter'd the Enemy's feeble Vessels, and, at length, sunk them in the Sea, in which the Rebels were either swallow'd up with their Horses, or buried after the *Romans* had done Execution on them. This Disaster, in which *Gainas* escap'd, brought him back to *Thrace*, where he fell into the Hands of the Emperor's

Land-Forces, who sent him out of the world,
T. L. 5. c. 32, and all the Retinue he had remaining with him.

33.

[The Intolence and Temerity of this Usurper afforded *Chrysostom* a further Occasion to signalize his Magnanimity and Courage; for, at a Juncture when the Ravager had made himself so formidable, that the Military Men were afraid to march against him, and even the Orators declin'd the Danger of going to treat with him, *Chrysostom* very readily undertook the latter Province, tho' no Man more obnoxious to his Malice, in regard of the Provocation which he had given him in the Instance we have seen above. *Gainas* hearing he was upon the Road, and touch'd with a generous Reverence for him, upon the Remembrance of that noble Apostolical Courage which he had express'd before in his Freedom with him, went out a great Way to meet him, and, at receiving him, * put the Bishop's Right Hand upon his Eyes, and placed his Sons at his Feet to receive his Benediction.] *Eusebius Scholasticus*, who had been an Eye-witness of this Rebellion, wrote a particular Account of it in a noble Heroick Poem, consisting of Four

* *A Way of asking Blessing.*

Books; at what Time he was following his Studies under the Direction of *Troilus* the Sophist. *Ammonius*, the Poet, has gain'd immortal Honour and Reputation by a Poem upon the same Argument, which he recited before the Emperor *Theodosius* the Younger, then Consul with *Faustus*. This dangerous Rebellion ended in the Consulship of *Stilicho* and *Aurelian*; which immediately preceded that of *Fravitus*, whose great Merits and Services in the Interest of the Empire, and particularly in this Crisis against his perfidious Countrymen, advanced him to the Consular Dignity; in a Year which bless'd the Emperor and us (says my Author) with the Birth of that excellent Prince *Theodosius* the Younger upon the Tenth of *April*; [who, in the Consulate following, was S. L. 8. c. 4. declar'd *Augustus*.]

BUT altho' the Troubles of the State ended thus Happily, the Wounds of the Church begun to bleed afresh. A Dispute had been lately started, and hotly prosecuted upon the Question, *Whether the Deity had a Bodily Human Shape or not?* Many of the ignorant Monks maintain'd the former; but the greatest Part asserted the contrary, *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* closing with them, and publicly censuring and condemning their Adversaries. This brought the *Egyptian* Monks from their Cells to *Alexandria*, where, in a very tumultuous Manner, they were for dispatching him out of the World, as a Blasphemer and an Atheist. But *Theophilus* prevented them, by going out to meet them, and accosting them in these few Words, *I behold your Face as the Face of God*. They demanded of him, if, indeed, he thought God had a Face like theirs, to Anathematize *Origen's* Books, where the contrary was asserted; Otherwise he must expect no Mercy. He told them he [had long since design'd it,] S. L. 8. c. 11. and that he did, and would condemn them, and all that would not condemn them. Thus, for the present, fell the Wind, and the Storm was over, but quickly rose again. *Dioscorus*, *Ammonius*, *Eusebius*, and *Euthimius*, four Brothers, surnam'd the *Tall*, much esteem'd and celebrated for their Piety and Learning, *Theophilus* had a particular Honour and Affection for; insomuch that he compell'd *Dioscorus*, in a manner by Violence, to be ordain'd by him into the See of *Hermipolis*, and when he

he could not perswade two others of the Brothers, he compell'd them, in the Strength of his Episcopal Authority, to live with him, put them in Holy Orders, and committed to them the Care and Management of the Revenues of his Church. This Constraint was very vexatious to them; but yet they bore it as well as they could, 'till they found *Theophilus* a Man given up to a rapacious and insatiable Avarice; and then they absolutely refus'd to stay with him any longer, assuring him, they could not continue easy out of their proper Recesses. *Theophilus* still importunately begg'd their Company, 'till understanding they had conceiv'd a Detestation at his Practices, he turn'd his friendly Sollicitations into very rough and menacing Language; which nothing mov'd or dispirited them, but only hasten'd their Return to their former Solitude. *Theophilus*, a Proud Passionate Man, resolv'd to make his Threatenings good; and set himself with all his Wit and Power to ruin them, and not only them, but his old Friend their Brother *Dioscorus*, now envying and incens'd at the great Deference and Veneration paid him by the Monks. The Brothers he knew had often confuted, in his hearing, the Notion of God's having a Human Shape, and this he was resolv'd to make his own use of against them, tho' in Defiance and Contradiction to his own declar'd Sentiments. And so he dispers'd his Letters Abroad among the Monks, averring, it appear'd from the Holy Scripture, that God had the proper and entire Figure of a Man, [in direct opposition to the whole Tenour of one of his Paschal Letters of an older Date;] declaiming against the Writings of *Origen*, which taught that the Deity was an Incorporeal Being, and warning them against *Dioscorus* and his Brothers as holding the same Opinion. The Contrivance took: It produc'd very violent Animosities and Contentions. The more learned and intelligent Sort defended *Origen* and *Dioscorus*. The Weak and Illiterate, superior in Numbers, and warmer in their Zeal, exerted themselves furiously against them. Blasphemy and Impiety they plentifully charged one another with; and the Latter of them gave the Former the Name of *Origenists*, as the Former fixt upon the Latter that of *Anthropomorphites*. This lamentable Controversy and Combustion thus effected to his Desire, *Theophilus* marches with a mighty Rabble to the Monasteries in *Nitria*, and
* furnishes

* furnishes the Monks with Arms in order to the Destruction of the Brothers, who, with no little difficulty, made their escape.

IN the mean time St. *Chrysostom*, who as yet was so happy as to know nothing of these Feuds and Commotions, exercis'd his admirable Talents at Home to very good Purpose; and particularly by that of Preaching, wonderfully serv'd and edify'd the Church, and gain'd himself an universal and immortal Reputation. It was he that first lengthen'd and improv'd the Office call'd *The Nightly Hymns*, which, we are told, took its Original† from St. *Ignatius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, who having beheld a Vision of Angels uniting their Voices in Songs of Praise to the Blessed Trinity, communicated to his Church the Manner and Method of their Singing; whence, afterwards, all other Churches receiv'd the Practice. These Nocturnal Songs, tho' Worded contrary to the Prime and Proper Intention of them, and agreeably to the *Arian* Tenets, were also in use among the *Arians*, who, meeting in large Companies in the most publick Places of the City, upon the two solemn Days of the Week, *Saturday* and *Sunday*, [and upon *S. L. 8. c. 8.* other high Festivals;] sung them by alternate Divisions, answering to one another; and || having spent the greater Part of the Night at this Work, in the Morning they march'd in Procession thro' the City, chanting their Hymns, and so went out of it to the Place of their Devotions, which they were not permitted to have within the Walls. This Custom afforded them frequent Opportunities of affronting the Catholicks; and 'twas a common thing with them to make this a Part of their Songs, *Where are the Men that make One Power Three?* St. *Chrysostom*, as an Antidote against the Poison of this Pomp and Petulancy, appointed a Society or Quire of his own People to Sing Night-Anthems too: * Which, tho' admirably well design'd,

* *Valesius charges the Historian with Misrepresentations in this Account of Theophilus and the Four Brothers. See his last Note upon L. 6. c. 7.*

† See *Valesius upon the Place.*

|| See *Valesius upon the Place.*

* According to that New Form which

he had thought fit to put them in. For that they were used before among the Catholicks is clear enough from what our Author tells us, that ALL Churches received them and the Use of them by Tradition from St. *Ignatius*.

yet so highly provok'd the Hereticks, especially when they saw their own Processions exceeded by their Adversaries in Splendor and Shew; (for St. *Chrysostom* had contriv'd, and the Empress *Eudoxia* had presented them with silver Crosses, which were to carry Wax-Tapers on the Top of them) that confiding in their Numbers, and still retaining the Relicks of that Insolence and Impetuosity which a late Reign had encourag'd and supported, they soon broke out into open War; in which *Briso*, one of the Empress's Eunuchs, the Foreman and Director of the Catholick Chorus, had his Head broke; and some People of both Sides were kill'd. Hereupon a Prohibition from the Emperor spoil'd the Melody, and shut up the Mouths of the *A-*
S. L. 8. c. 8. rians: [While the Catholicks were allow'd to go on, these Antiphonal Offices, which they continue to celebrate to this Day.]

SOON after came *Dioscorus* and his Brothers to *C. P.* to lay their Complaints before the Emperor and St. *Chrysostom*; attended by a Retinue of Asceticks, and by *Isidore*, now as much hated by *Theophilus*, as once he was favour'd and lov'd, when he sent him to *Rome* upon the Business of *Flavian*; whence he was no sooner return'd but * his Honesty and Ingenuity lost him his Interest with his Patron; for a Quarrel happening between *Theophilus* and *Peter* his Arch-Presbyter, wherein the Former accus'd the Latter of admitting a Woman that was a *Manichee* to the Sacrament before she had renounc'd her Error; *Peter* affirm'd it was False, and that he had *Theophilus's* Warrant for admitting her. *Theophilus*, with much Passion, absolutely deny'd it. *Peter* referr'd himself to *Isidore*, who, as soon as he came Home, declar'd the Bishop had actually consented to the Woman's Admission, and † administer'd the Sacrament to her with his own hand. In Answer to which, *Theophilus* depos'd *Peter* and him together. [*Sozomen* mentions two other Occasions of this Quarrel, which, he says, he was inform'd of by an Acquaintance of the four Brothers; the one, in which *Peter* was equally concern'd with *Isidore*, and that was their refusing

* See *Valesius* upon the Place.

† This may also be understood in the

Text, of *Isidore*. *Valesius* applies it to *Theophilus*.

to depose upon Oath that some Body had left his Estate, by Will, to *Theophilus's* Sister; the other, a Repulse which *Theophilus* receiv'd from *Isidore*, when *Theophilus* having been so prodigal of the Publick Benevolences that fell into his Hands, as to have spent it all in Building Churches, he would have oblig'd *Isidore* to supply his Occasions towards the same Purpose, out of the Stock of the Poor, which was deposited with him as their Purveyor or Steward; and was answer'd by *Isidore*, that the Bodies of those poor indigent People, to whom that Money belong'd, were living Temples of the Holy Ghost, and ought to be Consider'd, and Provided for, before Stone-Walls. Whatever was the Provocation, *Theophilus* excommunicated *Isidore*, and thereupon *Ammonius* went and solicited *Theophilus* to readmit him, which, when he readily promis'd to do, but deferr'd so long that it was plain enough he never intended it; *Ammonius* and other Monks that joyn'd with him in this Affair, made *Theophilus* a second Visit, and importunately demanded the Performance of his Promise, but instead of obtaining it, one of their Company, to fright the rest, was committed to Prison; whither *Ammonius* and all his Associates went to see him; the Keepers, who suppos'd their Business was to accommodate their Brother, and the rest of the Prisoners, with what they wanted, readily opening the Doors to them; and when they were got in, would not leave him, demanding, when *Theophilus* sent for them, that he should come himself and fetch them out. But at length they were prevail'd with to leave the Place, and go to him; and *Theophilus* having ask'd their Pardon, dismiss'd them with good Assurances, that he would behave himself amicably towards them for the Future. But Resentment and Malice lay lurking in his Heart; in obedience to which, when he could find no other Way to be troublesome to Men of their Temper and Profession, * he destroy'd the Quiet and Pleasure of their Solitude, by sowing Dissentions and Animosities between them and the Monks of a contrary Perswasion. *Dioscorus* and his Brothers now found it necessary to remove. So they, and about Eighty Companions, went away to *Jerusalem*, and from thence to *Scythopolis*, whither the Palm-Trees, of which they made great Use in the Employment which their vacant Hours were

* See Valeſius's fifth Note upon this Chapter.

bestow'd upon, invited them. *Theophilus* was glad of so good an Opportunity to send Complaints of them to Court, and prevent them in making their Interest there. Which coming to the Knowledge of the Parties Oppress'd, they thought it their Duty to go to *C. P.* and make the best of their Cause.] *St. Chrysostom* heard what they had to say, entertain'd them very kindly and handsomely, allow'd them to joyn in Prayers with him, but debarr'd them the highest Act of Communion, that (as we know) of the Holy Sacrament, 'till their

S. L. 8. c. 13. Cause had pass'd a Scrutiny. [In order to which, he sent *Theophilus* a Letter, desiring him either to receive them as Orthodox Men, or to send some Body to implead, or manage the Charge against them; to which *Theophilus* return'd no Answer. Some Time after, *Ammonius* and his Fellow-Sufferers address'd themselves to the Empress as she was passing in her Chariot through the Streets, and represented their Case to her, which she was not unacquainted with before. She made them a Bow, begg'd their Benediction and Prayers for his Majesty, herself, their Children, and the Empire, and told them she would use her Interest to have a Synod call'd forthwith, and *Theophilus* cited to it, which accordingly she did endeavour to do.] *Theophilus*, in the mean Time, hearing *St.*

S. L. 8. c. 13. *Chrysostom* had kindly receiv'd his Adversaries, [even to Communion, *] and was dispos'd to be serviceable to them, resolv'd he should feel also the Weight of his Anger and Revenge in *Chrysostom's* Loss of his Bishoprick; in order to which he took care to fill the World with his Circular Letters to the Bishops every where, crying out upon *Origen's* Works; which, nevertheless, as bad as they were supposed to be, had afforded the Great *Athanasius* very pregnant Authorities, and Proofs against the *Arians*. Then he reconcil'd himself to *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Cyprus*, against whom he had formerly taken great Exception, and pour'd out Invectives, as † holding that God had a Human Shape. But now his Malice had new moulded his Principles, and under the Notion of a Recantation and Conversion to *Epiphanius's* Sentiments, he insinuated himself to far into the good Opinion and Favour of that Great Man, who was apt to believe too favourably and con-

* In a lower degree, at least.

† See *Valesius upon the Place.*
fidently

fidently of other People's Sincerity from the Consciousness of his own, that he procur'd the sitting of a Council in *Cyprus*, which prohibited the Reading of *Origen's* Books.

And *Epiphanius* wrote, [as to other Bishops, so particularly] to St. *Chrysostom*, not to meddle any more, either in Publick or Private, with them, but to call a Council to condemn them, as he had done. *Theophilus* having strengthen'd his Cause. or at least his Confidence, by the Accession of this New Ally, * convenes a very numerous Assembly of Bishops, [those of his Patriarchate,] and condemns the Writings of *Origen*. St. *Chrysostom*, however, thought he had something else to do than to mind these Proceedings, communicated to him by the two Bishops; and was not to be interrupted in, or diverted from his Preaching, by the Designs which he had reason to think were forming and concerting against him. And these no sooner discover'd themselves to the World, but his Enemies, both among his Clergy, and at Court, jump'd into the same Measures and Confederacy, and for the furtherance of the Work, effected the meeting of a very numerous Synod at C. P. S. L. 8. c. 14. S. L. 8. c. 14.

THE great Bishop had already a sufficient Load of popular Envy and Aversion lying upon him, but several unfortunate Accidents plunged him deeper still. Among others this. There were eminent at this time *Severian* Bishop of *Gabala* in *Syria*, and *Antiochus* of *Ptolemais*, in *Phœnicia*, both *Syrians* by Birth, and excellent Orators; only *Severian* had a little of the

Singularity of the *Syrian* Pronunciation, [but S. L. 8. c. 10. then, in point of Reasoning, and in the Skill of applying Scripture, he was superior to the other.]

Antiochus came to *Constantinople*, whence, when he had amass'd a large Sum of Money by his Preaching, he return'd Home again. *Severian* thought he would try his Fortune in the same Way. So to C. P. he comes to Pulpit-up an Estate, where he work'd himself entirely into St. *Chrysostom's* favour; and his Sermons procur'd him Admission into an Intimacy, not only with the People of the best Quality, but with the Emperor himself. The See of *Ephesus* becoming vacant about this time,

* See *Valesius* upon the Place.

St. *Chrysoſtom* was obliged to make a Journey thither to ordain a new Biſhop; where, when the Electors could by no means agree in their Choice, but came to Blows, and St. *Chryſoſtom* found it impoſſible to compromise the Diſpute, he took another way to ſettle things, which was, Ordaining a Perſon of his own

Choosing, *Heraclides* a *Cyprian*, [formerly a
T. L. 8. c. 6. Monk of *Scetis*, and the Aſcetic *Evagrius's*
Scholar, but at that time] one of *Chryſoſtom's*

Deacons; which, nevertheless, did not ſucceed ſo happily but that it was attended with publick and tumultuous Diſorders, which detain'd St. *Chryſoſtom* ſo much the longer there. *Severian*, in the mean time, was taking the Opportunity of his Abſence, and making himſelf as popular as he could; which St. *Chryſoſtom* underſtanding, (as he had quick Intelligence of every thing that paſſ'd at Home from *Serapion*, who, in relation to this matter, repreſented *Severian* as a Troubler of *Iſrael*) return'd, not a little Angry, to C. P. having, as he came along,

turn'd the *Novatians* and *Quartodecimans* out of
S. L. 8. c. 6. their Churches, [and before he left *Ephesus* †
depos'd Thirteen Simoniacal Biſhops, ſome of

Lycia and *Phrygia*, ſome of *Aſia* properly ſo call'd; and conſecrated others in their Room. *Gerontius* he turn'd out of the Church of *Nicomedia*. This Man had been heretofore one of St. *Ambroſe's* Deacons at *Milan*, where, either really impos'd upon by the Devil, or to impoſe upon others, he ſet abroad a Story among his Friends, that he had ſeiz'd a Fiend in the Night, ſhav'd his Head, and ground him under a Mill-ſtone. St. *Ambroſe* thought this Extravagance deſerv'd Censure; which yet he extended no further than to confine him ſome time to his Houſe, and oblige him to a Courſe of Penance. *Gerontius*, in Security of his good Parts and Abilities, (for he was an excellent Phyſician and Orator, and had a very plauſible and inſinuating manner with him,) made a Jeſt of the Biſhop's Authority, and came to *Conſtantinople*; where he ſoon recommended himſelf to the Favour of ſome great Men at Court, and obtain'd the Biſhoprick of *Nicomedia*, into which he was ordain'd by ‖ *Helladius* of the *Cappadocian Caſarea*; a kind Compensati-
on for a noble Preferment which *Gerontius* had procur'd for

† See Valeſius's laſt Note upon this Chapter.

‖ See Valeſius upon the Place.

Helladius's

Helladius's Son at Court. The News reaching *St. Ambrose*, he wrote to *Nectarius*, (at that time Bishop of *C. P.*) demanding *Gerontius's* Deposition; and a vigorous Vindication of himself and the Churches Discipline; which *Nectarius* was not backward in his Endeavours to compass, but never could effect; the whole City of *Nicomedia* uniting theirs against his; and altho', afterwards, *Pansophius*, to whom *St. Chrysostom* gave the Care of that Church, and who had been Tutor to the Empress, was a pious good-natur'd Man; yet the People would have nothing to do with him, but grew mutinous and turbulent, and talk'd almost of nothing else but *Gerontius's* good Qualities, and the general and effectual Care he took both of Rich and Poor, not only as a Bishop, but a Physician, and went about the Streets, as well at *C. P.* as at *Nicomedia*, in publick Processions, offering up deprecatory Hymns and Supplications to Heaven that he might not be taken from them; till in the Conclusion, absolute Force and Necessity made them let their Darling depart, and admit *Pansophius*.

[Nor were *Chrysostom's* Diligence and Zeal exercis'd only in Vindication of the Churches Discipline. He further made himself an illustrious Example, in a vigorous opposition both to Heathenism and Heresy. For instance, understanding that Idolatry still reign'd in *Phœnicia*, he procur'd Imperial Warrants for Demolishing the Temples there, and sent a sufficient Number of very zealous Monks to put them in Execution; which accordingly they did, the Expence of the Service being defray'd by a Collection which the Piety and Generosity of the Ladies of Quality and Fortune had supply'd at the Suggestion and Exhortation of their Bishop. Many of the *Scythians*, a Nation involv'd in *Arianism*, he converted to the true Faith, by ordaining a Set of Presbyters, Deacons, and Readers, who had acquir'd a good Knowledge in the *Scythian* Language, and by appropriating a Church to their Use; in which he frequently preach'd himself, by an Interpreter, and encouraged other eminent Preachers to exercise their Faculty too. A Tribe of the *Nomade*, or *Wandering Scythians*, having quarter'd themselves upon the *Ister*, and discovering an Inclination to embrace the Faith, he was at some Pains to find out Persons dispos'd to accept the Difficulties, Inconveniences and Hazards of the Evangelical

T. L. 5. c. 29,
30, 31.

gelical Office; to whom he committed the Care and Government of them. I have read his Letters (says my Author) to *Leontius* of *Ancyra*, desiring his Assistance in that Search. And upon Information, that some of the Villages in my District were sadly over-run with *Marcionism*, he sent a Monitory Letter to the (then) Bishop, beseeching him to take effectual Methods to chase out that Pestilence; in which, he told him, he was ready to support him with the Force of Imperial Edicts. Such was the extensive and earnest Regard which he had to the Welfare of the Church.]

BEING return'd to *C. P.* he reassum'd the Regulation and Government of his Church; while *Serapion* a little too much govern'd him, and by his haughty and provoking Practices every Day multiply'd and aggravated the Resentments and Clamours against his Master; to whom his Devout Behaviour, Regularity of Life, and Steadiness of Duty and Friendship had so recommended and endear'd him, that at his Departing, he * committed to him the entire Care of his Church; and by that Means not a little disoblig'd *Severian*. So haughty and rude he was, that *Severian*, upon a Time, passing by him, he deny'd him the usual Honour pay'd to his Character, of Rising up from his Seat. Which *Severian* so resented, that he utter'd these Words aloud, *If Serapion dies a Christian, Christ was never made Man.* And not content with so severe a Denunciation, he deprives him of his Deaconship, and excommunicates him. *Serapion*, for his Part, runs away with half of the Proposition to *St. Chrysostom*, and tells him *Severian* had affirm'd, *Christ was never made Man*, which he had a large Train *S. L. 8. c. 10.* of Friends ready to witness. † Upon this, *St. Chrysostom* [(who very much insisted upon the

* *Soz. (L. 8. c. 10.)* says, He intrusted his Flock with *Severian*, who had notably wrought himself into his Favour and Esteem.

† The Appendix, at the End of this Book, enlarges upon this part of the Story, and somewhat varies from it. There we are told, That this Quarrel came under a Synodal Examination; that *Serapion*

pleaded, he did not see *Severian* when he pass'd by him, and brought Witnesses to confirm his Excuse; which the Council received for Satisfactory, and desired *Severian* to do so too; which, when he would not, *St. Chrysostom*, to pacifie him, suspended *Serapion* for a Week, tho' a Man constantly necessary to him in the Discussion and Agitation of Ecclesiastical
prophane

prophane Rashness of the Expression, for that it would be but a very strange Conclusion, whatever Death *Serapion* should die, that, therefore, *Christ* was never Incarnate)] immediately expells *Severian* the City; whom the Empress, in as much Haste, recalls, acquainting St. *Chrysostom* how much she was displeas'd at what he had done. But St. *Chrysostom* could not be brought to have any further Conversation or Concern with him, 'till the Empress lay'd her Son, the present Emperor when an Infant, at his Feet in the Church of the Apostles, and conjur'd him again and again, by that Royal Babe, to be reconcil'd to *Severian*; which, at length, he consented to, tho' they never lik'd one another in good earnest afterwards.

THIS Dissention had not long been heal'd, when, at the Instigation of *Theophilus*, *Epiphanius* came to C. P. and brought with him the Synodical Sentence against the Books of *Origen*. Coming on Shore at the Church of St. *John* he read Prayers there, and ordain'd a Deacon. Then he went to the City where St. *Chrysostom* [did him the Honour to send the whole Body of his Clergy to meet him, and] *S. L. 8. c. 14.* desir'd he would take up his Residence with him; which *Epiphanius* refus'd, [and even so much *S. L. 8. c. 14.* as to exchange a Word with him,] on purpose to oblige *Theophilus*, and plac'd himself in a private Lodging: And having [by a private Summons or Invitation] assembled all the Bishops that were then in the *S. L. 8. c. 14.* City, he read the Censure that had pass'd upon *Origen*'s Writings, objecting nothing against them, but only his and *Theophilus*'s Will and Pleasure. Some, out of pure Respect to the Proposer, set their Hands to it; but the greater Part

offical Questions and Causes; yet neither did *Severian* think this sufficient, resolving not to rest 'till St. *Chrysostom* and the Council had also depriv'd and excommunicated his Enemy. This put St. *Chrysostom* in a Ferment, so that, rising up, he told the Council he desir'd them to judge and determine this Cause by themselves, for he would have nothing more to do in it; and so went away. The Council were as forward to separate, which

they did, and left the Dispute undecided; only they rather seem'd to be displeas'd at *Severian* for not resting satisfy'd with what had been already done in the Case. And St. *Chrysostom* left off all manner of Acquaintance and Commerce with him; except that he advis'd him, by Message, to go Home and take Care of his Church, from which he had been absent so long, and there to exercise his Talent of Preaching.

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would

would not; among these *Theotimus*, Bishop of *Scythia*, that very pious Man, who told him, in plain Terms, *Sir, I will never violate the Ashes of him that has dy'd in the Lord. Nor will I condemn what the Primitive Church receiv'd; at least 'till I can find in those Writings any Thing contrary to whole-some Doctrine*; and having read some Passages *S. L. 8. c. 14.* [of Benefit and Service to the Church,] out of a Part of *Origen's* Commentaries, he added, *Let them that are pleas'd to be so severe upon the Expofitor, have a Care that they do not disoblige the Text.*

AND here, by the Way, let me observe (says our Author) in Behalf of *Origen*, that (as less considerable Writers usually endeavour to raise their own Reputation by disparaging and accusing greater Men) the four old Adversaries of *Origen*, *Methodius*, Bishop of *Olympus* in *Lycia*, *Eustathius* of *Antioch*, *Apollinaris*, and *Theophilus*, have plainly betray'd Emulation in their Opposition, by taking such a Method as turns directly to his Advantage, and clears him from any erroneous and dangerous Opinions, particularly in Reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity; while ne'er a Two of these Four except against the same Things in him. As for *Methodius*, after he has been taking a great deal of Pains to discredit him, he changes his Note in his Dialogue entituled, *Zeno*, and rises high in his Commendation. Again *Athanasius*, in his Orations against the *Arians*, citing him as a Witness for the *Consubstantial* Faith, gives him the Character of an admirable and indefatigable Man; so that whoever falls foul upon *Origen*, must stigmatize the Great *Athanasius* too. Thus much by Way of Digression. * I do not enter here into the Merits of this Cause.]

EPIPHANIUS, not content with Affronting St. *Chrysostom* in the Manner lately mention'd, let him know [when he desir'd him to bear him Company in the publick Prayers, and renew'd his Invitations to him to accept of what Entertainment his House afforded,] that he would no more Pray with him than Eat with

* Sozomen tells us, (L. 8. c. 14.) he had only resolv'd upon doing this, but that when he was going to Church the next

Day for that Purpose, Serapion met him with the Message which follows, and prevented his further Proceeding.

him,

him, 'till he sent away *Dioscorus* and his Brothers, and set his Hand to the Decree against the Writings of *Origen*. St. *Chrysostom* desir'd to see the Sentence and Judgment first of a General Council in this Matter. This his Enemies readily took hold of; at whose Motion and Perswasion *Epiphanius*, taking his Time just before Divine Service began in the Church of the Apostles, * presented himself before the Congregation, and first condemn'd the Writings of *Origen*, then excommunicated *Dioscorus* and his Brothers, and lastly declaim'd and inveigh'd against St. *Chrysostom* as their Protector and Patron: Who being inform'd of what had pass'd, sent *Serapion* to him the next Day, as he was coming into the Church, with this Message; Consider, *Epiphanius*, what work you have made with the Canons of the Church. You know you have taken upon you to ordain within my Jurisdiction, and without my Leave to administer the Holy Offices in my Churches. When you are kindly and courteously invited hither, you would not come; but now you let us have your Company, when your own authority brings you. Have a Care, therefore, that you do not set the City in a Flame, and consume yourself in it. This Admonition so startled and damp'd *Epiphanius*, that, immediately, he left the Church. [It happen'd, at the same time, that the Emperor's little Son *S. L. 8. c. 15.* falling Sick, his Mother sent to *Epiphanius* to desire his Prayers for him. He promis'd her his Recovery, provided she would have no more to do with those Hereticks *Dioscorus* and his Associates. Upon receiving this Answer, *Well*, said the Empress, *God's Will be done. In the mean time I am satisfy'd that Epiphanius had not lost his Arch-deacon, if it were in his power to restore the Dying, or the Dead,* meaning *Crispio*, one of the four Brothers mention'd in *Valens's* Reign, whom *Epiphanius* had taken to him to be his constant Companion, and afterwards made his Arch-Deacon. This refractory Treatment, however, was not so discouraging or provoking, but that *Ammonius* and his brethren, so advis'd and directed by the Empress, made a visit to *Epiphanius*. *Ammonius* having acquainted him *Who they were*, ask'd him, whether he had, at any time, Discours'd any of their Friends, or

* This does not seem to agree very well on account of her having favour'd and abetted *Epiphanius*.
with what we read afterwards, concerning St. *Chrysostom's* Preaching against her,

read their Books. *Epiphanius* own'd he had not. *Ammonius* then desir'd to know, what Proof he could have to ground his Charge of Heresy upon. *Epiphanius* reply'd, he built it upon Information and Report. *But we, said Ammonius, deal quite otherwise by you. We have had frequent Entercourse with those of your Opinion, and have carefully read your Books, particularly your Anchoratus. And we have heard you pronounc'd and branded for a Heretick: But we always endeavour'd to vindicate and clear you: And you ought to have been as Just and Kind to us.* This prudent and handsome Expostulation gain'd so much upon the Bishop, that he dismiss'd them in a very gentle and friendly Manner;]

S. L. 8. c. 15. spent time and pains enough in complaining of *St. Chrysostom*, [whether surfeited with the Business he came upon, or forewarned by God (as 'tis not improbable, says my Author) of his approaching End,] he took Ship, and sail'd for *Cyprus*, ['Tis said, as he was going on board, he took his leave of the Bishops that

S. L. 7. c. 15. attended him to the Sea-side in these Terms; *The City, the Palace, and † the Theater I leave you to make the best of, I am going; and that as fast as I can;*] and of *St. Chrysostom* [If the report be true which I cannot say] in these words, *I hope you will not dye a Bishop, and that St. Chrysostom answer'd, I hope you will not get home alive.* And it || happen'd to both accordingly; for *Epiphanius* dy'd in the Voyage; and *St. Chrysostom* was soon after depos'd.

NOT long after *Epiphanius's* Departure, *St. Chrysostom* being inform'd that, he had been encourag'd and instigated in his Designs and undertakings against him by the Empress *Eudoxia*, in the Heat of his Animosity and Resentment betakes himself to his old Weapon, his Eloquence, which he exerted in a brisk Harangue or Invective against the Female Sex; and this, in the Peoples construction was levell'd against the Empress, * and so represented to her by

S. L. 8. c. 16. the Bishop's Enemies, [who brought it her taken down in Writing. Whereupon she com-

† τὸν ὀνόμαζον.

|| I suppose our Author means no more here, as to *St. Chrysostom*, than that he lost only the Possession of his Throne.

* Sozomen is not sure whether he did not Preach upon that Subject purely by Accident. L. 8 c. 16.

plain'd

complain'd to the Emperor of the Indignity offer'd; which so affected him, that he resolv'd to get a Synod assembled as soon as he could against the Offender; a Purpose which *Severian* took care should not cool. Accordingly † the Emperor || sent for *Theophilus*, ordering him to bring a good number of [*Egyptian* and other Eastern] Bishops with him; which soon after he did, almost all S. L. 8. c. 14. his Co-adjutors being Persons disoblig'd by, or at least angry at, St. *Chrysostom*; for instance; the Bishops he had depos'd in *Asia*, when the Vacancy call'd him to *Ephesus*, [who with their Friends, charg'd him loudly with Innovations and Incroachments, and re- S. L. 8. c. 5. 14. presented even those Actions as culpable and criminal, which, to the World, appear'd highly commendable. *Theophilus*, for his part, in token of his Zeal and Fervency on the Occasion, set out upon the Journey on Foot.] The Rendezvous was at *Chalcedon*, where one *Cyrinus* an *Egyptian*, was then Bishop; who entertain'd the New-Comers with rude Reflections and Porterly Epithets upon *Chrysostom*. But it was his Misfortune that, [as much mischief as he could have done,] he could not cross the Wa- S. L. 8. c. 11. ter with them to C. P. being lame of an ugly Kick which *Maruthas*, a *Mesopotamian* Bishop, undesignedly gave him. When *Theophilus* arriv'd at C. P. none of the Clergy met him, or pay'd him any of those Ceremonies and Civilities, which, had he not, at this time, appeared such an open and profess'd Enemy of their Bishop, he would have been receiv'd with. Only some Sea-faring People of *Alexandria* belonging to some little Vessels, [the S. L. 8. c. 17. chief of which were those] that had brought Corn thither, put out to Sea, and welcom'd him with their Shouts. He pass'd by the Church-doors without entring; and took up his Quarters in one of the Imperial Palaces. And now Informations and Exceptions fell thick upon *Chrysostom*; such as dwindled and indeed overwhelm'd the Crime, lately objected to him, of favouring *Origen*. The Way thus prepared, the Bishops assembled themselves Synodically in the sub-

† Sozomen says the Emperess. L. 8. c. 16.
|| And he summon'd several others of the

Bishops by his own immediate Authority according to Sozomen. L. 8. c. 16.

urbs of *Chalcedon* in a Place call'd *the Oak*,
S. L. 8. c. 17. [where stands a noble Palace and a magnificent Church call'd *Apostoleum*, erected in Honour of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, both built by the Consul *Rufinus*, beside a Monastery, the Inhabitants of which are obliged to perform the Divine Offices in the Church founded by the same liberal Hand. Taking no manner of notice of the Books of *Origen*, the first Matter they went upon, was to prevail with the *Origenian* Monks of *Scetis* to retract and desire Favour, which at length they were perswaded to do, partly by the Assurances given them by *Theophilus*, that he would be reconcil'd to them if they comply'd, partly by the Importunities of *Theophilus's* Creatures, and the Deference they thought it their Duty to express to the Authority of a Synodical Convention; and so *Theophilus* declar'd himself their Friend and Servant, and receiv'd them to Communion. But, certainly, they had never yielded thus far, if *Dioscorus*, (who was dead) *Ammonius* (who was sick) and their other fast Friends had been there. The next Thing they did, was to cite all the Clergy of *C. P.* requiring them to appear upon Pain of Deposition. At the same time] they summon'd *St. Chrysostom* to answer before them to the Crimes lay'd against him; and with him, *Serapion* the Deacon, *Tigris* the Eunuch, a Presbyter, and *Paul* a
S. L. 8. c. 17. Reader. *Chrysostom* [gave them to understand by some of his faithful Presbyters, whom he sent to them with *Demetrius* Bishop of *Pesinus*, that he was not at all afraid to stand a Trial, but that, withal,] he disown'd their Authority, for that they were his avow'd and notorious Enemies; and appeal'd to a General Council.
S. L. 8. c. 17. [This Answer highly incens'd the Assembly; insomuch that some of *St. Chrysostom's* Delegates lost their Courage, and durst not go back to him; which was such a Desertion, as *Demetrius* and others, who valued his Friendship and Conversation more than they fear'd the Menaces of his Enemies, would not suffer themselves to be guilty of. The same Day two Officers, sent from Court, first went to *Chrysostom*, and press'd him to make his Appearance, and then to the Synod, and quicken'd them in their Proceedings against him.] In a word; the Great Bishop persisting in his Protestation, after they had cited him four times, they condemn'd and depos'd him as contumacious in not Appearing. The People
of

of C. P. no sooner heard of it, but, gathering into a Tumult, they demanded the Bishop's Cause should be brought before a more numerous Council, and guarded the Church for three Days together against those that attempted to dispossess him, 'till himself, in Obedience to the Emperor's Command, who had order'd his Expulsion and Exile, and that the publick Disturbance might not be laid to his Charge, stole away from his Friends, and deliver'd up himself to his Enemies, who carried him off into Banishment.

THE People, upon this, turn'd Frantick and Raving, and (which is no unusual Thing in such Cases) his very Enemies now began to think and own that he had very hard Usage. Hence arose loud and importunate Exclamations against the Emperor and the Council, but more especially against *Theophilus*, [and *Severian*.] The ran- *S. L. 8. c. 18.*
 cour and Disingenuity of the former now appear'd more evident and notorious than ever, in that * as soon as he had lifted *Chrysostom* out of his Throne, he made no further Scruple of communicating with *Dioscorus*. *Severian*, at the same time, took occasion to insult his oppress'd Enemy in the Pulpit, affirming, That his Pride and Arrogance, alone, deserv'd the Sentence that had pass'd upon him. These Words to the People were Oil to Flame; [and soon follow'd a general and dreadful Insurrection,] *S. L. 8. c. 18.*
 insomuch, that the Emperor [(to whose Palace they flock'd) begging, with loud and bitter *S. L. 8. c. 18.*
 Wailings, for *Chrysostom*'s Return, and this so pathetically and vehemently as to move the Empress herself; [(already damp'd by the Admonition of a terrible Earthquake that happen'd upon the very Night of the Day on which he left the City)] to join with them in their Petition)] found it necessary immediately to send away *Briso* the Empress's [Favourite] Eunuch after *Chrysostom*, *T. L. 5. c. 34.*
S. L. 8. c. 18.

* Val. In his first Note on Socr. L. 6. c. 16. says Soz. tells us he did it before; but he names not the Place, nor do I remember it, where Soz. says so. However it is probably true; and is the only

Supposition that I know of to reconcile this Place with Sozomen, who hath lately told us, that *Dioscorus* was dead before the Deprivation of St. *Chrysostom*.

whom

- whom † he found at *Prænetum* near *Nicomedia*, and order'd in his Master's Name, to return, [acquainting him, withal, from his Mistress, that she assur'd him she had no Hand in the Proceedings against him, and that she entertain'd a very great Honour and Reverence for him, not only as a Bishop, but as he was || Godfather and Preceptor to her Children.] Accordingly he came back to a Place call'd *Marianæ*, being that Part of the Suburbs, which * is call'd the Empress's] but refus'd to enter the City, 'till he had been try'd and acquitted, [and his Innocency vindicated,] by a more numerous Council. Upon this, the People grew yet fiercer, and rail'd and bellow'd against both the Emperors; so that an * unavoidable Force and Necessity lay upon him to go forwards. He was met by a mighty Concourse and Crowd of People, [(the Mouth of the *Propontis* being cover'd with Barges and Boats)] who conducted him with all the pompous Expressions, imaginable, of their Zeal and Duty [(as particularly Devotional Songs, and Compositions adapted to the Occasion, and lighted Wax-Tapers in their Hands)] to the Church, where they besought him to seat himself in the Episcopal Throne, and give them his Benediction according to the usual Form; which he absolutely refus'd to do, telling them, The Sentence of his Deprivation must first be revers'd; but in the Conclusion they compell'd him to take his former Place, and not only to bless, but to give them a Sermon, [in which he told them, That, indeed, *Theophilus* had gone about to make a violent Attempt upon his Church, as the *Egyptian* King did upon the Patriarch's Wife; but that he could not sufficiently express his own Happiness in the tender Affections of his People, and the great Goodness and Clemency of the Emperor and Empress towards him; and pursued this Topic 'till the Clappings and Acclamations of the People, in Ho-
- S. L. 8. c. 9.* whom † he found at *Prænetum* near *Nicomedia*, and order'd in his Master's Name, to return, [acquainting him, withal, from his Mistress, that she assur'd him she had no Hand in the Proceedings against him, and that she entertain'd a very great Honour and Reverence for him, not only as a Bishop, but as he was || Godfather and Preceptor to her Children.] Accordingly he came back to a Place call'd *Marianæ*, being that Part of the Suburbs, which * is call'd the Empress's] but refus'd to enter the City, 'till he had been try'd and acquitted, [and his Innocency vindicated,] by a more numerous Council. Upon this, the People grew yet fiercer, and rail'd and bellow'd against both the Emperors; so that an * unavoidable Force and Necessity lay upon him to go forwards. He was met by a mighty Concourse and Crowd of People, [(the Mouth of the *Propontis* being cover'd with Barges and Boats)] who conducted him with all the pompous Expressions, imaginable, of their Zeal and Duty [(as particularly Devotional Songs, and Compositions adapted to the Occasion, and lighted Wax-Tapers in their Hands)] to the Church, where they besought him to seat himself in the Episcopal Throne, and give them his Benediction according to the usual Form; which he absolutely refus'd to do, telling them, The Sentence of his Deprivation must first be revers'd; but in the Conclusion they compell'd him to take his former Place, and not only to bless, but to give them a Sermon, [in which he told them, That, indeed, *Theophilus* had gone about to make a violent Attempt upon his Church, as the *Egyptian* King did upon the Patriarch's Wife; but that he could not sufficiently express his own Happiness in the tender Affections of his People, and the great Goodness and Clemency of the Emperor and Empress towards him; and pursued this Topic 'till the Clappings and Acclamations of the People, in Ho-
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- T. L. 5. c. 34.* the *Propontis* being cover'd with Barges and Boats)] who conducted him with all the pompous Expressions, imaginable, of their Zeal and Duty [(as particularly Devotional Songs, and Compositions adapted to the Occasion, and lighted Wax-Tapers in their Hands)] to the Church, where they besought him to seat himself in the Episcopal Throne, and give them his Benediction according to the usual Form; which he absolutely refus'd to do, telling them, The Sentence of his Deprivation must first be revers'd; but in the Conclusion they compell'd him to take his former Place, and not only to bless, but to give them a Sermon, [in which he told them, That, indeed, *Theophilus* had gone about to make a violent Attempt upon his Church, as the *Egyptian* King did upon the Patriarch's Wife; but that he could not sufficiently express his own Happiness in the tender Affections of his People, and the great Goodness and Clemency of the Emperor and Empress towards him; and pursued this Topic 'till the Clappings and Acclamations of the People, in Ho-
- S. L. 8. c. 18.* Duty [(as particularly Devotional Songs, and Compositions adapted to the Occasion, and lighted Wax-Tapers in their Hands)] to the Church, where they besought him to seat himself in the Episcopal Throne, and give them his Benediction according to the usual Form; which he absolutely refus'd to do, telling them, The Sentence of his Deprivation must first be revers'd; but in the Conclusion they compell'd him to take his former Place, and not only to bless, but to give them a Sermon, [in which he told them, That, indeed, *Theophilus* had gone about to make a violent Attempt upon his Church, as the *Egyptian* King did upon the Patriarch's Wife; but that he could not sufficiently express his own Happiness in the tender Affections of his People, and the great Goodness and Clemency of the Emperor and Empress towards him; and pursued this Topic 'till the Clappings and Acclamations of the People, in Ho-
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† Theod. tells us several Messengers were sent to him one after another, and overtook him at Hieron, a Port in the Euxine, *L. 5. c. 34.*

|| See Valefius's third Note upon this Chapter.

* Or perhaps which belong'd to the Empress; in *ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλίσσης*.

* Sozomen uses here the Word *ἡ ἀρχὴ*. *L. 8. c. 18.*

nour both of the Emperor and Bishop, obliged him to break off his Discourse in the Middle of it.] But yet these inevitable Compliances afforded fresh Matter, afterwards, for his Enemies to work upon.

BUT first *Theophilus* [finding Matters at present run too high against him to make a second open and direct Attack,] has another Trick to try, and desires *Heraclides's* Ordination may be examin'd. *Heraclides* was not upon the Spot, and St. *Chrysostom* and his Party insisted upon the Unreasonableness [and Uncanonicalness] of trying an absent Man. The *Alexandrians*, on the other hand, urged, and challenged it as a thing fair and equitable, that the Witnesses should give in their Evidence against him, tho' he was not there; and so the Trial went on upon this Accusation, That he had made an Assault and Battery upon the Persons of some innocent People, and led them thro' the City of *Ephesus* in Chains. This Debate came to Blows between the *Constantinopolitans* and *Alexandrians*, and many were wounded, some kill'd. Then *Severian* and the rest of] the Bishops of the Council, all but a small Number that were Friends to St. *Chrysostom*, thought it time to disperse, and get Home as fast as they could; and *Theophilus* was as ready to be gone as any of them, [notwithstanding the Dangers of a Winter-Voyage. So he sail'd for *Egypt*, accompany'd by *Isaac* the Monk. It happen'd the Wind and Tide set so as to bring him to a Place call'd *Geras*, distant about fifty Furlongs from *Pelusium*, where the Bishop being lately dead, the People of the City had chosen *Nilammon* his Successor; a pious Man, and an accomplish'd Ascetick, who had his Cell not far from the City, and had block'd up the Door of it with Stones to keep out those that should attempt to fetch him to a Consecration. Thither *Theophilus* came and solicited and press'd him so long and so earnestly to resign himself to the Dignity, that at last he told him he should do what he would with him the next Day, if he would leave him to himself in the mean time to set his Matters in order. Next Day came *Theophilus*, and demanded Admission to him. *Nilammon* desir'd they might go to Prayers first; which *Theophilus* consented to; and he and his Attendants

ants having, after Prayers, almost spent the Day and themselves in calling upon him, remov'd the Stones from the Door of his Cell, and entering found him dead. They interr'd him very splendidly, and the People of the Place built a Chappel over his Tomb, and still commemorate the Day of his Decease. But this popular Officiousness of *Theophilus* by no means atoned for his malicious Activity against the Church and St. *Chrysostom*, nor in any sort supported or salv'd his Reputation; for when he went from *C. P.*] he left behind him an infamous Name and Character. Indeed the Man seems to have lost all Shame, for before this, he was return'd to reading the Books of *Origen*; and when One ask'd him, How he could reconcile that Practice with his late Zeal and Indignation against them, he had nothing else to say for himself but, *That Origen's Books were a Field full of all sorts of Plants and Flowers; and, that those which were profitable and pleasant he gather'd as they came in his Way; but kept his Fingers from the Nettles.* *Dioscorus* died soon after *Theophilus's* Retreat, * and his Body was deposited, with very magnificent Obsequies, in the Church where *Theophilus* had lately held his Council. [*Ammonius* surviv'd him but a very little time, and his Body lies in the Convent we lately told you was founded by *Rufinus*, where it was buried by the Monks of the Place very honourably and splendidly. He died very luckily for *Theophilus* in the Juncture at which *Sozomen* places his Death, about the Time of the Sitting of the Synod *ad Quercum*; so that *Theophilus* might well afford him, as the same Author says he did, a plentiful Shower of Tears, and no less an Encomium than, that notwithstanding he had been a Thorn in his Side, yet not any one of the Monks of his Time was equal to him.] About the same time St. *Chrysostom* ordain'd his Favourite *Serapion* Bishop of *S. L. 8. c. 19.* *Heraclea* in *Thrace*; [for a Synod of Sixty Bishops assembled at *C. P.* having now declar'd the Acts of the Synod *Sub Quercu* to be null, St. *Chrysostom* re-assumed the Exercise of all Parts of his Episcopal Office.

THE severer and finishing Part of that great and good Man's Misfortunes was yet to come. There stood a Silver Statue of

* A Mistake. See *Valesius*.

the Empress *Eudoxia*, erected upon a Porphyry Pillar, not far from the Church of St. *Sophia*, and under it, † at certain Times, was observ'd a sort of Festival Entertainments or Sports; which St. *Chrysostom* conceiving to be a Custom that reflected upon the Christian Religion, and affronted the Church, deliver'd himself freely and openly against it, and instead of mildly dissuading, was, by his Volubility, carried into a Current of reproachful Language against those that encourag'd and authoriz'd such Revels. This nearly touch'd the Empress, who apprehending herself chiefly concern'd in his Satyr, took her Revenge, by procuring another Council to meet against him. St. *Chrysostom* still grew warmer upon this, and enraged the Empress into a greater Blaze than ever, by that memorable Homily beginning thus: *Herodias raves again; again she is perplex'd; again she dances, and asks the Head of John in a Charger.* She resolv'd the Event should, in some measure, prove his Words true; in order to which, a Council met according to her Desire, and among the Bishops of it was *Leontius* of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, *Ammonius* of *Laodicea* in *Pisidia*, *Briso* of * *Philippi* in *Thrace*, and *Acacius* of *Beræa* in *Syria*. The Witnesses that appear'd before against *Chrysostom* were call'd upon to be ready with their Allegations again; and the Bishop believing these Gentlemen would shew him fairer Play than those of the Synod *Sub Quercu* had done, importunately desired to be brought to a Trial. But before he could obtain his Desire, came *Christmas-Day*, when the Emperor, absenting himself from Church, sent Word to *Chrysostom*, that he could not give himself leave to communicate with him 'till he stood clear of the Misdemeanors he was accus'd of. When it came to a Trial, the Bishop's wonderful Unconcernedness and Security so dishearten'd and damp'd the Informants, that || they and their Allegations were put by, and nothing urged but this, That after he had been Synodically depos'd, he had enter'd again upon Possession of the Episcopal Throne and Jurisdiction before he had been Synodically restor'd.

† Sozomen seems to say, only at the Dedication.

* It should be Philippopolis, as Valerius rightly observes.

|| According to Sozomen, the Council would not make use of them for another

Reason too, because conceiving, or, however, pretending *Chrysostom* to have been validly depos'd already, they would not allow he had any Right to a second Trial.

L. 8. c. 20.

Chrysostom replied, That he [could not conceive himself to have been Depos'd, having never had his Trial,] and that he thought himself justified by the Authority and Judgment [and Synodical Declaration,] of no less than Sixty-five Bishops that were in Communion with him. *Leontius* told him, the Synod that had depos'd him consisted of more. *Chrysostom* answer'd, That the Canon which *Leontius* went upon came out of an *Arian* Council, that of *Antioch*, and was contriv'd on purpose to ruin *Athanasius*. But this they would not take for a satisfactory Plea or Apology, and so confirm'd the Sentence against him; which equally affected the Memory of *Athanasius*.

SOON after, upon the Approach of the Festival of *Easter*, the Emperor put St. *Chrysostom* in mind that he had now been cast and depos'd in two Synods, and that, therefore, his Majesty could not come to Church while he kept Possession there. Which the Bishop no sooner understood, but he forbore going to the Church from that Time, and staid at home very quietly and contentedly, while his Adherents, among whom was a great number of Bishops, Presbyters, and other Ecclesiasticks, and who, afterwards maintaining a distinct Communion, got the Name of *Joannites*, went in a Body from the Church, [where some of them had been disturb'd the Night before *Easter-Day* in the Administration of Baptism, by a Party of Soldiers and others, that not only rudely broke in upon, and interrupted them, but offer'd Violence to the Clergy, and drove them out of Doors in the Vestments sacred to the Exercise of their Office, and as many of the Laity with them as were in the Baptistry. The rest, the next day, as soon as they understood what had pass'd, left the Church where they were assembled, and went] to the *Constantian* Baths, and there did the Duty of the great Festival: But not keeping long Possession there, they withdrew themselves out of the City into a Place which *Constantine* had us'd for a *Circus* before C. P. was finish'd. And still they were ever and anon oblig'd to change their Quarters.] St. *Chrysostom* himself appear'd not Abroad till the Emperor sent him, two Months after, into Banishment;

ment; [which the Bishop had reason to thank him for, considering the wild Confusion of the Times, and the Dangers his very Life was expos'd to from Assassins employ'd to take it away. *S. L. 8. c. 21, 22.*

To mention an Instance or two; a Fellow was seiz'd, arm'd with a Dagger for that purpose, a Demoniack, or at least pretending to be so. The People affirm'd, He was hired to make the Attempt, and carried him away to the Governor of the City; who dismiss'd him before he was put to the Torture, at the earnest Instance and Petition of St. *Chrysofom*, communicated to him by some of the Bishops, his Adherents. Some time after, a Servant of *Elpidius*, a Presbyter, and declar'd Enemy * to *Chrysofom*, running very furiously into the Bishop's House, was stopped by one that knew him, who demanding his Business, he stuck his Dagger into him, and then into another, who was crying out at sight of the Assault; and again, into a third. This Outrage was soon attended with such a general Alarm, that he was forc'd to betake himself to his heels, and in his Flight wounded and kill'd a fourth Man that went to seize him. With much ado at length he was taken, and brought to the Governour, the People crying out that his Design was to have dispatch'd St. *Chrysofom*, and demanded Justice on the Murderer, and those that set him at Work. † Accordingly, the Governor satisfied them, that the Man should have his Deserts. These bold and inhuman Efforts made St. *Chrysofom*'s Friends the more solicitous to secure and preserve him. Some or other of the Laity kept Guard round his House Night and Day. This the Bishops, that had given the Cause against him, complain'd of, as an Infraction of the Canons; undertook for the Equity and Validity of their Sentence against him, and commanded him to leave the City, and so restore its Peace and Tranquillity. The Emperor sent him a private Message to the same effect, and in a menacing Strain; in conformity to which, tho' he could not forbear complaining, That it was hard he should be denied that Justice which was allow'd to the worst Malefactors, he stole away from his Life-guard, and was hurried off in a small

* For I read *Ἰωάννης* instead of *Διακόνος* according to Valefius's first Conjecture in his third Note on this Chapter.

† Παρελαβὼν δὲ τὸν ὁ ὑπαρχος ἀνέστη ἐκ τῆς δίκης, &c.

Vessel to *Bithynia*, whence, with all Expedition, they made him travel as far as to *Cucusus*. He had no sooner left the City, but his Adversaries took care to make what haste they could towards the Church, in order to shut those *Joannites* within the Walls, that were guarding the Episcopal Palace. As for those that were in the Streets, as soon as they heard the News, they follow'd their Bishop, or at least run away as fast as they could; the former, that they might bring him back again, or however be with him; and the latter for their own Safety, apprehending they should be severely call'd to Account for either the past, or some approaching tumultuary Behaviour of their Brethren, that kept Garrison within the Precincts of the Church, where they had crowded so thick, and with such violence, upon one another, that they help'd to shut themselves in, and not without very great difficulty got open the Gates. At the same time broke out a Fire, on a sudden, on every side of the Church,] which was kindled (says *Socrates*) by some of the *Joannites*, and which, as it happen'd, caught the Senate-House too, a strong West-Wind carrying it thither.

THIS Calamity, for which *Optatus*, Prefect of the City, an Heathen, took care the *Joannites* should sadly suffer, and * put many of them to Death, happen'd on the Tenth of June, *Honorius* and *Aristanetus* Consuls. [The *Antijoannites* (according to *Sozomen*) imputed the Occasion of it to the Obstinacy and Turbulency of the *Joannites*, and the *Joannites* to the Malice and Tyranny of their Bishops Enemies, who (they said) had contriv'd to burn the Church and them in it. But this did not help them; for as many of their Bishops and Clergy as went out of Town with *St. Chrysostom* were carry'd to *Chalcedon*, and committed there to Custody; as were also his Friends at Home, besides compulsory Methods us'd to make them anathematize him. And *Theodorit* declares (*L. 5. c. 4.*) the Story is so black a one, that he does not care to tell us how many Bishops and Monks were expell'd their Churches and Cloisters upon *Chrysostom's* Account, and banish'd into the remotest Parts of the Empire.

* ἑκόλασεν.

NOT many Days had pass'd before *Arsacius* was hoisted into the *Constantinopolitan* Throne. He was Brother to *Nectarius*, *St. Chrysostom's* Predecessor, and above Four-score Years of Age. [While he was a Presbyter, his good Temper and Piety were conspicuous, and universally admir'd: Afterwards the Misbehaviour of some of his Clergy, which was laid at his door, lessen'd his Popularity, and not a little blemish'd his Character; which yet receiv'd a deeper Wound from the Severities that were us'd towards the *Joannites*, who refusing to communicate with him * because he communicated with the Instruments of *St. Chrysostom's* Sufferings, and (as we intimated before) holding separate Congregations, † he made his Complaint to the Emperor; by whose Command a Party of Soldiers setting upon them dispers'd all the Inferior Rank of them, beating and wounding them with Clubs and Stones, and imprison'd those who distinguish'd themselves by their remarkable Concern and Affection for *Chrysostom*. They robb'd the Ladies of their Necklaces, their Girdles, their Locketts, and their Ear-Rings, which they snatch'd from their Heads, and pull'd off their Ears along with them. And things came to such a pass, that it was not safe to appear Abroad, nor for some People to stay at Home, who therefore were glad to leave the City. Of this number were *Nicarete*, a Lady of a Noble Family, born at *Nicomedia*, who had separated herself to a Virgin-State and a Life of Devotion; a Woman of an exact Decency and severe Modesty, and to whom the Satisfactions of Life were become insipid, in comparison of those of Religion; a Pattern of every kind of Virtue, well arm'd with Courage against Adversity and Persecution, and furnish'd with Discretion and Prudence to manage herself under them. Thus, when they took her Estate from her, which was a very good one, she bore it with all the Calmness and Patience Imaginable; and so adjust'd and order'd things, that, with what was left, she not only supply'd her own Occasions, in her old Age, and in her Family, but largely reliev'd and provided for other People too.

* The true Cause why the *Joannites* would not communicate with *Arsacius*, was his being an Usurper.

† Socrates tells us he behav'd himself in his *Episcopat* with wonderful Lenity. L. 6. c. 19.

Prompted by a tender Munificence and an earnest Desire of doing Good, she made up all sorts of Medicinal Compositions for Poor People when they were Sick; which, by the blessing of God accompanying her pious Endeavours, very often succeeded where the Skill of the Physician fail'd. And so careful she was to keep out of the Eye of the World, and make a secret of her good Actions, that she never aspir'd to the Office of a Deaconess, nor could be prevail'd with by St. *Chrysostom* to accept the Government of a Society of Religious Virgins; neither was her Person or Character generally known.

AT the same unhappy Juncture *Eutropius*, a Reader, and a Young Man, was examin'd by Tortures, upon the Business of firing the Church. They Lash'd and Beat him, they Pincer'd his Sides and his Cheeks, and Scorch'd his Body with burning Torches; but he deny'd he knew any thing of such a Plot, or Attempt. When they had Tormented him enough, they put him in Prison, where, in a little time, he Dy'd. *Sisinnius* the *Novatian* Bishop's Dream of this *Eutropius* deserves the Readers Knowledge. He thought he saw a Man Beautifull and Tall, standing by the Altar of a Church which the † *Novatians* had built to the Memory of St. *Stephen*; and lamenting the miserable Case of that Great City, in which he could find, upon search, but one good Man, and that was *Eutropius*. This very much surpriz'd and affected *Sisinnius*, who sent one of his Presbyters to inquire after this Person. The Presbyter thought the readiest Way to find him, was to look for him among the *Joannite* Prisoners that had lately been Tortur'd; and when he had found him, he told him his Master's Dream, and with many Tears besought a Place in his Prayers. *Olympias* the Deaconess, came under the same Inquisition. The Governor ask'd her, why she set the Church on Fire? She told him, She was so little a Friend to Firing of Churches, that She had bestow'd a very good Estate upon Rebuilding and Repairing them. *We know what sort of a Life you lead*, said the Prefect. *Do you so?* said the Deaconess;

† Or rather *Sisinnius*; for the Verb is not Plural as *Valesius* has made it in his Translation.

Then I would wish you to turn Evidence against me, and let some body else Judge between us. The Prefect, destitute of Proof, soon dropt this part of the Charge, and delivering himself as if he were concern'd for them, ask'd *Olympias*, and several other Women that bore her Company, what Extravagance had possess'd them, to avoid the Communion of the New Bishop, when they were assur'd of Pardon and Repose upon such an easy Condition? This new Method of Address brought over her Sisters of the Cause. Only *Olympias* stood out, and demanded a Justification of her Innocency in a Fair and Publick Trial upon his first Accusation; and that, in order to it, she might have leave to go and retain Counsel, declaring no Force should scare or drive her into *Arsacius's* Communion against her Conscience. The Prefect still solicitously endeavour'd to make a Convert of her, but in vain. So he gave her leave to provide herself Pleaders; and the next Day he call'd her before him, and impos'd a heavy Fine upon her in hopes that that would shake her Resolution. But she chearfully accepted the Penalty, left *C. P.* and went and liv'd at *Cyzicus*. *Tigris* the Presbyter, already mention'd, was stript, lash'd, bound Hand and Foot, and his Limbs rack'd out of Joint. He was by birth a *Barbarian*; an Eunuch, but not so born; rais'd from Slavery, by a great Man he serv'd, to Liberty, and afterwards ordain'd a Presbyter, a Man of admirable Temper, Humanity, and Charity. Thus the Tranquillity and Unity of the Church was shatter'd and broken, the Empire suffering with it; (as, indeed, the Reader, upon Observation, will easily find the Calamities of both generally came together) for the *Hunns* about this time came over the *Ister*, committing dreadful Ravages and Hostilities in *Thrace*, as did a prodigious Flock of *Isaurian* Robbers in all the Cities and Towns situate between *Caria* and *Phenicia*. But to return to our Point.

[These furious and wild Proceedings against *Chrysostom* were so resented by the Western and *S. L. 8. c. 34.* *Illyrican* Churches, that they broke off from the Communion of the Easterns; among whom there were also many that abhorr'd them, but yet did not think it convenient to make them a ground of Separation.] *Innocent*, by this time Bishop of *Rome*, extremely incens'd at them, strenuously labour'd to procure the meeting of a General Council. In the

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mean time he writes to *Chrysostom*, and to the Clergy of *C. P.* In his Letter to the first, (whom he stiles most Dear and Honour'd Brother) he congratulates him upon his Innocency, and the Clearness of his Conscience, and puts him in mind, that Sufferings are the Portion of the best Men in this World; that the Scriptures afford frequent Examples of this; that they are Trials of our Faith, and Dependence upon God Almighty; that *Christ* and a good Conscience will certainly support and cheer us under them here, and an eternal Weight of Glory will crown them hereafter. In his other Letter, directed to the Presbyters, Deacons, and all the Clergy and Laity of *C. P.* under the Government of *Chrysostom*, he condoles with them the deplorable distracted State of *their Church, of which he receiv'd the Account they sent him in their Letters to him by *Germanus*, the Presbyter, and *Cassian*, the Deacon, and lets them know he is glad to find himself prevented in their Letters, as to the Application of those consolatory Arguments, by which, as he design'd to comfort and encourage them, so they had administer'd a Cordial to him to revive his Spirits, and mitigate the Sorrow which he had conceiv'd at the Enormities and Oppressions they groan'd under, while innocent Bishops are violently turn'd out of their Churches, and by those Hands who ought to have a more especial Regard to Peace and Unity; that, in particular, he was griev'd at the late unpresidented Removal of their Bishop *Chrysostom*, when † nothing like an Allegation in Form had been urged or pretended against him; that such Proceedings and Practices as these, directly contrary to the Sense and Prescription of earlier Ages, (which by no means allow'd an irregular and unnecessary Substitution of a Successor in the room of a living Bishop, but judg'd every such Ordination to be null, and the second Bishop not || to be a Bishop) shew'd what sort of Men those were, that were guilty of them; that he knew of no Canons the Church was to govern herself by, but those of the *Nicene Council*, and that, if some ill Men insisted upon any other not agreeable to these, and of heretical Extraction, they are utterly Uncatholick, and deserve the Condemnation pass'd

* The Words in the Original are,
 ὅσαις τε ἡ αἰσις καὶ μετὰ ταλαιπωρίαις.

† Οὐδὲν ἐγγλημα ἐπιφέρειται, εἰδ' εἰσαχθέν
 στα.

|| During the opposite Titles, not to
 have the Power of a Bishop.

upon them in the Council of *Sardica*; and that tho' they were ever so reasonable and useful in the Matter of them, yet that ought not to recommend them, if their Original wanted the Authority, or were against the Laws of the Church; that the present Confusions, he had long been sensible, call'd for the Interposition of a General Council, which he had diligently labour'd to procure; that, in the mean time, they ought to wait with Patience, and a chearful Hope, 'till this Remedy can be had; and, lastly, that *Demetrius*, *Cyriacus*, *Eulysius*, and *Palladius*, four Bishops that were * forced to fly, and arriv'd at *Rome*, at different times, had confirm'd the Relation which they had sent him of their deplorable Circumstances.] Within the short Period of *Arfacius*'s Episcopat, the Bruise which *Cyrinus* had receiv'd from *Maruthas* turn'd to such a dangerous and dismal Case, that his Foot mortified and was cut off, and that after the Gangrene had spread so far, that he was forced to undergo Amputation very often, and to lose the other Foot too. This dreadful Visitation upon *Cyrinus*, and a Shower of Hail of a prodigious Size, which fell at *C. P.* and thereabouts, upon the thirtieth of *September*, and the Death of the Empress, who died four Days after, were generally interpreted as Expressions and Manifestations of God's Anger at the Oppression *St. Chrysostom* had undergone; [(and, *T. L. 5. c. 34.* indeed, few of the Authors or Instruments of his Sufferings escap'd very visible and severe Indications of the Divine Displeasure)] tho' others were of Opinion † he deserv'd the Usage he met with, for turning the *Novatians* and *Quartodecimans* out of their Churches in *Asia* and *Lydia*.

The next Year, *Stilicho*, *Anthemius* Consuls, *Arfacius* left the World on the eleventh of *November*; and || the Year following, *Arcadius* and *Probus* Consuls, (for the Preferment was too considerable to be soon and easily dispos'd of) *Atticus* mounted the Chair, a very * pious Man, born at *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, an Ascetick from his Youth, [edu- *S. L. 8. c. 27.*

* Συμμεμόνως.

† Here our Author is to be pitied.

|| Sozomen says within four Months after. *L. 8. c. 27.*

* If a Presbyter, false to and rebellious against his Bishop, as Sozomen tells us he was, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιβέβητων ἱερέων, *L. 8. c. 27.* can with any Propriety be said to be.

cated by the Care of a Society of *Macedonian* Monks, that came out of the School of *Eustathius* the Bishop of that See, whose Errors a riper Judgment gave *Atticus* a Sense of, and freed him from them. He was an Artift at Business and the Management of any Designs, and not easily to be over-reach'd, or supplanted. He had a very insinuating engaging Way with him. He was] * no great Scholar, but serious

S. L. 8. c. 27. and wife. [As his Leisure would permit, he acquainted himself with the Books of the most celebrated *Greek* Authors, by which Means he qualified himself to make a Shew of Learning in the Pulpit, and drew many learned Men he convers'd with into an high Opinion of his Scholarship. No Man more cordially promoted the Interest of his Friends, or could strike a greater Terror, when he pleas'd, into his Enemies. This is the Character given of him by those who personally knew him.]

St. Chrysostom's Banishment ended with his Life at *Comana Pontica*, upon the fourteenth of *September* the next Year, in the seventh Consulate of *Honorius*, and the second of *Theodosius*. [*S. L. 8. c. 27,* His Exile afforded him very choice Opportunities of doing good, and contributed to the Propagation of his Fame and

Character. The large Sums of Money which he receiv'd from his Friends, and particularly from the Deaconess *Olympias*, serv'd him to redeem a good Number of Captives out of the Hands of the *Isaurians*, and to supply the Necessities of many poor People besides: And those who wanted not his Charity, he endear'd to him by his Discourse; insomuch that *Armenia*, and the neighbouring Countries, paid him an extraordinary Respect, and People flock'd to him every Day from *Antioch*, and out of all *Cyria* and *Cilicia*. Pope *Innocent* acted in his Favour according to his Professions and Promises; for he dispatch'd five Western Bishops along with those Easterns that had come

* Our Historian elsewhere, *L. 7. c. 2.* makes him to have been a Man of great Reading and equal to the greatest Philosophers and Sophists of his Time; adding, That he was a very popular Preacher, and that by the Lenity and Plausibleness

of his Deportment he brought over a great many Hereticks to a Sense and Abhorrence of their Errors. Perhaps he might have had different Characters of him at different times, and from different Hands.

to him in behalf of *Chrysostom*, and two Presbyters of his own Church, to the two Emperors, to solicit the Convening of a general Council, and the Determination of Time and Place. But this *St. Chrysostom's* Enemies represented as a bold and insolent Invasion upon the Sovereignty of the Eastern Emperor; and their Clamours were so effectual, that the Petitioners were very dishonourably dismiss'd, and the Emperor issued an Order for *Chrysostom's* further Removal to *Pityus*, [(a Town situate in the very Skirts of the Empire, and in *T. L. 5. c. 34.* the Neighbourhood of a barbarous Sort of People)] but he did not reach the End of his Journey, for he was seiz'd with a violent Pain in his Head, occasion'd by the excessive Heat which his Spirits were not sufficient to struggle with, and his Distemper put a Period to his Life upon the same Day, which (as 'tis said) *Basiliscus* the Martyr, * appearing to him, had inform'd him was to be his last;] [not without an exprefs Direction from him too, that *T. L. 5. c. 34.* the Bishop's Bones should be laid by his Bones; which was done accordingly.] We have already mention'd the absolute Government and Restraint which he studied to arrive at over himself; which makes it more surprizing, that he should † allow himself such a Liberty and Latitude in common Discourse, as, in Opposition to a Synodical Determination granting the Benefit of Repentance but once after Baptism, to tell People he would absolve them a thousand times, if they repented. His Friends frequently rebuk'd and corrected him for favouring human Nature with such a Licence and Indulgence, and *Sisinnius*, the *Novatian* Bishop, not only reprov'd him privately, but publish'd a Book, upon the Argument, against him.

HAVING this Occasion to speak again of *Sisinnius*, I think it not improper (says my Author) to entertain the Reader with some few Particulars out of many that might be mention'd, by which he may form a Notion of his Pleasantry and ready Parts; the latter of which were so formidable to *Eunomius*, as great

* In a Dream according to Theod. our Author plainly betrays his Affection
L. 5. c. 34. for Novatianism; See Valefius's second

† In this Passage it must be confess'd Note upon this Chapter.

an Artist as he was at Cavil and Sophistry, that he often declin'd entering into Controversy with him. He was exactly sober and temperate ; but then he indulged himself in the innocent Comforts and Satisfactions of Life, particularly those of the Table. The Colour of his Garb was white.

S. L. 8. c. 1. [He was very jocose, but inoffensive ; and as ready to take as give a Jest.] He visited the publick Baths twice every Day, and when ask'd, *Why, being a Bishop, he would do so ?* replied, *Because he could not wash thrice.* Another Time, when he was upon a Visit to *Arsacius*, one of the Company enquiring of him, *Why he went in a Habit so unsuitable to the Character of a Bishop, and where he found it in the Scriptures, that Priests were to be cloath'd in White ;* he demanded a Text to prove, *They were obliged to wear Black.* The Person that had ask'd him the Question appearing surpriz'd and puzzled, *Sisinnius* renew'd the Attack, and told him, *He was sure he could produce no such Place ; Whereas* (says he) *I have a Direction to produce from Solomon, Eccles. 9. v. 8. * Let thy Garments be always white. And besides, our Saviour, at his Transfiguration, and the two great Prophets that talk'd with him, appear'd thus array'd in Glory.* *Leontius* of *Ancyra* having taken one of their Churches from the *Novatians*, during his Stay at *Constantinople*, *Sisinnius* went to him and begg'd him to restore it. *Leontius* treated him sourly, and told him, *The Novatians ought to be turn'd out of all their Churches, that were for shutting out every body from the Mercies of God, and the good Fruits of Repentance ;* and a great deal more to the same effect ; in Answer to which, *Sisinnius* assur'd him, *No body ever repented so heartily as he.* *Of what ?* said *Leontius*, *That ever I troubled myself,* said *Sisinnius*, *to come to you.* *St. Chrysostom*, upon a time, reproaching and chiding him, told him, *Two Bishops in One City was One too many.* 'Tis very true, replied *Sisinnius*. *Chrysostom*, not a little angry, ask'd him, *How long he had been Bishop of C. P.* *Sisinnius* said, *He never thought or stil'd himself so ; but that he wonder'd Chrysostom would not allow him to be a Bishop, when every body else did.* *St. Chrysostom*, more incens'd than before, told him, *He was an Heretick, and he'd put an*

* These were strange Sallies of Fancy by no means to be boasted or approv'd of.

end to his Preaching. I thank you, Sir, said *Sisinnius* facetiously, I'll be grateful to you, if you'll get me excus'd from such a troublesome Office. Nay, replied *St. Chrysostom* smiling, if 'tis troublesome, I'll not interrupt you in it. His Learning was very considerable, and gain'd him the Love and Honour of all the Bishops of *C. P.* and Senators too, his Contemporaries. He was the Author of several Books, where the Stile and Expression is too elaborate and poetical. And what flow'd from his Lips turn'd much more to his Reputation than what came from his Pen, recommended by the wonderful Advantages it receiv'd from the singular Grace and Agreeableness of his Person, Voice, Habit, Turn of the Eye, and Gesture, which attracted the Favour and Affection of Men of all Persuasions, but made *Atticus* more especially his Friend and Admirer.

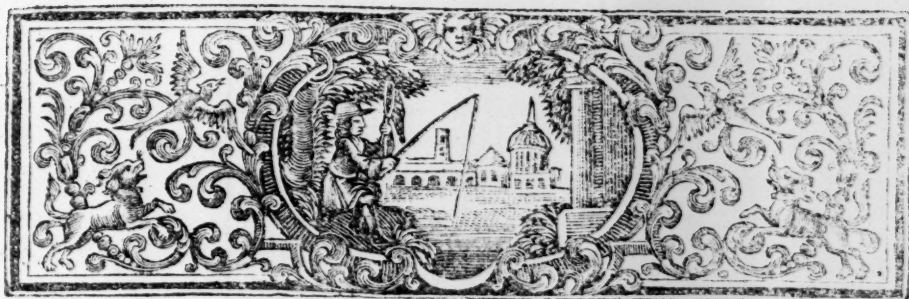
THE Death of the Emperor *Arcadius*, a mild and gentle Prince†, soon follow'd that of *St. Chrysostom*, and happen'd, upon the first of *May*, in the Consulate of *Bassus* and *Philip*. Some little time before, his Majesty was dispos'd to visit a Church or Chappel, erected in Honour of the Martyr *Acacius*, within a large Square at *C. P.* call'd *Carya*, from a Walnut-tree there, upon which that Martyr was hang'd. Here the Emperor paid his Devotions, and then went away. Upon this Occasion, all the Inhabitants of the *Carya* either had plac'd themselves in the Avenue without it, to gratify their Eyes with the Sight of the Emperor and his Retinue, or else crowded after him, so that their Apartments were all left empty; and were no sooner so, when a whole vast Pile of Building round the Chappel tumbled down all at once. A very remarkable and providential Escape, upon which the People congratulated his Majesty and themselves with a mighty Shout, and which they ascrib'd to the Favour and Loving-kindness of the King of Heaven to their Sovereign; who reign'd 13 Years with his Father *Theodosius*, and 14 afterwards; and liv'd 31: Of which, twelve and six Months are the Compass of Time included in our Sixth Book.

† In his natural Temper; for we have seen, how one way or other poor *St. Chrysostom* suffer'd in his Reign.

The End of the SIXTH BOOK.

THE





T H E
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
O F
Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit.

B O O K V I I .



ARCADIUS's Successor in the Eastern Empire was his Son *Theodosius*, at that time *eight Years of Age. The Administration was vested in the Pretorio-Prefect *Anthemius*, Grandson to that *Philip* who expell'd the Great *Paul* in the Reign of *Constantius*. *Anthemius* was fam'd for his admirable Prudence and Deliberation, in that he never enter'd up-on any Undertaking of Consequence 'till he had consulted his Friends, particularly the Sophist *Troilus*, whom the World

* Sozomen says, *L. 9. c. 1.* That he was but just wean'd.

A a a a

thought

thought his Equal, in Point of Management and Policy.
 * This Gentleman very much enlarg'd the Walls and Fortifications of *C. P.*

THEODOSIUS's Eighth Year of his Age was the Third of *Atticus*'s Episcopat, whose Exemplary Piety and Prudence, together with his Learning, Affability, and a competent Degree of Eloquence and Volubility, preserv'd a wonderful Harmony and Unity among his own People, and reconcil'd a great number of Hereticks to the Church.

AT this time *Theodosius*, Bishop of *Synnada*, a City of *Phrygia Pacatiana*, fell violently upon the Professors of the *Macedonian* Heresy that swarm'd in his district; putting Arms into the hands even of his Clergy to persecute them; bringing Actions and Indictments against them in the Civil Courts; and driving them out of his Jurisdiction, and all this not out of any sincere Concern and Zeal for the Faith and Church, (which utterly disclaims the Spirit of Persecution) but to indulge his Avarice without impairing his Credit, and to fill his Coffers with Ecclesiastical Contributions. And so warm and eager he was upon the work, that, not satisfy'd with the Authority and Severity of the Provincial Deputies, he made a Journey to *C. P.* on purpose to procure special Warrants and Orders from the Pretorio-Prefects. In his absence, *Agapetus*, the *Macedonian* Bishop, whom he had left behind, and upon whom his Anger had fallen heavier than upon any one, persuaded his Clergy and People to declare for the *Nicene* Faith; which they had no sooner done, but they went away directly to the Church, all the People of the City going in a Body along with them. There *Agapetus* read Prayers, and then plac'd himself in the Episcopal Chair, and kept Possession of it, the People unanimously submitting to him, and gladly attending to his Discourses, wherein he inculcated that true Faith which he now profess'd. Soon after, *Theodosius* arriving, elated with an Accession of Power and Authority, proceeded directly to the Church; but, to his great Surprise, the Congregation, one and all concurring,

* V. Val. in loc.

soon hurry'd him out again: Upon which he went back to C. P. and made his Complaint to *Atticus*; who advis'd him to Patience; and to thoughts of sequestering himself from the World, at the same time encouraging *Agapetus*, by an Epistle to keep what he had got, and fear Nothing.

ABOUT the same time happen'd a very miraculous Cure of a certain *Jew*, who, having lain Bed-rid of the Palsy for several Years, and finding no Relief either from the Prayers of his Brethren, or the best Applications and Skill of the Physicians, resolv'd to have recourse to Christian Baptism; for which, when *Atticus* had sufficiently instructed and prepar'd him, he was carry'd, by the Bishop's Order, in his Bed to the Font, where the sacred Mystery of Initiation had no sooner pass'd upon him, but he found himself in a perfect State of Health and Strength, and so he continued. Such an astonishing Demonstration of itself the Divine Omnipotence and Goodness was pleas'd to vouchsafe, even in our time, (says my Author) and it had the good effect upon many of the *Gentiles* to bring them to *Christ*; while the *Jews*, who are ever requiring a Sign, with their usual Obstinacy and Obduration, resisted the Conviction of it.

IN those days there happen'd another very extraordinary Event. *Sabbatius*, upon the Pretence already mention'd when we had Occasion to speak of him before, had by this time quitted *Sisinnius*, the *Novatian* Bishop's Communion, and set up one of his own. One day, upon reading to his People those Words in the sixth Chapter of St. *John's* Gospel, *The Passover, a Feast of the Jews, was nigh*, he thought fit to make an Addition of his own to the Text, and it was this; *Cursed be he that keepeth not the Passover upon the Day of Unleavened Bread*. This was soon carry'd Abroad, and the new Text he had found was a Bait that brought some silly Fish of the *Novatian* Shole to his Net. But his Stratagem met, in the conclusion, with a strange Defeat. For, some Time after, when he and his Congregation were met together, and employ'd in the Solemnity of the Paschal Vigil, the Devil possess'd them with such a panick, unaccountable Consternation and Confusion, suggesting a sudden Apprehension, and a strong Persuasion, that *Sisinnius* was coming, and a vast Concourse of People along with him,

to do them a Mischief; that while they were crowding in the Night-time, in a narrow Place to shift for themselves, above Seventy of them lost their lives. A lamentable Catastrophe, which discourag'd not a few of *Sabbatius's* Followers from concerning themselves with him any more.

DOROTHEUS, having liv'd an hundred and nineteen Years, died in *Honorius's* seventh and *Theodosius's* second Consulat, upon the sixth of *November*; and *Barbas* succeeded him: In whose time there flourish'd two very learned *Arian* Presbyters, *Timothy* and *George*; the former well-exercis'd in the Study of the Sacred Writings, a great Admirer of *Origen*, († whose Authority he us'd to vouch for his Heresy, tho' no Body more clearly asserts the Son's Co-èternity with the Father) and not a Stranger to the *Hebrew* Language. I myself (says the Historian) am a Witness, by the Conversation I have had with him, that he had a wonderful Sagacity and Dexterity at unfolding obscure and difficult Places of the Holy Scriptures. He was Originally a *Pfathirian*; of which Sect before. *George* receiv'd his Ordination from *Barbas*; his Excellency lay in Prophane and Polite Learning, and *Aristotle* and *Plato* were his Perpetual Companions. Neither of these two came off from the *Arian* Perswasion and Communion, but yet in some measure they reform'd it, preaching many of the more gross and monstrous Positions of it out of doors. In the Consulat aforesaid dy'd *Sisinnius* the *Novatian* Bishop.

THEOPHILUS of *Alexandria* being seiz'd with a Lethargy, and dying upon the fifteenth of *October*, *Honorius* the ninth, *Theodosius* the fifth time, Consuls; another Dispute and Struggle ensued about the Election, which lay between *Timothy* the Arch-Deacon, and *Cyril Theophilus's* Nephew. The Dissension rising to a Popular Tumult, wherein *Abundantius*, General of the *Egyptian* Forces, took *Timothy's* Part, *Cyril* thought it the best Way to get Possession of the Chair as soon as he could, into which he was Ordain'd the third Day after his Predecessor's Death; and as he climb'd faster, so he mounted higher too; for he, and his Successors after him, have been ever

I conceive this to be imply'd in these Words, παρλαχθε τε τον ωρεινην ικαλει, &c.
since

since ingrossing and exercising an * Exorbitant, and more than Hierarchical Power. The first Mark the new Bishop was pleas'd to shoot at were the *Novatians*, whose Churches he shut up, confiscating the Plate and Furniture of them, and taking from their Bishop *Theopemptus* all he was worth in the World.

CHRISTIANITY, about this time, extended its Dominion in *Persia*; where the Piety of *Maruthas*, the *Mesopotamian* Bishop, (of whom before) residing in Quality of Ambassador from the Imperial Court, shin'd in so full a Lustre, that *Isdigerdes*, the *Persian* Monarch, conceiv'd an uncommon Reverence for him, and look'd upon him, and hearken'd to him as a Favourite of heaven. This gave no little Umbrage to the *Magi*; who were yet more confirm'd in their Fears of the King's turning Christian, when *Maruthas's* Prayers cur'd him of a settled and continual Pain in his Head, which all their Endeavours were too weak to do. An Artifice was therefore to be thought of, to prevent the further Consequences of *Maruthas's* Interest and Success. They contriv'd to place a Man under the Floor, or Pavement, of the Room, or Chappel, whither the King came to Worship † the continually burning Fire, who (according to his Instruction) cry'd out, when his Majesty was over his Head; *A detestable Imagination has possess'd the King, that a Christian Priest is acceptable to God; and therefore let him be driven hence.* The Voice scar'd *Isdigerdes* into Thoughts of Dismissing *Maruthas*; but the good Bishop, having oppos'd his Prayers to their Practices, came to the King, and desir'd him, *To return to the Chappel, and when he heard the Voice again, to have the Pavement open'd, where he would find it came from the Mouth of an Ordinary Mortal.* Which, accordingly, he did, and thereupon conceiv'd such an Imagination against the *Magi*, that he condemn'd them to a Decimation, and gave *Maruthas* Leave to build Churches wherever he pleas'd. *Maruthas*, some Time after, was oblig'd to return to *C. P.* where, having stay'd a little while, the Emperor sent him with the same Character as before into *Persia*. The *Magi*, solicitous and labouring to keep him, if possible, at a distance; found out away to make a Place, whither the King frequently re-

* Πὰρ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως.

† Ἀπὸ τοῦ κατωτέρου.

forted, very disagreeable and odious to him by an Artificial Stink, which they pretended the Christians were the Contrivers of. But, upon Search, the King found it came from that Quarter whence the former Imposture had before given him Reason to believe he could expect no fair dealing. This brought a second Vengeance and Execution upon the Plotters; while it increas'd the Veneration for *Maruthas*, and establish'd him in very Zealous and Cordial Resolutions of Maintaining a strict Amity with the Empire. Afterwards *Maruthas*, and *Abdas* Bishop of *Persia*, by Fasting and Prayer, delivered the Emperor's Son from a Demoniackal Possession: A Miracle which had undoubtedly compleated and perfected the Father's Conversion, had not † his Death prevented; upon which the kingdom came to his Son *Vararanes*.

FLAVIAN dying about this time, *Porphry* succeeded him in the Chair of *Antioch*, and after him, *Alexander*; [and after *Alexander*, *Theodotus*, that shining Example of good Nature and strict Morals, who recover'd a great many of *Apollinaris*'s Followers to the Communion of the Church, tho' 'twas to be suspected that they were not so well reconcil'd to the Faith of it as they ought to be. While this Bishop fill'd the Chair of *Antioch*, dy'd *Theodorus*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia* (of whom before) a great Luminary, and Doctor of the Church, and a Scourge very dreadful to Hereticks of all Denominations; after he had been Bishop there Six and Thirty Years. His Brother *Polychronius* was Bishop of *Apamea*, famous as well for the Elegancy and Purity of his Language as for that of his Life.] *Damasus* govern'd the Church of *Rome* Eighteen Years, *Siricius*, his successor, fifteen Years; next to him, *Anastasius* Three Years; whom *Innocent* succeeded, the first Bishop of *Rome* that molested the *Novatians* there, and took their Churches from them.

It was in this Man's Episcopat, that *Alarich*, a *Barbarian*, an Allie of the Empire, and rewarded with Titles and Investi-

† This is hardly credible, if what *Theodorit* tells us (*L. 5. c. 39.*) be true, That he put to death Bishop *Abdas* for Pulling down a *Pyreum*, or one of

the Temples of Fire, and Refusing to build it up again; and that, afterwards, he tore down all the *Christian Churches*, and lay'd them level with the Ground.

tures

tures of Honour for his good Services against the Rebel *Eugenius* leaving *C. P.* went into *Illyricum*, where he lay'd all waste before him. Only the *Thessalians* oppos'd his March, and receiv'd him so briskly and vigorously, that they cut off Three Thousand of his Men. But this, however, did not hinder him from passing on with his Army; destroying all the Country, as he Advanc'd, with Fire and Sword, 'till he came even to *Rome*, which he made himself Master of and plunder'd; burning many of the noble Edifices and Ornaments of that City, sharing the Wealth of it with his Soldiers, and putting several of the Senators to Tortures and Death. [During the first Siege, (for *Alarich* *S. L. 9. c. 6*, broke up the Siege once, and march'd off with 9, 10. his Army, being brib'd partly by presents, partly by a Promise of the Citizens, that they would persuade the Emperor to receive him to Favour) when the City, thro' Famine, Pestilence, and Desertion, was reduc'd to great Extremities, the *Pagan* Party of the Senate were urgent for restoring the Heathen Sacrifices, as a thing absolutely necessary to its Preservation; certain *Etrurians*, upon that Condition, undertaking to make the *Barbarians* retire with Thunder and Lightning at their Heels, as they boasted they had already done at *Narnia* in *Tuscany*. But that Punishment and Calamity was not to be so averted, which the touring and clamorous Iniquity of the Inhabitants had call'd down upon their Heads.] Having taken the City, the Conqueror gave free Liberty and Encouragement to the Soldiers to Ranfack, and Plunder, and Destroy even as much as they pleas'd; only restraining them from doing any Damage to *St. Peter's Church*. In this furious and rowling Hurricane of Rapine, Murder, and Desolation, one bright and signal Example of Heroick Chastity seems to take away from the Horrour of the Scene, and, in some Measure, to reconcile the Imagination of it. A very beautiful marry'd Woman, one who profess'd the *Nicene* Faith, being in immediate Danger of a Rape, from a Young Barbarian Soldier, an *Arian*, and struggling with all her strength to preserve herself from the Rage of his Lust; with his naked Sword he threaten'd to stab her to the Heart, and gave her a slight Wound in the Neck, his Admiration of her Person with-holding his Hand from Striking deeper. The Woman then, with the Blood trickling down about her, expos'd

her Neck to receive the Point of his Sword, desiring rather to die than that he should effect his Purpose : This provok'd him to greater Violence, which proving fruitless too, he was now more passionately affected with the Beauty of her Mind, than those of her Face, and conducting her to St. *Peter's* Church, deliver'd her to the Care of the Guard, who were to bring her to her Husband ; and left six Pieces of Gold to supply her with Provisions and Conveniencies 'till she and her Husband met.]

BUT to return ; *Alarich* created one *Attalus* Emperor, appointed him a Life-Guard, and the very next Day made him change his Robe for the Habit of a Slave ; [to the
S. L. 9. c. 9. great Grief and Disappointment of the *Pagans* and *Arians* ; the Former being flush'd with lively Hopes and Expectations, that this *Attalus* would be the Restorer of the Gentile Worship, in which he had been educated ; and the Latter perswading themselves that *Constantian* and *Valentian* Days were now coming about again ; *Alarich* having been baptiz'd by * *Sigefarius*, Bishop of the *Goths*.] The *Goth* having thus entertain'd himself, upon News that an Imperial Army was Advancing against him,
S. L. 9. c. 6. retir'd precipitantly. There goes a Story, that as he was upon his [first] March to *Rome*, a certain Monk exhorted him not to delight in Blood and Violence ; and that *Alarich* told him, that this Expedition was not what he was fond of himself, but that some body (he did not know who) was perpetually laying his Command upon him, *Go and sack Rome*, and inforcing it with very vexatious and severe Treatment. [The Deliverance of the Empire from the Arms of *Alarich* was but one of many memorable and gracious Interpositions of Providence, in behalf of that excellent Prince *Honorius*. God was pleas'd very particularly to Interest himself in his Cause, whether Usurpers or Invaders attack'd him. Thus the Conspiracies and Rebellions of *Stilico*, *Marck*, *Gracian*, *Constantine*, *Alabicus*, *Gerontius*, *Edovicus*, *Jovinus*, *Maximus*, *Sarus*, &c. ended in the deserv'd Punish-

* Perhaps this *Sigefarius* was an Arian.

ment of the Traitors ; and thus a very formidable Invasion of the *Hunns* came to nothing.]

ZOSIMUS succeeded Pope *Innocent*, and sat in the *Roman* Chair two Years ; as did *Boniface*, after him, three. *Celestinus* fill'd it next. He debarr'd *Ruslicula*, the *Novatian* Bishop there, and his People, the Use of their Churches. 'Till now the Men of that Principle made a very considerable Body at *Rome* ; but it was impossible for them to hold up their Heads against the Power of the Bishops of that great See, who had long since exceeded their Bounds, and ambitiously encroach'd upon their Hierarchy ; as the *Alexandrian* Patriarchs had also done. Hence it was, that in confidence of their Strength, they neither allow'd those Men the free Exercise of their Religion, nor so much as the Enjoyment of their Property, * whose Concurrence in the Faith they were well pleas'd with and commend-ed, and whom the Bishop of *C. P.* not only tolerated, but treat-ed with a very friendly Kindness and Respect.

UPON the Death of *Sisinnius*, *Chrysanthus* was hurried by main force and compulsion into his Place. He was the Son of *Marcian*, *Sisinnius*'s Predecessor ; bred a Courtier, in the Reign of the Elder *Theodosius* ; created *Consular of Italy*, and afterwards Lieutenant of the *British* Isles ; two Offices of great Honour and Importance, in which he acquitted himself extremely well. He was come to *C. P.* in his declining Years, and making Interest for the Prefecture of that City ; when *Sisinnius*, upon his Death-bed, recommending him as a fit Person to succeed him, and the *Novatians* preparing to take Measures accordingly, *Chrysanthus* withdrew himself. *Sabbatius* greedily grasp'd this Opportunity, and got himself consecrated (no matter for a foolish Oath he had taken a great while ago to the contrary !) by some Bishops of mean Reputation ; among whom was one *Hermogenes*, anathematiz'd and excommunicated by *Sabbatius* himself for his infamous Atheistical Writings. But these hasty and unwarrantable Measures of *Sabbatius* only inflam'd the People so much the more to desire and search for *Chrysanthus*, whom they found in *Bithynia*, and compell'd to accept the Government

* According to our Historians, usual Strains in favour of the Novatians.

of their Church. He was a Man of a strict Life and extraordinary Prudence, and took effectual Methods not only to preserve the Churches under his Inspection, but to enlarge the Number of his Party. He gave the first Example of distributing Gold * out of his own Pocket among the Poor; and receiv'd no part of his Ecclesiastical Emoluments, † except the two Loaves of Benediction every *Sunday*. So earnestly he consulted and acted for the Benefit and Glory of the People he presided over, that he obliged *Ablabius*, the best Orator of the Times, to quit *Troilus's* School, and ordain'd him Presbyter; from which Degree he was afterwards preferr'd to the Episcopat of the *Novatian* Church at *Nice*; where he likewise set up a School of *Rhetorick*. There is a very agreeable Mixture of Elegancy and Smartness in this *Ablabius's* Sermons.

THE *Alexandrians* are an untractable People, and strangely dispos'd to Riots and Insurrections; one of which happen'd about this time upon a very slight Occasion, which was an irregular Diversion then much in Vogue. A certain *Scaramouch* made a Practice of Dancing and Acting upon *Saturdays* when the *Jews* (who were then very numerous in that City, and had been so from the time of *Alexander the Great*) had most leisure to attend the Foolery, and, indeed, found more time for that, than for the Reading of their Law. These merry Meetings seldom ended peaceably, but produc'd many Quarrels and great Disorders, which obliged the Prefect, *Orestes*, to discourage them, and bring them under some sort of Regulation. This was a Restraint intolerable to the *Jews*, who were glad of all Pretexts and Opportunities to keep their Malice active and employ'd against the *Christians*. It happen'd, upon a time, when the Prefect was in the Theatre, || giving Orders relating to that Place and the Business of it, Curiosity brought many of the Bishop's Friends thither; among the rest, one *Hierax*, a Schoolmaster, a Man wrapt up in Admiration of *Cyril's* Sermons; whom the *Jews* no sooner cast their Eyes on, but they bellow'd it out aloud, That he was come thither to make Mischief, and raise a Combustion among the People. This was a Handle the

* *Oriodiv.*
L. 7. c. 13. n. 2.

† *V. Val. in Socr. L. 7. c. 12. n. 2.*

|| *V. Val. in Socr.*

Prefect was ready enough to take hold of; who look'd with an evil Eye upon the Greatness of the Bishops, partly because they had been intrrenching upon the Prerogative of the Prefecture, and annexing it to their own, but more because *Cyril* watch'd and observ'd him narrowly, and div'd into all his Counsels and Measures; so we may believe he did no great Violence to himself, when he apprehended *Hierax*, and put him to the Torture upon the Spot. Which *Cyril* no sooner understood he had done, but he sent for the People of most Note among the *Jews*, and let them know, that if, for the future, they insulted or injur'd the *Christians*, they should smart severely for it. The more exasperated by these Menaces, the *Jews* only set themselves with the greater Spleen and Malice to do them all the Hurt they could, and form'd Variety of Plots and Projects for their Destruction. To mention one, which exceeded the rest; they had laid a Design to massacre the *Christians* one Night; from whom to distinguish themselves it was concerted, that every one should wear a Ring made of the Bark of Palm-branches. When the time appointed came, they sent out their Agents to run about the Streets, and cry out that the Church of St. *Alexander* was on Fire. Upon which, the *Christians* made what haste they could from every Quarter to put the Fire out; and the *Jews*, as fast as they met with them, cut their Throats. The next Morning the Bishop, who wanted not to be inform'd who were the Men that had made this Assault, came at the Head of a vast Concourse of People, took Possession of the Synagogues, drove the *Jews* out of the City, and expos'd all their Goods and Effects to the People for Plunder. *Adamantius*, a Physician, one of the dispers'd *Jews*, fled to *Atticus*, but soon after embracing the *Christian* Religion he return'd and settled at *Alexandria*. *Orestes*, not a little disturb'd to see the City left so empty, sent his Complaint to the Emperor; as did *Cyril* a Relation of these Hostilities of the *Jews*, and, withal, offer'd *Orestes*, the People compelling him, to come to Terms of Agreement; which the Prefect could not be wrought upon to listen to, not even when the Bishop holding out the Book of the Evangelists, by them conjur'd him to it. So the Feud continued, not a little, as Things fell out afterwards, to the Peril of the Prefect's Life. For a Combination of the *Nitrian* Monks, that had formerly learnt the Art of War under *Theophilus*, when he employ'd them against *Dioscorus*, now again rouz'd their Mar-

tial Spirit, and resolving to fight his Successor's Battles left their Cells, to the Number of Five Hundred, and enter'd the City; where, finding the Prefect in his Chariot, they came up to him, and, for the first Salute, discharged a Volley of ill Language at him, calling him *Sacrificer* and *Heathen*. He cry'd out to them, That he was a *Christian*, and that *Atticus*, Bishop of *C. P.* who had baptiz'd him, could attest it; not appealing to *Cyrl*, whom he presently suspected to be at the bottom of this. But his Protestations were fruitless; and one of the Regiment, *Ammonius*, flung a Stone at him, which gave him such a Wound in the Head, that he was presently cover'd with Gore-blood: At sight of which almost all his Retinue of Officers of Justice drew off, and dispers'd themselves in the Crowd to avoid the same Fate. This Hubbub brought the People together to succour their Governor; so that the Monks found it necessary to betake themselves to their heels; yet *Ammonius* was not suffer'd to go off so, but they seiz'd him, and brought him before the Prefect, who, as the Law directed, put him to the Torture; which he inflicted upon him to such a Degree, that he died under it. Soon after, he transmitted an Account of the whole Matter to the Emperor; and *Cyrl* sent another Narrative contradictory to the Prefect's. Nay, so zealously did *Cyrl* adhere to the Cause, that he took care of *Ammonius*'s Interment, chang'd his Name to *Thaumasius*, magnify'd his Courage and Constancy * from the Pulpit, and gave Order that he should be honour'd with the Title of Martyr; tho', afterwards, when he perceiv'd he could not impose upon the more sober sort of People, he was very well contented that the Remembrance of the whole Transaction should die.

BUT his Misunderstanding with *Orestes* did not end here; another Tragical Accident blowing it up again into an open Rupture. There flourish'd, at this time, a famous Philosophical Lady at *Alexandria*, *Hypatia*, the Daughter of *Theon* the Philosopher; more conversant and accomplish'd in all those Parts of Knowledge than any of the greatest Professors and Masters then living, insomuch that she was chosen Preceptress of the *Platonick* School in that City; and so much esteem'd and ad-

* 'Εσ' ἐκκλησίας possibly may signify, in the Church's Cause.

mir'd for her incomparable Learning and Sense, that all Persons, whose Studies and Inclinations lay towards Philosophy, made application to her for the Benefit of her Instructions and Dictates; and authoriz'd by the Respect which her singular Character challeng'd and commanded, she us'd to bear the other Sex Company upon the most publick Occasions, and sometimes to make Visits to the Magistrates, without Violence to her Modesty, or Prejudice to her Reputation. *Orestes*, particularly, had her Conversation often; whence the Infernal Enemy took Occasion to blow a Jealousy into the Minds of some of the *Christians* among the Populace, that she kept the Contest alive between their Bishop and their Governor; and there were those among them who were seiz'd with such a vehement and flaming Frenzy, that, led on by one *Peter*, a Reader, they lay'd Hands on the Woman, finding her in the Streets, dragg'd her to the *Cæsarian* Church, stripp'd her, ply'd her with † the Torture of the Shells 'till they kill'd her, and then tore her Body to Pieces, and burnt her Limbs. A particular Crime, which entail'd a foul stain upon *Cyril* and his Church, and was committed in the fourth Year of his Episcopat, in the time of *Lent*, in the Tenth of *Honorius*, and * the Sixth Consulat of *Theodosius*.

CHRYSANTHUS, the *Novatian* Bishop, dying seven Years after his Ordination, upon the Twenty-Sixth of *August*, *Monaxius* and *Plinthus* Consuls, was succeeded by *Paul*, one that, heretofore, had kept a *Latin* School, but had lay'd that Employment aside; preferring an Ascetick Course of Life before it, and forming a Society of those whose Religious Resolutions dispos'd them the same Way, very analogous and answerable, in all the Acts and Exercises of Mortification, and the Offices of Humanity and Charity (as particularly in that of interceeding for Malefactors, which *Paul* often did with very good Success) to the Anchoretick Model in the Solitudes. It happen'd that a Rascally *Jew*, who had made a Penny of going about to the *Christians* of all other Denominations, and receiving their respective Baptisms, apply'd himself, in the last Place, to *Paul*, who commended his good Purpose and

† *Ὠστρακισμός*.

* See Val. upon the Place.

Desire, but refus'd to gratify him 'till he was duly instructed in the Faith, and had fasted several Days. The *Jew*, by no Means relishing the latter Condition, express'd more Eagerness than ever to be brought to the Font; in order to which, *Paul*, unwilling to discourage him, or try his Patience too far, provided him his † Vestment, and order'd the Font to be fill'd with Water, which, by that Time they were come to it, they found all vanish'd. The Bishop and the Company concluding it had pass'd thro' the Pipe, or Passage, made to carry it off, had the Hole stopp'd, and then the Font fill'd again. But when he approach'd it a second time with his Catechumen, he found it as empty as before. At which *Paul* told the Man, *He either was a Cheat, or else had receiv'd Baptism before, and did not know it.* And the Truth of the Matter soon came to Light, there being in the great Crowd of People which this astonishing Sight brought together, a Person who knew the *Jew*, and that *Atticus* had baptiz'd him.

VARARANES, Successor to *Isdigerdes* in the *Persian* Monarchy, at the Instigation of the *Magi*, exerted himself in a Fierce and Barbarous Persecution against his *Christian* Subjects. [There would be much more of Horror
T. L. 5. c. 30. and Tediousness than Entertainment in enumerating and describing to the Reader all the several Methods, and Arts, and Engines of Torture and Cruelty that were then made Use of: Such as Flaying the Skin off their hands, their Backs, and their Faces. Some, after they had bound them, or rather corded them up with Ropes, from Head to Foot, they tormented by fastening all over their Bodies Pieces of half-split Reeds or Cane, so as to take fast Hold of their Skin, and then snatching them off again, and the Flesh they had hold of along with them. Another of their Inventions becoming the most exquisite Humanity was this; they dug Pits, or Trenches, which they lin'd thick, and dawb'd the Sides with Grease or Suet, and in these they laid the blessed Champions of the Faith, bound Hand and Foot, to be devour'd by Rats and Mice, and all other sorts of Vermin, with which

† 'Εσθίτα' τε λάρπεσι ἀνσάμενθ'. A Garment worn by the Person baptiz'd.

by this Method they plentifully stor'd these inviting Repositories, and which feasted upon the Bodies, renewing and increasing the sad Pain and Anguish which the Martyrs endur'd as often as Hunger prompted them, 'till God releas'd his Servants from their Misery; and afterwards eating up the dead Remains of them. And yet, as much as human Nature starts at the very Representation of these and other such like Violences, some of them even yet worse than these, the Sufferers were so far from being frighted or shrinking at, that they very eagerly and ambitiously expos'd themselves to them, and, as it were, run to meet them. Among these, a Gentleman of Illustrious Birth and Quality, whose Name was *Ormisdas*, was a very memorable Instance; who, being commanded by the King to renounce his Christianity, made Answer, That what his Majesty requir'd of him was both highly Unjust and Impolitick. *If, said he, your Majesty should prevail upon me to turn Traytor against Heaven, and abjure God himself, how can you expect I should retain any Sense of Duty or Obedience to you, who are but a Mortal King? And if no Favour ought to be shewn to those that deny or oppose your Title, and Apostatize from their Allegiance to their Rightful King: Of how much greater Punishment shall he be thought worthy, that revolts from his God, and turns Rebel against the great Sovereign and Governor of the Universe?* The King, not at all affected with the Clearness and Reasonableness of these Consequences, depriv'd him of his Estate and Honours, stript off all his Cloaths, allowing him only a Covering to go round his Middle, and sent him away to his Army to lead Camels in that naked Condition. Some Days after, looking out of his Window, he beheld the noble Confessor miserably scorch'd with Heat, and cover'd with Dust; and a Man of *Ormisdas's* high Extraction in such deplorable Circumstances was a Spectacle so shocking to the King, that he called him to him, and gave him Liberty to wear a Shirt, and supposing that, between the Smart he had felt, and the Favour of this Abatement of his Misery, his Resolutions would be somewhat cool'd, he ask'd him, whether he thought he had not now been Obstinate long enough, and whether 'twas not yet time to renounce the Carpenter's Son. Upon this, *Ormisdas* tore the Shirt in Pieces, and flung it at the King's Feet, replying with a true Christian Zeal and Warmth, *Sir, if that is what you aim at,*

*to bribe me out of my Religion with a Rag, take back your Benefaction, and * make it your Robe of Impiety.* The Bravery of this pious Resentment convincing the King that the Man was no way to be stagger'd, nor to be trick'd, any more than frighted out of his Religion, he banish'd him his Dominions, as naked as he had condemn'd him to the Leading of the Camels. There was one *Benjamin* a Deacon at this time laid in Chains, whose Liberty a *Roman* Embassador, that happen'd to be sent into *Persia*, obtain'd of the King upon Condition, that *Benjamin* should promise he would never preach or vindicate his Religion to any of the *Magi*. *Benjamin* being releas'd, the Embassador, who had undertaken that he should conform himself to the King's Pleasure as far as that Condition went, importun'd him to forbear such dangerous Attempts hereafter. He replied, That he thought it his Duty to be communicative of that Evangelical Light which he had receiv'd; and, that he dreaded the Sentence which the Scripture declares awaits those who hide their Talent in a Napkin. However, the King gave Order for his Release, not knowing what had pass'd between him and the Embassador; and he was no sooner at Liberty, but he return'd to his Employment of making Converts; in which, when he had gone on a whole Year, the King being inform'd of it, had him brought before him, and commanded him to deny his God. *Pray, Sir,* said he to the King, *What would you think any Subject of yours deserv'd, who disclaim'd and disown'd all Duty and Deference to your Majesty, and put himself under the Protection of a Foreign Power? To die,* said the King, *and the Death of a Traitor too.* And what then, said the Confessor, *ought he to suffer, who turns Fugitive from the Almighty Power that gave him his Being, and preserves him in it; and sets up one of his Fellow Creatures for his God, and transfers the Homage of his Adoration?* The Severity and Plainness of these Questions enraging the Persecutor, he order'd a Piece of Cane, sharpen'd to a Point, to be run under every Nail both of his Hands and Feet; and when he found him Proof against, and absolutely unaffected with the exquisite Pain which must accompany such a Torture, he added yet a severer; ordering one of these sharp Reeds to be thrust up the Passage of his

* Ἐχε τὸ δῶρον μετὰ τῆς δωρεῆς.

Privy-parts, and there to be mov'd backward and forward ; and to improve and compleat the noble Confessor's Agonies, he impal'd him upon a large Branch of a Tree, ragged with the Boughs upon it, which kindly deliver'd him out of his Misery.] The Rage of this dreadful Persecution, *T. L. 5. c. 39.* [(which afforded Instances of Suffering enough to make a large Martyrology)] was such as forced the *Christians* to fly the Country, and implore Protection and Relief from the Empire. *Atticus* particularly pitied their Case, and did them all the good Offices he could, letting the Emperor know how calamitous their Case was. These Men the King of *Persia* demanded to be sent back as Fugitives, or Revolters. The Emperor refus'd to deliver them up, not only for that they had put themselves under his Protection, but in regard of the great Cause that had obliged them to do so : which, in conjunction with two very provoking Insults and Affronts which he receiv'd, at the same time, from the *Persian* Monarch ; who seiz'd upon the Effects of the Merchants of the Empire, and having hired Labourers of the Empire to work in the *Persian* Mines, kept them as Prisoners ; brought on a very terrible War. The Emperor begun it with an Army under the Command of *Ardaburius*, who invading *Persia* on the Side of *Armenia*, wasted and ruin'd *Azarena*, one of the *Persian* Provinces. *Narsæus*, *Isdigerdes's* General, march'd against him. They fought, and *Narsæus* was beaten ; who, afterwards, to ballance his Loss, and repair his Reputation, projected to march into *Mesopotamia*, and enter that Way the Imperial Territories. But *Ardaburius* smelt out his Design, and got thither before him. *Narsæus* finding himself prevented, when he was come to *Nisibis*, situate in the Borders of both Empires ; but belonging to the *Persian*, sent a Challenge to *Ardaburius* to come to a Battle, and to agree with him the Time and Place of Action ; to which *Ardaburius* return'd Answer, *That it was not for Narsæus to tell the Roman Emperors when they were to fight.* The Emperor, tho' he neglected not human Means, for he sent *Ardaburius* a large Body of fresh Forces, yet repos'd his chief Hope and Confidence in the good Providence of God ; which he found propitious, not only in the Event, but in an extraordinary Preshignification of it, by an appearance of Angels, that were commission'd to guide and govern the Motions of this War, as they told some Travellers that were upon the Road to

C. P. whom also they commanded to tell the People they were going to, that they should recommend themselves with fervent Devotion to Heaven, and not doubt of a good Issue. A comfortable and animating Message both to the City and the Army which now lay before *Nisibis*, and had far advanced the Siege. The King of *Persia*, especially after the Ravage that had been made in *Azarena*, thought it would be very dishonourable not to make the Imperialists desist from this; but yet he had not the Courage to enterprize any thing towards it, with all the Force he could make, 'till he was secure of the Assistance of *Alamundarus*, King of the *Saracens*, a Martial Prince, who join'd him with a prodigious Army, and assur'd him he would deliver his Enemies all Prisoners into his Hands, and put him in Possession of the *Syrian Antioch*. But an Alarm from the immediate Hand of God, who was pleas'd to terrify them with a sudden and astonishing Rumour, That the whole Imperial Army were ready to fall in, Sword in Hand, upon them, hurry'd his *Saracens* away in such a strange Confusion and Desperation, that they rush'd, without throwing off their Armour into the *Euphrates*, which swallowed up about an Hundred Thousand of them. On t'other hand, the *Imperialists* that had invested *Nisibis*, hearing the King of *Persia* was advancing with a numerous Train of *Elephants*, burnt their battering Engines, and retir'd into the Imperial Dominions. A Relation of what afterwards pass'd in the Course of this War, with *Vitianus's* totally routing and ruining the Remains of the *Saracens*, would carry me too far out of my way, and therefore I omit it.

† *THEODOSIUS*, notwithstanding the Advantage by God's especial Intervention lay thus evidently on his Side, yet was willing and desirous to come to a Peace, which he furnished *Helion*, a Favourite of his, with a Commission and Instructions to transact and conclude. *Helion*, arriving at the Imperial Camp, dispatch'd away *Maximin*, before him, one of *Ardaburius's* Council, a Man of great Worth, and a commanding Eloquence, who told his *Persian* Majesty that he came to treat a Peace with him, from the Imperial Generals, not from the Emperor

† The Story of Palladius, c. 16. I take no Notice of, as being, I think, utterly foreign to the main Purpose.

himself;

himself; who, he said, was perfectly unappriz'd that any such War was on Foot, and as soon as he heard of it, would so far despise it, as only to make himself merry with it. The King, whose Army was now reduc'd to great Want of Necessaries, gladly inclin'd to accept the Motion; 'till that Body of his Forces, which bear the distinguishing Name of *The Immortals*, consisting of about Ten Thousand very choice Men, brought him to suspend all Thoughts of a Treaty, 'till they had surpriz'd and try'd their Strength upon the Imperialists, who, they knew, lay careless and secure. The King took their Advice, confin'd *Maximin*, and sent out his *Immortals* upon the Enterprize propos'd; who, approaching their Enemy's Camp, divided themselves into two Bodies, one of which only appear'd, pursuant to a Design they had laid of surrounding, or intercepting a Part of the *Roman* Army, who no sooner, at that Sight, drew up in Order of Battle, but the lurking Party came out of Ambush upon them on a sudden: And this Stratagem might have sadly distress'd the Imperialists, and intangled them in very desperate Circumstances, had not the good Providence of God brought, just at the time when they were going to engage, another Army of the *Romans* in fight, commanded by *Procopius*, a Lieutenant General, who immediately falling in upon the *Persian* Rear; those that were ready to surround, were themselves surrounded, and all cut in Pieces. Under the same Execution fell the whole Ambuscade. So signally, in that Day, did the great Distributer of Justice avenge the Blood of his Saints. *Isdigerdes* receiving the News, order'd *Maximin* an Audience; and dissembling his knowledge of what had pass'd, he let him understand by way of Complement; that tho' he had no reason to be afraid of all the Power of the *Roman* Emperor; yet, for his sake, whom, for Wisdom and Conduct, he preferr'd to all his Fellow Subjects, he was ready to agree to a Peace; which was concluded; and with it the Persecution of the *Christians* ended in *Persia*, in *Honorius's* and *Theodosius's* Tenth Consulat.

THE Piety and Charity of *Acacius*, Bishop of *Amida*, have contributed to render this War the more Memorable; who, when those that were taken in the Ravage of *Azarena* *, to the num-

* See Valeſon the Name.

ber of about Seven Thousand Men were ready to perish for Want and Hunger, calling his Clergy together, propos'd the Converting the Plate of his Church (the Donations of those that had receiv'd Baptism there) into Money, to redeem and support those poor Wretches *. The Thing was done accordingly, and so manag'd by his Direction, that, besides their Ransom and their Maintenance for some time after, was also Provision enough also to bear their Charges Home. The King of *Persia*, whom their Sufferings had affected with no small Concern, was wonderfully charm'd and oblig'd by this generous Action of *Acacius*; and, we are told, requesting of *Theodosius* to let him have a Sight of this extraordinary Man; which was granted him. The happy Issue and Composure of this War produc'd a plentiful Crop of Panegyrical Performances; among others, an Heroick Poem from the Empress's Pen, who was the Daughter of *Leontius* †, Professor of Philosophy and Polite Letters at *Athens*, furnish'd by her Father with all sorts of Learning, and when she was design'd for the Emperor's Bed, converted to Christianity, and baptiz'd by *Atticus*, who, upon her Initiation, gave her the Name of *Eudocia* instead of *Athenais* which she had before.

AND here, neither byas'd by the selfish or ambitious Prospects of some, nor tickled with that Vanity which sets others a writing on this Subject, let me draw our excellent Emperor's Character in plain and honest Colours. The Dignity of his Birth did not render him (as too often it does young Princes) Inconsiderate and Indocil, but his Prudence and Management were always such as could only be expected to result from long and general Observation and Experience: Hardships and Mortifications were familiar to him; he was very chearful and easy under the Rigours of Heat and Cold, and Fasting, especially at Times appointed by the Church; his Exercises of Devotion turn'd his Palace into a Sort of Monastery; he and his Sisters (of whom more hereafter) dedicated the first Fruits of the Morning, every Day, in Antiphonal Hymns to God; he had imprinted the holy scriptures entirely

* This is not the only Instance of this kind in Church-History. See the learned Mr. Reading's Note on this Place.

† Ἰε. οὐρανὸν τῶν Ἀδυνάτων.

in his Memory, and he discours'd with Bishops, as if he had been one himself; no body could take more Pains in Collecting Copies of, and Comments upon the sacred Text; postponing the purely Speculative and Technical Part, he shew'd himself a Master of the Practice of Philosophy, particularly in those four fundamental Virtues of it, Sobriety, Patience, Clemency, and Meekness; he was never surpriz'd into any passionate or vindicative Sallies; being ask'd, Why he never put any Traitor to Death, he reply'd, *He wish'd it were in his Power to recall them out of their Graves*: And to another that put the same Question to him, *'Tis an easy thing*, said he, *for a Man to be sent out of the World, but only he that made him can bring him to Life*. Hence it was, that, as certainly as any Malefactor was condemn'd he sent him his Pardon before he came to the Place where he was to suffer*. Upon occasion of entertaining them with a publick Hunting, or Chase, in the Amphitheatre, the People were clamorous for a Tryal of Skill between a Man and a Wild Beast; but he soon shut their Mouths, by telling them, 'Twas not his way to mingle Innocent and Generous Recreations with Inhuman and Savage Executions. His sincere and fervent Piety excited in him, of course, a profound Esteem and Reverence for all God's Ministers; especially those whose Life and Behaviour were eminently such as become their Function. Thus, upon the Death of the Bishop of *Hebron*, 'tis said, he desir'd to have his Calf-sock; and tho' it was but a very ordinary one, he wore it, seeming to flatter himself that it would convey a Portion to him of the late Proprietor's Piety. But how tender and filial a Deference he paid to the *T.L. 5. c. 37.* Ecclesiastical Authority appears hence yet further.

A certain Monk, not over-stock'd with Modesty and good Manners, having often begg'd some Favour or Boon of him without Success, in Revenge had the Impudence to pronounce a Sentence of Excommunication upon him; after which, the next time the Emperor came to Dinner, he would not allow himself to take one Morsel 'till the Sentence was revers'd, in order to which, he desir'd the Bishop, by one of his Domesticks, to lay his Commands upon the Monk to take

* All this hitherto was certainly too great a Lenity.

it off. And tho' the Bishop told him, that that saucy inferior Ecclesiastick had no Power or Authority to Excommunicate him, and that he was no more Excommunicated than himself, yet he would not be satisfy'd 'till the Monk, after much Intreaty, was prevail'd with to come and revoke his pretended Sentence. And such was this admirable Emperor's Concern and Zeal for the Honour of God, and the Establishment of Christianity, that he promulg'd a Law for demolishing utterly as many Idolatrous Temples as were yet standing, giving this Reason for it in the Rescript itself, that not the least Monument or Footstep of the Impiety and Superstition of the Progenitor might descend to Posterity. And how acceptable this religious Temper, and these Efforts of Angelick Love were to God, we may learn from the signal, and indeed miraculous Successes and Deliverances he sent him.

THUS Providence, in both the *Persian* Wars, rescued him, and his Empire, in a very memorable and extraordinary manner. For, in the latter, the *Persians* breaking the Peace, and surprizing the Provinces that lay near with a very sudden Irruption, at a Time when all the Emperor's Generals and Forces were employ'd elsewhere; the Hand of Omnipotence sent down such Torrents of Rain, and Volleys of large Hail-stones in their Way, that in Twenty Days Time they were not able to march two Miles and a half, so that a military Force arriv'd soon enough to stop their Progress and defeat their Designs. In the first *Persian* War, the Enemy having lain before the City of *Theodosiopolis* above a Month, and pressing the Siege with all possible Vigour, and all Sorts of Engines and Machinations; and the *Roman* Generals thinking it too hazardous to attempt the Relief of the Place, so that the Town was given over for lost; the Bishop there, the Venerable *Eunomius*, undertook the Relief and Preservation of it, which was thus effected. One of the *Persian* Generals, or *Reguli*, vomiting forth Blasphemy and Outrage against the Majesty of Heaven, in the Language of *Rabshakeb* and *Sennacherib*, and bellowing loud Threats against the Temple of God, which he vow'd he would consume to Ashes; the Bishop order'd a *Balista*, (one of the old Engines in War for slinging Stones) which carry'd the Name of *St. Thomas the Apostle*, to be placed conveniently upon one of the Ramparts; and having charg'd it with a very large Stone, in the Name of
that

that God to whose Honour such Violence had been offered ; he order'd the Engineer to do his Duty ; which he did to good Purpose, so that the Stone directly flew in the Face of the Blaphemer, dash'd his Head to Pieces, and scatter'd his Brains round about upon the Ground. So visible and obvious a Stroak and Interposition of an Almighty Power cast the *Persian* King into so great a Consternation, and so dash'd all his Hopes of obtaining any Advantage against the *Romans*, that he was glad to conclude a Peace with them.

It happen'd once, that, in very inclement and unseasonable Weather, yielding to the Importunities and Impatience of the People, he permitted the usual Games and Festivities of the *Circus*, which was no sooner full, but there fell a violent Winter-Storm. At this the Emperor order'd the People to turn their Mirth into Supplications ; who address'd themselves immediately to Hymns of Deprecation, the Emperor himself (divested of his Imperial Ornaments) doing the Office of a Precentor. And God was pleas'd to notify his gracious Acceptance of their Prayers, by sending a sudden Calm, and a very fruitful Year. In Time of War he had recourse to the same pious Expedient, and found the same good Effects and Fruits of it.

[THIS young Emperor had three Sisters also very Young, *Pulcheria*, *Arcadia*, and *Marina*. *Pulcheria* took upon her a Vow of perpetual Virginity at *S. L. 9. c. 1.* Fifteen Years of Age, and perswaded her two *2, 3.* Sisters to do the same. In her Brother's Minority she made his Education, and the Welfare of the Empire her more especial Concern, and was excellently qualify'd for it by the natural Endowments of her Mind, and likewise by the acquire'd ones ; for she spoke and wrote Greek and Latin with admirable Facility and Elegance ; and the Empire flourish'd very remarkably under the good Influence of her Councils and Directions ; the Reputation and Praise of which she endeavour'd, as much as she could, to derive upon her Brother, whom she took all the Ways and Methods possible to make an accomplish'd, a prudent, and a pious Prince. She train'd him up especially to a true Knowledge and sincere Love of Religion and religious Men ; and we are to thank her Conduct and Activity that the Modern Heresies have since her time been so much out of Countenance.

tenance. Her Works of Piety, especially the Churches, Hospitals, and Religious Houses which she has Built, and her charitable Donations and Benevolences, speak themselves to much more Advantage than I can speak of them; and so acceptable are her fervent and frequent Addresses to the Divine Majesty, that not only her Petitions are granted in the Happiness of the Event, but her Sollicitude remov'd by previous Notifications of it to her. Among these extraordinary Communications was the wonderful Discovery of the Relicks of the Forty Soldiers who suffer'd Martyrdom under *Licinnius* at *Sebastia*; which she was favour'd with by the Direction of *Thyrus* the *Martyr*, who came three times in a Vision to her for that Purpose; and by an Appearance also at the same Time of the Forty Martyrs themselves, array'd in white and shining Robes. Her Sisters observ'd the same strict and religious Course of Life with herself, bestowing their Money largely in Works of Piety and Charity, and the greatest Part of their Days and Nights in Devotional Exercises and Processions, and were so much afraid of those idle Vacancies, which are look'd upon as the Privilege of Greatness, that they spent their Intervals in fine Weaving and Needle-work, and such kind of Employments as are the usual Province of that Sex.]

HONORIUS dying upon the Fifteenth of *August*, *Asclepiodotus* and *Marinianus* Consuls, *Theodosius* thought fit, for the present, to keep his Death conceal'd, and sent some Forces, with as little Noise as he could, to *Salona*, to prevent any seditious or invasive Attempts that might be made in the *West*. But yet this Precaution did not keep one *John*, President of the Imperial Secretaries, from assuming the Imperial Title, and soliciting *Theodosius* to admit him his Colleague; instead of which the Emperor confin'd his Legates, and sent the Imperial General *Ardaburius* to answer him in another Way; who, Sailing from *Salona* for *Aquileia* was driven, by a Tempest, into the Usurper's Hands; and this Accident fill'd him with a firm Perswasion and Confidence that now the Emperor would readily comply with his Demand.

THE Emperor, and the Army were filled with great Grief and Sollicitude under the Apprehension of the General's Danger; especially *Aspar*, *Ardaburius*'s Son, 'till by the Guidance of an Angel,

Angel, in the Habit of a Shepherd, God was pleas'd so to order it, as to bring him, and the Forces that were with him, over a Bog that had never been passable before, to *Ravenna*, where the Usurper then was, and his Father with him; and where, without any Opposition or Difficulty, they seiz'd the one, and rescued the other. It happen'd the Emperor receiv'd the News of the Traitor's being taken and punish'd according to his Demerit, as he was eternaining himself and his Subjects in the *Circus*, where, upon a short and pious Exhortation from him, they presently broke up from their Diversion; and went, the whole City in a Body together, Singing Psalms, and Songs of Thanksgiving, in solemn Procession to the Church, where they continued employ'd in the same Manner all that Day.

THIS early Usurpation was a sufficient Admonition to the Emperor to provide himself a Colleague for the *West*; which he did in the Person of his Nephew *Valentinian*, then but a Child, Son of *Constantius* (who had been receiv'd by *Honorius* into a Partnership of his Empire, but dy'd soon after) and of *Placidia*, Daughter to *Theodosius the Great*, in whom that Emperor vested the Regency. As he was upon the Way into *Italy*, in order to this young Prince's Investiture, whom he had already created *Cesar*; and to settle and secure the Fidelity and Loyalty of the Subjects of the *Western* Empire, he was stopp'd by Sickness at *Thessalonica*; which oblig'd him to send his Nephew the Imperial Crown, and return Home.

ATTICUS was all this while employing his good Talents of Prudence and Preaching in the Service of the Church; among other Things, taking Measures to compose the Feuds, and close the Breach that had happen'd and held so long (upon *St Chrysostom's* Account) by inserting his Name in the Diptychs. His Charity and Beneficence extended to the Churches beyond the Bounds of his Patriarchatè; an instance of which we have in the Hundred Pounds he sent to *Colliopius*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Nice*; directing him to make Men's Necessities, and not their Principles and Opinions, the Motive of his Distribution, and the Rule or Measure to proportion his *Quotas* by. He put an End to a Practice of the *Sabbatian Novations* (who, having translated their Master's Remains from the Isle of *Rhodes*, where he dy'd an Exile, frequented his Grave to do Honour to

his Memory) by removing the Body, and burying it elsewhere. Some People remonstrating to the Liberty which the *Novatians* were indulg'd in, of holding their separate Assemblies under his nose; he reply'd, they had been all along Fellow-sufferers with the Catholics in Defence of * the same Faith. Understanding from *Asclepiades*, a *Novatian* Bishop, that he had held that Office for the Space of Fifty Years, he told him that he was a happy Man that had been exercised for so long a Time in so † good a Work. In some Discourse that pass'd between them, he told the same *Asclepiades*, He was an Admirer of *Novatus*, though he could not have a good Opinion of the *Novatians*. The former, he said, did as himself would have done, in refusing to communicate with Apostates; but the latter he could by no means allow to do well, in Excommunicating their Laymen for every little Fault: To which *Asclepiades* reply'd, *That the Scripture mention'd many other Sins unto Death, besides Idolatry; and that the Remission of them was to be left to God's extraordinary Mercies; and || that all the Difference was, other Churches excluded only the Clergy their Communion for the Commission of them, whereas the Novatians subjected the Laity to the same Discipline.* *Atticus's* Death (of which he was so appriz'd, that, leaving *Nice*, he told *Calliopius*, If he did not come to *C. P.* before *Autumn*, he would not find him alive) happen'd in *Theodosius's* eleventh and *Valentinian's* first Consulat, on the tenth of *October*, in the twenty first Year of his Episcopat. *Theodosius* arriv'd from *Thessalonica* one Day too late to be present at his Obsequies.

'TWAS now contested who should succeed *Atticus*. Interests were made for *Philip*, and for *Proclus*, both Presbyters. But the Body of the People declar'd loudly for *Sisinnius*, a Man of the same Order, whose Cure lay in a Part of the Suburbs of *C. P.* call'd *Elaea*. His very exemplary Piety and Charity re-

* i. e. In Opposition to the Arians, and all Adversaries of the Divinity of the Son or the Holy Ghost.

† More Footsteps of our Author's too favourable Opinion of the *Novatians*.

|| The learned Annotator, instead of his Note upon this Place, or, at least, Part

of it, might rather have solv'd the Difficulties and Singularities imply'd in it, by supposing it a Misinformation some *Novatian* or other had impos'd upon the *Historian* with. See Bishop *Beveridge*, in Mr. *Reading's* Not. Var.

commended him to their Affections ; and he was ordain'd on the twenty eighth of *February*, in the Twelfth Consulship of *Theodosius*, and the Second of *Valentinian*. An Ordination, which *Philip*, his Competitor, has strangely inveigh'd against, and misrepresented in that voluminous, rhapsodical, pedantick, inelegant, confus'd Work, which he calls his *Christian History*, consisting of almost a Thousand Tomes, or Parts, half of every one of which is wasted in the Argument, or Contents. The same *Philip* also wrote a Confutation of *Julian* the Apostate's Books. It must be confess'd, he study'd hard, and collected himself a very large and noble Library, made up of all variety of Learning. His Attendance on St. *Chrysostom* had prov'd an Occasion of his Advancement to the Office of Deacon. The Place of his Nativity was *Side*, a City of *Pamphylia*, the same with *Troilus* the Sophist's, to whom he would have had it believ'd he was related. But to return.

A Vacancy falling in the Church of *Cyzicus*, *Sisinnius* ordain'd *Proclus* into it ; notwithstanding which, the People of the Place, when *Proclus* was now going to set out upon his Journey thither, got another Bishop set over them, one *Dalmatius*, a Monk, in Defiance to * a Law, or Canon, which plac'd the Election in the Bishop of *C. P.* pretending that Law, or Canon, was no longer in Force upon the Decease of *Atticus*. *Proclus* could not help himself, but continued at *C. P.* where he gain'd immortal Honour by his excellent Sermons. *Sisinnius* had not held the Chair two Years, when he departed this Life, on the twenty fourth of *December*, *Hierius* and *Ardeburius* Consuls. He was a plain, open Man, and not at all qualify'd for Business, or Intrigue, or the Subtilties of Politicians.

THE Friends of *Philip* now again solicited his Advancement to the Chair of *C. P.* and those of *Proclus* very industriously strove to obtain that Dignity for Him. But their Majesties, to discountenance and check the Ambition of aspiring Men, thinking it better to make choice of a Stranger, sent for one *Nestorius* from *Antioch*, a Native of *Germanicia*, one that preach'd elegantly and loud, and was in good Esteem for strictness of

* V. Val. in loc.

Virtue. He was ordain'd on the tenth of *April*, in the Consulship of *Felix* and *Taurus*; and in his very first Sermon gave a Specimen (as all discerning Men understood it) of his hot and haughty Temper, in those well known Expressions which he us'd to the Emperor, *Do you take care, Sir, to let me have this lower World well clear'd and scour'd of Hereticks, and I will recompense you with the Glories and Felicities of that Above. Do you stand by me in extinguishing Heresie, and I'll make good your Part against the Persian.* He had not been five Days in Office when, attempting to demolish the *Arian* Church where those People met privately, and by stealth, for their Worship, he incens'd them to such a height of Desperation, that they set Fire to it themselves, which consuming not only the Church, but some Houses adjoining, a Tumult ensued, which must have been of very fatal Consequence, had not God's Special Providence lay'd the Tempest asleep. These, and the like violent Proceedings also against the *Novatians*, (whose Bishop, *Paul*, incur'd his high Displeasure by the Fame of his Piety *) got *Nestorius* the Name and Character of an Incendiary. As for his Cruelty to the *Quartodecimans* in *Asia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and the Tragical Effects of his furious Management in the Commotions that happen'd at *Miletus* and *Sardis*, let them be bury'd in Oblivion. 'Tis enough to take no further Notice of him and his Actings at present, than that their Majesties found it necessary, in good Time, to advise him to take milder Measures.

ABOUT this time the *Burgundians*, an Unconverted, but a Plain Peaceable People, that live on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and get their Livelihood by Mechanick Employments, being invaded with great Violence and Devastation by the *Hunns*, and perceiving their Case desperate, with regard to all human Means, bethought themselves of recommending it entirely to the Care of some Divine Power; in the Choice of which they were easily resolv'd by the Consideration of the Protection and Blessings which the Subjects of the Empire enjoy'd under their Deity; and so betook themselves to a certain Bishop in *Gall*, who, after they had spent Seven Days in Fasting and

* More Suspicion of Novatianism in our Author.

Book VII. of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodorit. 581

learning the Elements of the Christian Faith, baptiz'd * and dismiss'd them. And their Religious Policy answer'd their Expectation; for *Optar*, the *Hunnish* King dying suddenly of an excessive Meal, Three Thousand of the *Burgundians* fell upon their Enemies vastly superior in Force, as appears from the Number of the Slain, which was about Ten Thousand, and utterly routed them. A Victory, which has ever since kept that People very serious in the Belief and fervent in the Profession of *Christianity*.

BARBA, the *Arian* Bishop dy'd on the twenty fourth Day of *June*, in *Theodosius's* Thirteenth and *Valentinian's* Third Consulship; and *Sabbatius* succeeded him.

NESTORIUS still went on, under Pretence of a Religious Zeal, to gratify his Humour and Passion; among the Instruments of which he employed *Antony* Bishop of *Germa* in *Hellepont*, who, in Obedience to the Commands of his Master, irritating the *Macedonians* into Desperation, lost his Life by the Hands of their Assassins. Upon which *Nestorius* persuaded their Majesties to take from them their Churches in *C. P.* at *Cyzicus* and elsewhere. Nevertheless these warm and vigorous Proceedings reduc'd some of them to a sober Mind and a Catholick Faith. Which yet *Nestorius* now blindly run a tilt against with as much Heat and Activity as he had contended, or at least seem'd to contend, for it before. The Occasion was this: *Anastasius*, a Presbyter, whom he had brought with him from *Antioch*, his Bosom Confident and Counsellor, having these Expressions in a Sermon, *Mary ought not to be call'd the Mother of God: Mary was a Woman, and God cannot be born of a Woman*, strangely surpriz'd and scandaliz'd his Audience, Clergy and Laity, who had never 'till now, been taught to separate the Humanity of *Christ* from his Divinity; and this occasion'd a publick Disturbance in the Church, which *Nestorius*, instead of appeasing, increas'd and blew up into a terrible (and at length general) Confusion and

* This must have been done by a very considerable Number of Presbyters in conjunction with himself. As to what immediately follows, see Page in Mr. Reading's Notes.

Combustion,

Combustion, by undertaking and perpetually plying the Discussion of the Point, in which he vindicated his Favourite *Anastasius's* Positions, and declar'd eagerly and obstinately against the Word θεοτόκος, (*the Mother of God,*) † which single Word seems to me (who have endeavour'd to inform myself from his Friends, and read over all his Writings, and am as ready to justify him where I think I can justify him, as to accuse him where I disapprove his Positions and Reasonings) to be the only thing he quarrels at; tho' I know it has been generally thought he was of the same Mind with *Paulus Samosatenus*, *Photinus*, the *Manichees*, and *Montanists*; whereas, in his Homilies, he plainly asserts the proper Existence and Personality of the Son. That which betray'd him into this Heretodox Singularity, was the want of that Knowledge and Learning, which his natural good Parts and Eloquence made not only other People but himself imagine he had; insomuch that preferring his own to the Understanding and Authority of all the Ancients, he troubled himself very little with any of their Writings. Otherwise he must have known, that that Text of *St. John* in his first Epistle, c. 4. v. 3. was read in the ancient Copies thus, *Every Spirit that divides Jesus from God is not of God* †; which we are told by the old Expositors, was alter'd to what we now find it by those that were for splitting the two Natures. This Authority of *St. John's* was a plain and sufficient Foundation for the Ancients to stile the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God; for *Eusebius* to say (in his Third Book of the *Life of Constantine*) *that God condescended to be Born for us, that Bethlehem was the Place of his Birth, &c. that, therefore, the Empress Helena had magnificently endow'd and adorn'd the Ruins of the Stable where the Mother of God brought him forth*; and for *Origen* to enter into so large an Enquiry in the first Volume of his Comment upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, how far and in what Sense she is call'd *the Mother of God*.

A DISMAL Omen or Prognostick of the sad Evils that were now coming upon the Church happen'd at this time, in a very

* This is hardly consistent with some Passages the Reader will find in the Sequel of this Story.

† See Valer. on the Place.

Sacrilegious and Sanguinary Prophanation of the great Church at C. P. whither the Slaves of a certain Nobleman, that were Barbarians, fled for Sanctuary from the Fury and Cruelty of their Master, and planting themselves at the Altar with their drawn Swords for several Days together, cut off all access to it, 'till having kill'd one Clergyman, and wounded another, they concluded this execrable Scene of Violence and Despair, by putting a Period to their own Lives.

THE Emperor soon found it necessary to have the Dispute occasion'd by *Nestorius* decided in a General Council, which for that Purpose he summon'd to *Ephesus*; whither, immediately after *Easter*, (in the Consulship of *Basilius* and *Antiochus*) repair'd *Nestorius*, a prodigious Concourse of People following him. A good number of Bishops were already there; yet *Cyril* of *Alexandria* did not arrive 'till *Whitsuntide*, and *Juvenal* of *Jerusalem* not 'till after him. *John* of *Antioch* made it his Business to create Delays, and keep away as long as he could; but the Bishops, after their Patience had been sufficiently try'd, not thinking fit to wait for him any longer, the Cause was brought under Examination. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who had no good Understanding with *Nestorius* began the Debates, and in such a manner as he thought would sufficiently mortify and damp his Enemy. And many of the rest asserting, that *Christ* was God, *Nestorius* told them he could not tell how to make a God of a Child two or three Months Old*; and so, said he, *I am pure from the Blood of you all, and will henceforth trouble you with my Company no more*†. Accordingly he and the Bishops of his Party made themselves a Synod. The Council then summon'd *Nestorius*, who declaring he would not appear 'till *John* of *Antioch* was come, and being, upon a mature and careful Examination of his Sermons, convicted of notorious Blasphemy against the Son of God, was depos'd: He, on the other hand, with his Convention of Accomplices return'd the same Sentence upon *Cyril* and *Memnon* of *Ephesus*. Soon after, *John* of *Antioch* arriving and condemning *Cyril's* Proceedings as rash and violent, *Cyril*, in concert with *Juvenal* depos'd him also. And now, after he had

* In Opposition to the Word Θεοτόκος, or the Mother of God.

† See Val. upon the Place.

thus shatter'd and involv'd the Church, and tore her Communion in pieces, the Heretick recants, and, for his Part, declares to make up these Quarrels, that the Blessed Virgin shall be call'd the Mother of God with all his heart. But that did not serve his turn. For instead of being re-instated in his Bishoprick, he was banish'd, into *Oasis*, where he still continues, The Synod thus ended, *John* returns to *Antioch*, calls a large Assembly of Bishops and deposes *Cyril*; but it was not long e'er they were reconcil'd, and mutually restor'd one another. *Constantinople*, in the mean time, was miserably immers'd in Controversy and Confusion, thro' the wild Effects of *Nestorius's* wretched Sophistry; as for the Clergy, they had, one and all, anathematiz'd him.

THE old Tryal of Skill now return'd about the Choice of a Bishop. A very considerable number of Solicitors appear'd for *Philip*; and a greater for *Proclus*, who notwithstanding lost it by the Objection which some great People cast in his Way of the Canon against Translations. In the conclusion, *Maximian*, of the Monastick Profession, was advanc'd to the Chair; a Presbyter; a plain illiterate Man, but whose Piety in erecting for the Interment of Persons of Exemplary Lives, had procur'd him that Reputation and Reverence, which now cost him the very pleasure of his Life, a Religious Retirement.

By the way; those that objected the Canon against *Proclus*, if they did not do it in Malice, must know very little of the Canons and Practice of the Church. † The Canon they went upon ordains, that if any Bishop does not acquire the Possession of the See into which he is Ordain'd, provided the Fault is not his own, and so long as he gives no Disturbance to the Church of which he is consecrated Bishop, he shall be accounted the true and proper Bishop of the Place; and that he shall, without scruple, submit himself in this Affair to the Synodical Determination of the Bishops of the Province. Besides; how many are the Instances of such Translations? *Alexander*, as we are told by *Eusebius*, (*Eccles. Hist. L. 6.*) was

† A Mistake. See Valesius's first and second Note upon this Chapter.

Translated from a Bishoprick in *Cappadocia* to the See of *Jerusalem*; *Perigenes* from *Patra*, where the People would not admit him, to *Corinth*; *Gregory Nazianzen* from *Sasima* to *Nazianzum*; *Meletius* from *Sebastia* to *Antioch*; *Dositheus* from *Seleucia* to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*; *Reverentius* from *Arca* in *Phœnicia* to *Tyre*; *John* from *Gordus* in *Lydia* to *Proconnesus*; *Palladius* from *Helenopolis* to *Aspuna*; *Alexander* from *Helenopolis* to *Adriana*; *Theophilus* from *Apamea* to *Eudoxiopolis*; *Polycarp* from *Sexantaprista* to *Nicopolis*; *Hierophilus* from *Trapezopolis* to *Plotinopolis*; *Optimus* from *Agdamia* to the *Pisidian Antioch*; *Silvanus* from *Philippopolis* to *Troas*; Concerning whom (here ending our Catalogue of Translated Bishops) we shall interpose a short Digression. He had made the Study of Rhetorick, under *Troilus* the Sophist, his Business and Employment; but turning *Christian*, he quitted that Profession, and betook himself to a Monastick Life. *Atticus* ordain'd him (tho' not without a sort of Compulsion) Bishop of *Philippopolis*, where his Constitution not being able to endure the rigour of the Cold, he prevail'd with *Atticus* to place some Body else in his room, and removing himself to C. P. return'd to his former Severity of Life; often walking the Streets † with a wisp of Hay about his Feet, instead of a Pair of Shoos. Some time after, the Bishop of *Troas* dying, while *Atticus* was deliberating about a fit Person to succeed him, *Silvanus* happen'd to come upon a Visit to him, who by that Accident was soon determin'd in his Choice; and told him, he must not demurr upon accepting what Providence so visibly tender'd him, the Bishoprick of *Troas*, a Place which did by no means afford him the Excuse that he had pleaded for relinquishing *Philippopolis*. *Silvanus* acquiesc'd; and was accordingly made Bishop of *Troas*; and in his Administration of his Office there, he wrought a very wonderful Work. A Ship of an immense Burthen was to be launch'd, which when Human Strength had, for many Days, in vain, attempted to move; 'twas concluded, on all Hands, that some Demon or other held it fast. *Silvanus* hereupon was apply'd to; who told them very humbly and modestly, that he found himself conscious of too much Sinfulness to suppose he could be serviceable to them; but at

† *Atticus* together with *Silvanus*.

last he was prevail'd upon, and went to the Place, address'd himself in Prayer to the Divine Majesty; then rising, took hold of one of the Ropes, and bad the Workmen set their Shoulders again to the Hull, which they had scarce done, but the Vessel, in an Instant, run off into the Sea; and in the Consequences † drew after it all that remain'd unconverted in that Province, to the Christian Religion. The same good Bishop, finding his Clergy made a Gain of the Office committed to them of arbitrating and composing Disputes between Neighbours, instead of putting a speedy Issue to them, transferr'd it into Lay-Hands. And these Things gave him an universal and shining Reputation.

ABOUT the Time of *Maximian's* Advancement appear'd in *Crete* a certain *Jewish* Impostor, who travel'd over the whole Island, pretending himself to be *Moses* sent from Heaven, and that he would conduct them through the Sea (as he had formerly led their Fathers) into the promis'd Land. Having with these fine Promises perswaded them to leave their Estates, and whatever they were Masters of in the Place, he led them, with their Wives and Children, to a Rock that hung over the Sea, into which he order'd them to throw themselves. The foremost obeying his Command, were either dash'd in Pieces upon the Cliffs, or drown'd; and so the rest had also been, but that some Fishermen and Trading People, who were *Christians* as it happen'd, being at that Time underneath, drew some of them out of the Sea, and warn'd those that were above of trying an Experiment which their Fellows had succeeded so ill in. The *Jews*, now finding how grossly they had been impos'd upon, were one and all determin'd to make the pretended Prophet pay with his Life for so Impudent and Inhuman a Cheat; but, on a sudden, he was no where to be found; which made some People believe he was some Evil Spirit in the Shape of a Man. This Delusion, and this Delivery had the good Effect upon many of those *Jews*, to turn them *Christians*.

NOT long after, a dreadful Conflagration happening at *C. P.* which consum'd a great Part of the City, and was very near burning down the Church of the *Novatians*, having made its

† So I understand its ενάρεται ηγερ.

way through all the Windows and Doors ; * *Paul* their Bishop prostrating himself at the Altar, where he pour'd forth earnest Prayers for the City and Church, obtain'd the Preservation of the latter in such a remarkable Manner, that the Fire (which had lasted two Days and two Nights) left the Edifice entire, and not so much as discolour'd with Smoke, tho' it did not spare the Buildings round about it. The Day, on which the Fire ceas'd, being the Seventeenth of *August*, *Theodosius* and *Maximus* Consuls, the *Novatians* observe as an Anniversary, and the Place preserv'd strikes an Awe not only in all Christians, but many Heathens too, when they look upon it.

ON the Twelfth of *April*, *Areobindus* and *Aspar* Consuls, dy'd *Maximian*, having held his Patriarchate in Peace two Years and five Months. And to prevent all Inconveniences and Disorders that might attend a Competition for the Chair, the Emperor *Theodosius* the same Day recommended it to as many Bishops as were then at hand, to ordain *Proclus* his Successor without delay ; who, notwithstanding the Rule against Translations, had the † good wishes of *Celestine*, Bishop of *Rome*, in his Letters to his Collegues of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and to *Rufus* of *Theffalonica*, as appear'd by Letters which had been sent from *Celestine*. *Proclus* had been early constituted a Reader. The Study of his Youth was Rhetorick. Being arriv'd at Manhood, *Atticus* took care of him, and first made him his *Amanuensis*, then in good time ordain'd him Deacon ; afterwards he rose to the Order of Presbyter, and at length, as we mention'd before, to that of Bishop. He was a great and good Man, happy in all the Virtues that adorn'd his Master *Atticus*, and superior to him in those of Clemency and Lenity ; for whereas *Atticus* fell sometimes with great Vigour and Severity upon the Sectaries, he confin'd himself to the milder Methods of bringing them to Reason. A Temper and Practice which the Emperor *Theodosius* extremely delighted in ; to whom we may justly apply that Eulogy which is given of *Moses* in the Book of *Numbers*, That *He was very meek above all the Men which were upon the Face of the Earth*. His Dependence upon God, and

* Another Specimen of our Historian's too great Fondness for the Novatians.

† V. Val. in Cap. 49. n. 1.

Addressees to him, were the Arms which he principally trusted to; and by these he gain'd Victories and subdu'd Enemies (in the Manner he desir'd) without Effusion of Blood. Thus he rid his Hands of *Barbarians* that had serv'd the Usurper *John*, and were now preparing to fall in, like a Flood, upon the *Roman* Provinces, when *Rohas*, their Captain, was struck dead with Lightning, as were a great Part of his Army, after a Pestilence had destroy'd a greater. Very remarkable Judgments, which astonish'd the *Barbarians* into a Conviction, that there was no struggling against the God of the Empire, and gave Occasion to that celebrated Sermon of *Proclus*, upon the 2d, the 22d; and 23d Verses of the 38th Chap. of *Ezekiel*, *Son of Man set thy Face against Gog, &c.*

AMONG other signal Blessings which our Emperor's mild Government deriv'd upon him, was the Marriage of his Daughter *Eudoxia* to his Nephew *Valentinian*, Emperor of the West, in the Consulship of * *Isidore* and *Senator*.

AND, not long after, † *Proclus* finally extinguish'd all the Feuds and Animosities which the Cause of *St. Chrysostom* had occasion'd by bringing his Body (with the Emperor's Consent) to *C. P.* and there very splendidly and pompously Interring it in the Church of the Apostles, upon the twenty seventh Day of *January*, in the sixteenth Consulat of his present Majesty, and the thirty fifth Year after *Chrysostom's* being dethroned.

IN the same Consulat, on the twenty first of *July*, dy'd *Paul* the *Novatian* Bishop; a Man of || that admirable Innocence and Severity of Life, that as all sorts of People, of whatever Perswasion, unanimously honour'd and reverenc'd him before; so they joyn'd their Hymns in one universal Chorus at his Funeral. * During his Sickness he neither abated of the Rigours of his Monastick Diet, nor omitted any Part of his usual Course of Devotion, nor shew'd less Liveliness and Ardour in it. When he found he had not long to live, he sent for all

* V. Val.

† Those Differences seem to have been, at least in a great Measure, compos'd before by *Atticus's* Restoring his Name to

the *Diptychs*.

|| More of the Historian's Kindness to the *Novatians*.

* This does not seem very probable.

his

his Presbyters, and propos'd to them, for the better securing the Peace of their Communion, that they should agree upon a Person to succeed him while he was yet with them. They told him, 'twas very unlikely they should all concur in the same Judgment, and therefore desir'd him to elect for them. He demanded that they would give him, under their Hands, a sufficient Assurance that they would chuse the Person he should nominate; which when they had done, he rais'd himself up in his Bed, and writ down the Name of *Marcian* (a Presbyter that had been his Scholar in the Discipline) taking Care that no Body should see what he writ; and the Paper, seal'd with his own and the Seals of the Presbyters of chief Note and Character, he deliver'd into the Hands of *Mark*, a *Scythian* Bishop of his Communion then at *C. P.* requiring him, if it should yet please God to give him longer Life, to return it to him as he receiv'd it; but if he did not recover, he should find there, he told him, the Name of the Person that was to succeed him; and as soon as he had thus settled this Affair he expir'd. Three Days after, the Instrument was open'd and expos'd to View in the Presence of a mighty Throng of Witnesses, who were no sooner told what the Name was, but, with Shouts, they declared their entire Satisfaction in the Man; so Care was immediately taken to have him surpriz'd at *Tiberiopolis*, where he was at that Time, and conducted to *C. P.* where he was ordain'd and entron'd on the twenty first of † *August*.

MEAN time the Felicities and Blessings which the Divine Goodness shower'd down upon them, the Emperor and Empress very gratefully and piously acknowledg'd, not only by publick Thanksgivings and Festival Solemnities, but by noble Donations, as particularly those of the Empress to the Churches in the East in her Journey to *Jerusalem*, (whither with the Emperor's consent * she travell'd, having made a vow that she would visit that Place when she had seen her Daughter marry'd) and in her return from thence.

† A Mistake. V. Val.

* The word here is *ἐπεμπεν* which sounds as if she would have neglected or delay'd to perform this Vow without the Empe-

peror's Command. Unless we are to understand it in a general sense, that he approved of her going and took care of it.

THE See of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* becoming vacant by the Death of *Firmus*, and the *Cæsareans* at this time (in *Theodosius's* seventeenth Consulat) petitioning *Proclus* to provide a Successor, the good Bishop ventur'd to do that which * never any Bishop did before. For while he was yet in Suspence about the Choice of a proper Person, all the Senators coming to him one *Saturday* in the Church to pay their respects to him, he seiz'd upon one of their number, *Thalassius*, who had all the Provinces and Cities of *Illyricum* under his Superintendence and Government; and tho' 'twas reported the Emperor then design'd to constitute him *Pretorio-Prefect* of the East, nevertheless the Bishop ordain'd him in the Chair of *Cæsarea*.

[IN the Reign of *Honorius* was found the Body of the Prophet *Zachary*, who appearing to one *Calemerus*, Overseer or Steward of the Lands that belong to a Village call'd *Chaphar* near *Eleutheropolis* in *Palestine*; an honest and faithful Servant to his Master, but of a Morose and Surly Temper, and no fair Dealer among his Neighbours; told him, if he dug in such a certain Place, he would find two Coffins one within another, the Outer of Lead, and the Inner of Wood, with a Glass Vessel or Urn full of Water, and two Snakes as gentle and harmless as if they had been bred up by Hand. Accordingly every thing was found as the Prophet had describ'd; and the Coffin being open'd, there lay in it the sacred Body entire, Cloath'd in a white Garment like the Sacerdotal Robe, he having been (as my Author conjectures) a Priest. His Skin was smooth and clear, his Nose not fallen, his Beard somewhat grown, his Head short, his Eyes clos'd and a little sunk. At the Foot of his Coffin lay an Infant with Ornaments and Ensigns about him of a Royal Interment, having a Crown of Gold upon his Head, Golden Shoos upon his Feet, and a very Rich Mantle or Robe about his Body, suppos'd to have been the Son of King *Joash* from the Testimony of an Ancient *Hebrew* Book, which, 'tis said, *Zacharias* the Prior of the Monastery in *Gerar* had met with, wherein 'twas related that that King having lost his Son

* See Val. n. on c. 48.

by a sudden stroke of Death the Seventh Day after he had slain the Prophet *Zachary*, and looking upon it as a Judgment which God had inflicted for that impious Murder, had the Child bury'd at the Prophet's Feet to express his Contrition and Repentance. In the same Reign were discover'd the Remains of many other Saints of Illustrious Name and Sacred Memory ; particularly, and in a wonderful manner too, the Body of St. *Stephen* the Deacon and first Martyr.]

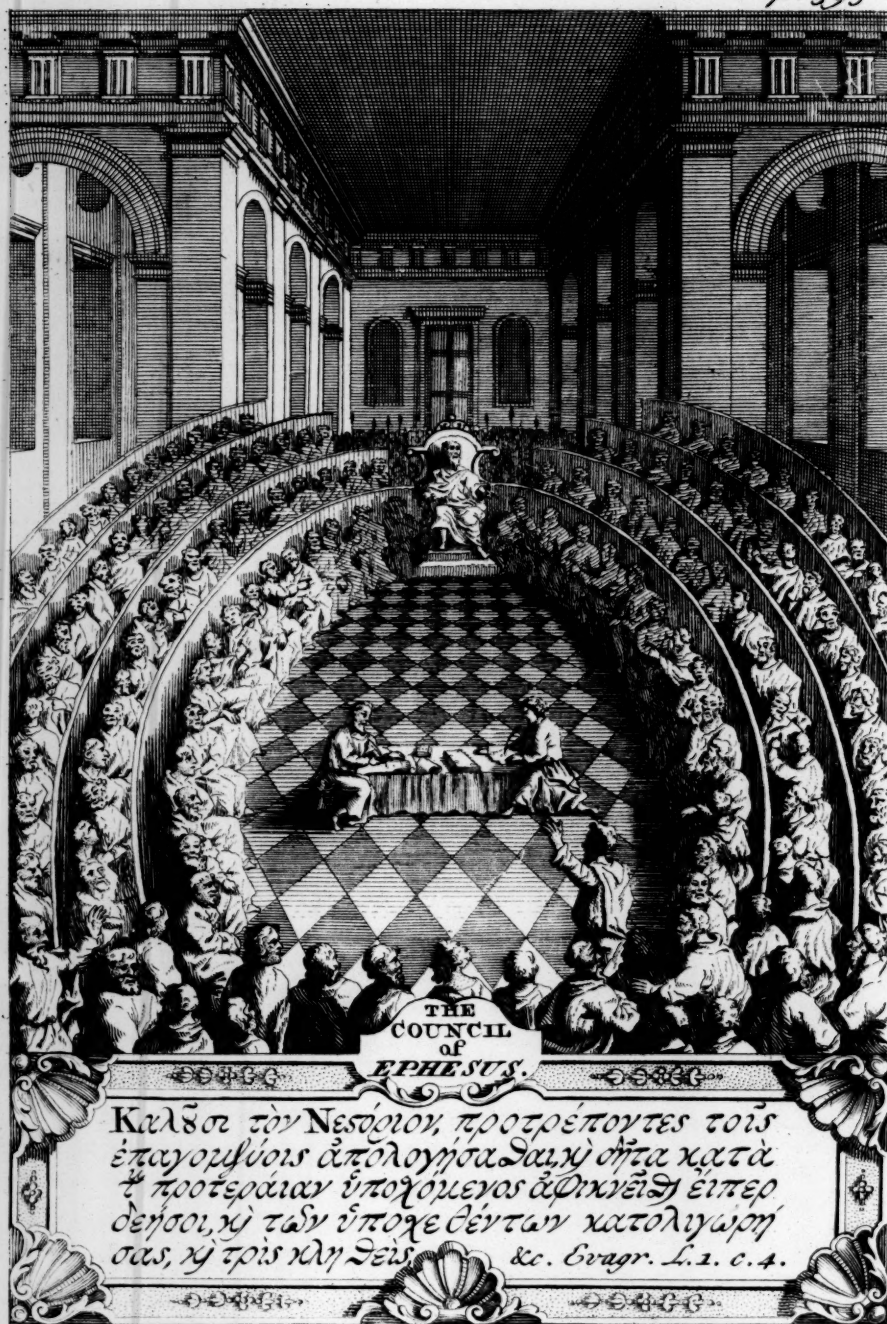
AND here, says *Socrates*, I close my History, wishing the Church and State may never want that Peace and Prosperity which both enjoy at this time.

OUR seventh and last Book takes in the Compass of thirty two Years ; and the whole Work the space of an hundred and forty, beginning at the first Year of the two hundred and seventy first Olympiad, and ending at the second of the three hundred and fifth ; which fell in with *Theodosius's* Seventeenth Consulat.



T H E





THE
Ecclesiastical History
OF
EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS.

IN SIX BOOKS.

Abridg'd by a Learned Friend.





T O

PETER LEGH, Esq;

Of LYME, in *Cheshire*.

SIR,



OUR Character, as a Gentleman of great Integrity, Honour, Generosity, and Hospitality, is so well known, that to enlarge upon it would look more like a Complement than an historical Truth, and a just Praise in your Case might pass, as it sometimes does, for a studied Panegyrick, because Flattery is so frequent in Addresses of this nature.

F f f f 2

T H E

DEDICATION.

THE World, I may say, beheld you in that worthy Gentleman your Father before you were born, and will dwell on the Parallel with Pleasure through, I hope, a long *Procession* of Posterity.

I WILL not rise higher into the Antiquities of your Family. I might mention the Honorary Augmentation of a Hand and Banner to their Escutcheon, and the Addition of the Manor of *Harley*, with its Franchises and Privileges, to their Estate ; the Knights of the Noble Order of the *Banner* that have made so considerable a Figure among your Predecessors ; but yet, more particularly, Sir, that illustrious Ancestor of yours, that had the Honour to advance the *Black Prince's* Standard at the Battle of *Cressy*. With Pleasure to the Spectators of heroick Life I might draw the Curtain, and open the Scene, and range these Men of Military Fame before them.

BUT

DEDICATION.

BUT *vix ea nostra*. Much more important is your Warfare, much *brighter* is your Armour. Your Exemplary Life and your Works of Piety and Munificence are the distinguishing *Homage* and *Service* of a good Soldier of JESUS CHRIST.

I AM sorry I have not sent you a more agreeable Present than this short History of the Church in Times when she was rent into so many jarring Interests, Divisions, and Subdivisions, by that Ambition, Avarice, Pride, and Popularity, which gave a surprizing and fatal Turn to the Heads and Hearts of some Men of great Figure and Power both in Church and State.

IT were easy to bring down Ecclesiastical History in the same Form much farther ; but the Face of the Church, very soon after the Expiration of the Ages in which a transient View of her has been taken in this Abridgment of *Evagrius*, by degrees became so deplorably changed from her native Complexion and Beauty, that it is pity the Picture of
her

DEDICATION.

her in her Virgin Bloom should pass under comparison with later Paintings in her declining Years.

THE Widow and the Orphan are happy in your Pity and Care ; how much more that royal disconsolate Matron in her mourning Weeds, beholding as it were through a Glass darkly, her Loving and Beloved Spouse the Son of God ; and even separated from the Light of his Countenance as far as the Malice, Artifices and Power of Men and Devils can intercept a Commerce and struggle against a Union which is never to be dissolv'd ?

I AM very glad, Sir, of this Opportunity to publish my unfeigned Respect for you ; and to subscribe myself

Your most obedient Servant

SAMUEL PARKER.



THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
Evagrius Scholasticus.

BOOK I, and II.



SOONER had the Church dissipated and subdued the Frenies of *Arius*, *Eunomius*, and *Macedonius*, but another Heresy started up, under the Countenance and Protection of *Nestorius*.

WHEN *Anastasius* confidently declared in his Sermon, at the Church of *Constantinople*, that *Mary* ought not to have the Title of † θεοτόκος, saying, "That *Mary* was a Woman, and it was impossible for God to be born of a Wo-

† Mother of God.

"man."

“man:” *Nestorius*, the Bishop of that See, was so far from enjoining him Silence, or engaging on the side of the true Doctrine himself, that having expressly confirm’d the Assertion, he proceeded to advance his own private Opinion, declaring, in the Rancour of his Soul, “That he would never acknowledge him
“as God, who was once but two Months old.”

CYRIL was, at this time, Bishop of *Alexandria*. He could not forbear censuring the Conduct of *Nestorius*, and accordingly wrote several Letters to him, full of the sharpest Reprimands. But *Nestorius* still continued inflexible. So that *Cyril*, perceiving that neither he himself, nor his Collegue the Bishop of *Rome*, were able to make any Impression upon him, petition’d *Theodosius* the Younger, Emperor of the *East*, to call a Council; which was afterwards summon’d to meet at *Ephesus* on the Day of *Pentecost*.

THE Synod being open’d, and *Nestorius*, after three Citations, refusing to appear, *Memnon*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, stood up, and laid before the Council the Time that had elapsed since the Day appointed by the Emperor for their Meeting. Then the Letters, which had pass’d between *Cyril* and *Nestorius*, were produced and read, as well as the Epistle which *Celestine*, the Bishop of *Rome*, had sent him. After this, *Theodotus*, Bishop of *Ancyra*, and *Acacius*, Bishop of *Meletina*, laid before them the Blasphemies which *Nestorius* had publicly vented at *Ephesus*. At last the Synod, having establish’d the true Faith from a sufficient Collection of Passages, drawn out of the Fathers; and ranged the Blasphemies, which *Nestorius* had madly utter’d, under their several Heads, proceeded to declare, that “Whereas
“the most Venerable *Nestorius*, among many other Things,
“had not obey’d their Citations, and had denied Admittance
“to the most Holy and Religious Bishops, who had been sent
“to him by Order of the Council, they had been obliged to
“enter upon an Examination of his vile and impious Blasphemies; and having found, upon full Enquiry, as well from his
“own Letters and Writings, lately produced and read, as from
“the Expressions sufficiently proved to have flow’d from his
“own Mouth, not long ago, in that very Metropolis, that he
“maintain’d and propagated certain impious Doctrines and Opinions; they were forced, in Observance to the Canons, and
“also

“ also in Compliance with the Epistle of *Celestine*, Bishop of *Rome*,
“ their Collegue, to proceed, tho’ with the utmost Grief and
“ Concern, to this melancholy Sentence.— Our Lord *Jesus*
“ *Christ* therefore, whom *Nestorius* hath blasphemed, does by the
“ Mouth of this Holy Synod decree, That he be divested of his
“ Episcopal Dignity, and excluded from all Sacerdotal Assem-
“ blies.”

FIVE Days after this Sentence was pass’d upon *Nestorius*,
John, Bishop of *Antioch* (for whom the Council had waited no
less than sixteen Days) arrived, with his Suffragans, at *Ephesus*;
and hearing what the Council had done, assembled his Bi-
shops, and having form’d a Synod, deposed *Cyril* and *Memnon*.

UPON this the two Bishops appeal’d to the Council, in which
themselves assisted. Accordingly a Citation is issued out, and
John, refusing to obey it, is, together with the Bishops of his
Party, stripp’d of all Sacerdotal Authority, and laid under an Ex-
communication; whilst the Sentence, which he had pass’d upon
Cyril and *Memnon*, is unanimously reversed.

IN the mean time *Theodosius* did not approve of these Pro-
ceedings against *Nestorius*. He even refused to sign his Deposi-
tion. And though it afterwards receiv’d his Confirmation, yet
Nestorius (as he tells us in his Defence) partly at his own Re-
quest, and partly by the Application made in his Behalf from
some of the Bishops of both Parties, obtained Leave to retire
to his Monastery at *Antioch*; where he was loaded with Pre-
sents, and treated with the highest Respect; till, after the space
of four Years, he was banish’d to *Oasis*, a City in *Libya*.

THE Emperor being now fully convinced of the Tenets of
Nestorius, applied himself strenuously to form a Reconciliation
between *Cyril* and *John*. Whereupon an amicable Correspondence
was open’d between the two Sees; and *John*, in a Let-
ter to *Cyril*, declared his Concurrence in the Deposition of *Ne-
storius*; whilst the Emperor himself, among the other Laws
which he enacted for the Security and Preservation of the True
Faith, publish’d a Constitution, to prevent the farther Growth
of this poisonous Herefy.

G g g g

NESTO-

NESTORIUS was succeeded by *Maximian*; upon whose Decease, the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* was confer'd on *Proclus*; and after him, on *Flavian*.

THE Church, which, ever since the Deposition of *Nestorius*, had enjoyed a profound Quiet, was now alarm'd again by another Controversy. *Eutyches* having been deposed by a Synod, held at *Constantinople*, for saying, "That he own'd indeed, before the Union was commenced, our Lord *Jesus Christ* had two * Natures; but after the Union, he had but one: And also for asserting, That the Body of our Lord *Jesus Christ* did not consist of the same Substance with ours": He presented a Petition to *Theodosius*, complaining, that the Acts of the Synod had been falsified by *Flavian*. And though the Acts were afterwards confirm'd by another Synod, held at *Constantinople*, which consisted of the neighbouring Bishops, and some of the principal Officers of State; yet a Council is summon'd to *Ephesus*; and *Chrysaphius*, by his Interest at Court, procures an Order for *Dioscorus*, *Cyril's* Successor, to preside.

FLAVIAN, and the Bishops of his Province, had their Seats in this Synod; nevertheless they were forbid, by the Emperor, to interfere in the Proceedings: So that *Eutyches*, the *Archimandrite*, is restored to his Ecclesiastical Dignity; whilst *Flavian* and *Eusebius* (Bishop of *Dorylaeum*, who brought the Libel against *Eutyches*) were condemned and deposed.

THE Eastern Empire, upon the Death of *Theodosius* the Younger, was, by the Force of an extraordinary Merit, unanimously confer'd on *Marcian*. This appear'd to be a proper Time to petition for a General Council. Accordingly the Bishop of *Rome's* Legates loudly remonstrated against the precipitate Proceedings of *Dioscorus*. They were seconded by the Parties whom *Dioscorus* had aggrieved; and, among the rest, by *Eusebius*, the late Bishop of *Dorylaeum*; who alledged, "That it was entirely owing to the Artifice of *Chrysaphius*, that *Flavian*, as well as himself, were deposed: That *Chrysaphius* had, for a considerable time, entertain'd a Resentment against

* That is, before he was cloath'd with Flesh.

" *Flavian*:

“ *Flavian*: For he could never forget the severe Reprimand which he had received from him, soon after his Consecration; “ *Flavian* having sent him, upon his avaricious Demand of a Requitall, the very Plate that belonged to the Church. That this was the Reason that *Flavian* had received such Treatment from *Chrysaphius*. And indeed nothing less could have prompted him to beat him in such a manner as to occasion his Death. Lastly, that if *Chrysaphius* interested himself in Behalf of *Eutyches*, it was, because he embraced his Tenets.”

MARCIAN was a Man of great Piety and Devotion, and had nothing more at heart than the establishing a general Harmony in Religion; so that he was easily prevail'd upon to call a Council; which was soon after held in the Church of *Euphemia* the Martyr at *Chalcedon*.

WHEN the Council was assembled, the Legates from the See of *Rome* stood up and moved, that *Dioscorus* might not be allowed a Seat in Council; declaring, “ That if he was admitted into any Part in their Debates, they would immediately withdraw.” Whereupon the Committee detach'd from the Senate (to whom the Motion was address'd) demanded of them, “ What they had to alledge against him.” They reply'd, “ That *Dioscorus* should be called upon to answer for his Judicial Proceedings in the late Synod; having, in an unprecedented manner, taken upon himself the Character of a Judge.” Accordingly, *Dioscorus* being call'd out, and placed in the middle of the Assembly, *Eusebius* stood up, and said, “ That *Dioscorus* had committed an Outrage upon *Flavian*, himself, and the Faith.” Alledging, “ That they had been unjustly deposed by him; and that, as for *Flavian*, he had been murder'd.” Wherefore he moved, “ That the Petition he had presented to his Imperial Majesty might be read.” Shewing (after a short Preamble) “ That the most Venerable *Dioscorus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, taking occasion from the Libel which *Eusebius* had brought against *Eutyches*, as well as the Sentence thereupon given by *Flavian*, of pious Memory, had pack'd together an irregular and disorderly Body of Men; and having no Regard, either to Justice, or the Fear of God, had, in the Synod, lately held at *Ephesus*, by virtue of an Authority which he had purchased, confirm'd the Doctrines and Opinions

“ nions of his Brother Heretick *Eutyches* ; and thereby wea-
 “ ken’d the True and Orthodox Religion : That therefore he
 “ (*Eusebius*) threw himself at the Feet of their Imperial Ma-
 “ jesties, humbly beseeching, in the Name of *Flavian* and the
 “ Faith, as well as in Behalf of himself, that the Acts, which
 “ *Dioscorus* had drawn up, might be laid before an Oecumeni-
 “ cal Council ; and that he might be called upon to answer to
 “ his Charge ; since it appear’d, from those very Acts, that he
 “ was absolutely and entirely Unorthodox ; that he had con-
 “ firm’d an Impious Heresy ; and that he had unjustly deposed
 “ *Eusebius* and *Flavian*.”

AFTER this Petition was read, *Dioscorus* and *Eusebius* joint-ly urged, that the Acts of the Synod above mentioned might be read. In short, it appear’d from the whole Process, that *Dioscorus* had, with the utmost precipitation, deposed *Flavian* in the Space of one Day ; and that too, without suffering the Bishop of *Rome*’s Letter to be read : Moreover, that the pretended Form of Deprivation, which *Dioscorus* had caused the Bishops to sign, was nothing but a Piece of blank Paper.

WHEREUPON the Committee (having decreed, that a more full and accurate Enquiry concerning the Catholick Faith be refer’d to the next Session) proceeded to declare, that “ Where-
 “ as it appeared, as well from the Acts and Decrees of the late
 “ *Ephesine* Synod, as from the Confession of the principal Per-
 “ sons therein assisting, that the two Bishops, *viz.* *Flavian* of
 “ pious Memory, and the most Venerable *Eusebius*, were, in
 “ that Synod, unjustly and unwarrantably deposed ; they there-
 “ fore thought good (provided it should obtain the Approba-
 “ tion of their most religious Lord and Master) that the most
 “ Venerable *Dioscorus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, the most Vene-
 “ rable *Juvenal*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the most Venerable
 “ *Thalassius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* ; the most Ve-
 “ nerable *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Ancyra* ; the most Venerable
 “ *Eustathius*, Bishop of *Berytus* ; and the most Venerable *Ba-
 “ silius*, Bishop of *Seleucia* in *Isauria* ; who were principally
 “ concerned in that Synod, be all, in Prosecution of the Canons,
 “ divested of their Episcopal Dignity.”

THE next Session several Libels were brought against *Dioscorus*, containing Articles of a very black and criminal Nature. But *Dioscorus* refusing to appear before the Council, the Legates, after three Citations, proceeded to give Sentence; declaring, "That the bold and audacious Proceedings of *Dioscorus*, the late Bishop of *Alexandria*, were now sufficiently laid open; that they needed only to consider what had pass'd in that and the former Session, to be convinced of the Blow he had given to the Canons, and the Ecclesiastical Discipline. For, as *Dioscorus* (to mention only some few Particulars) embraced the Tenets of *Eutyches*; so he had received him into Communion, at the same Time that he stood deprived in a Canonical manner, by his own Bishop, the most Holy *Flavian*: That *Dioscorus*, by an extraordinary stretch of Power, had, in this Affair, acted upon his own Authority, in direct Opposition to the Canons, and before the opening of the *Ephesine* Synod: That even after that Synod was open'd, he could not be prevail'd upon (to the great Scandal, as well as Detriment, of the Holy Catholick Church) to permit the blessed *Leo's* Epistle to be read, notwithstanding the most pressing Instances, and even his own Promise and Oath: Nevertheless they had determin'd with themselves to shew him the same Favour that had been shewn to the rest of the Bishops that assisted in that Synod. The Apostolick See, they said, had pardon'd them; because, as they had acted contrary to their own Inclinations, so they had, ever since that Time, behaved with due Submission to the most Holy *Leo*, Archbishop of *Rome* the Elder, and the Holy Occumenical Council. But for *Dioscorus*, he had even put it out of their Power to exercise their Clemency towards him; for, by trampling so often on the Ecclesiastical Laws, he had already pronounced Sentence upon himself. In short, to heighten the Enormity of his former Proceedings, he had even been so audacious, as to denounce an Excommunication against the most Holy and Religious *Leo*. Moreover, they said, that several Libels had been brought against him; and that he had been cited in Form three several Times, but had not appeared: That his Conduct in not appearing, could proceed from nothing else but the Conviction of his own Conscience. Lastly, That he had admitted several into Communion with him, at the very Time

" that

“ that they were under a formal Sentence of Excommunica-
 “ tion, regularly pronounced upon them, and by divers Synods.
 “ And therefore the most holy and most blessed *Leo*, Archbi-
 “ shop of *Rome* the Elder, did, by them, and the present Coun-
 “ cil, in Conjunction with the most blessed and glorious Apostle
 “ *Peter* † (the Rock and Basis of the Catholick Church, and
 “ the very Foundation of the true Faith) disrobe *Dioscorus* of
 “ the Episcopal Dignity, and disqualify him for exercising any
 “ of the Sacerdotal Offices”.

WHEN the Synod had confirmed this Sentence, a Petition was presented to the Emperor, in Favour of those Bishops who had been deposed in the former Session by the very same Sentence, which was pass'd upon *Dioscorus*; and, upon the Concurrence of the Emperor, they are re-instated in the Amplitude of their former Prerogatives. Thus the Council of *Chalcedon*, after having settled several Things of the highest Consequence and Importance, (which will occur in the sequel of this History) was at last dissolved.

THE *Alexandrians* were a People of a very turbulent and seditious Complexion, subject to Heats and Inflammations, and naturally inclined to Factions and Tumults; so that *Proterius* (whom the Council had unanimously chosen to succeed *Dioscorus*) was no sooner arrived at *Alexandria*, to take Possession of that See, but a violent Insurrection began, which divided the City into two opposite Parties; one of them declaring for *Proterius*, whilst the other loudly demanded *Dioscorus*, who was now not only deposed, but banished to *Gangra*, a City in *Paphlagonia*.

DURING this Commotion among the *Alexandrians*, a violent Tumult broke out in *Palestine*, which was attended with very fatal Consequences. Some of the Monks had endeavour'd, upon their Return from *Chalcedon*, to irritate their Fraternity against the Proceedings of the Council. They said, “ That it
 “ had established a Rule of Faith, which was diametrically op-
 “ posite to the Dictates of Truth; that, by this means, it had

* See this explain'd by the Author, Book 2. c. 4.

“ entirely

“entirely abandon’d the Doctrine of the Catholick Church,
“and had even, by a base Treachery, surrender’d it up.”

JUVENAL had been restored, by the Council, to his See, in Consideration of his having renounced the Proceedings in which *Dioscorus* had caused him to embark. Whereupon these Monks, enraged at his Revolt from a Party to which they themselves were so firmly attached, demanded of him, with the utmost Insolence, to retract his Sentiments; and upon his retiring to *Constantinople*, to avoid their Clamours and Outrage, they assembled themselves in the Church of the *Resurrection*, and ordained *Theodosius*.

THEODOSIUS was a Man who had been guilty of very notorious Misdemeanors. He had been expell’d a Monastery, and publicly whip’d at *Alexandria* for Sedition †. However, he had from the Beginning strenuously opposed the Council; and as he was the first that brought the Detail of their Proceedings to *Jerusalem*, so he had, ever since, been the loudest in exclaiming against them.

THE Council of *Chalcedon* had, among other Things, annex’d the three Provinces of *Palestine* to the See of *Jerusalem*: So that as soon as *Theodosius* was elected, several Cities, which happen’d at this time to be destitute of Bishops, applied to him to fill up their Sees. Accordingly *Theodosius*, fond of confirming his Prerogative, consecrated some Persons with the utmost Expedition; but had hardly granted them the Investiture, when an Order arriv’d, commanding him to make his Appearance before the Emperor; whilst *Juvenal* was sent to *Jerusalem* to turn the new Bishops out of their Sees, and bring Affairs into their former Channel.

DURING these Convulsions in the East, the Western Empire was almost reduced to the last Extremity. Three Emperors, *Aetius*, *Valentinian*, and *Heraclius*, were murder’d; and *Rome* itself taken, plunder’d and burnt by *Gizerick*; whilst *Eudoxia*, who had invited the Conqueror over, in Revenge to the

† See Book 2. c. 5.

Tyrant *Maximus*, for having forced her to his Bed, after the Murder of her Husband *Valentinian*, was herself transported into *Africk*, with the Royal Family, to adorn his Triumph *.

BUT to return: The People of *Alexandria* had pursued *Proterius*, in the beginning of his Administration, with the utmost Inveteracy: But, as soon as they perceived that the Emperor was resolved to support him, they industriously smother'd an Animosity, which broke out afterwards, upon the Death of *Marcian*, with redoubled Violence; while *Dionysius*, who had the Command of the Forces, was unfortunately detain'd in the upper Part of *Egypt*. Accordingly the *Alexandrians*, laying hold of this advantageous Situation of Affairs, proceed immediately to an Election, and chuse *Timotheus*.

THE Emperor *Leo* was hardly warm in his Throne, when this Affair was laid before him, in the Name of the *Egyptian* Bishops, as well as the entire Body of the *Alexandrian* Clergy. They told him, "That ever since the Council of *Chalcedon*,
"the Orthodox, both in *Egypt* and *Alexandria*, had enjoy'd
"a perfect Tranquillity; till *Timotheus*, in Conjunction with a
"few Monks, and four or five Bishops, thought fit to separate
"himself from Communion: That *Timotheus*, at that time
"only a Presbyter, entirely harmonized with the others, in
"espousing the dangerous Principles of *Apollinaris* and *Euty-*
"ches: That, for this Reason, *Proterius*, who had lately been
"barbarously murder'd, had thought himself obliged to call a
"Synod †. That in that very Synod they were Canonically
"deprived; and were afterwards, as a Mark of the late Empe-
"ror's Displeasure, sent into Banishment; but, as soon as that
"good Emperor was dead, *Timotheus*, transported with Rage,
"began immediately to blacken his Memory, and anathematize

* Eudoxia was Daughter to the late Emperor Theodosius, by his Queen Eudocia, who is so eminent in History for her Journeys to Jerusalem, in which she not only repaired the Walls of that City, built a magnificent Church in Honour of St. Stephen, and raised several Religious Houses, as well Monasteries as Laura's,

but also prevailed upon Theodosius to make a considerable Addition to the City of Antioch, by continuing the Walls to the very Gate which open'd to Daphne, the famous Suburbs of that City. De Lauris, vide Valef. Annot. ad Cap. 21. L. 1.

† V. L. 2. C. 8.

" the

“ the Oecumenical Council of *Chalcedon* : That, not contented
 “ with this, he had moreover (in direct Opposition to the Ca-
 “ nons, and the whole Stream of Ecclesiastical Discipline, as
 “ well as the Laws of the Empire) arm’d a Body of seditious
 “ and mercenary Fellows ; and, placing himself at their Head,
 “ had forcibly enter’d the Holy Church of God, at the very
 “ time that *Proterius*, their most holy Father and Archbishop,
 “ was performing Divine Service, and offering up Prayers for
 “ the Safety of his Majesty’s Dominions: That *Timotheus* be-
 “ gan now to be impatient for the Archiepiscopal Chair ; and
 “ therefore, the very next Day, accompanied by two Bishops
 “ (who had been both lawfully deposed) and some of the Cler-
 “ gy (at that time under Sentence of Banishment) he proceed-
 “ ed, by a bold and impudent Intrusion, to take Possession of it ;
 “ but, they said, *Timotheus* little imagined that two Bishops
 “ were not * sufficient, according to the Canons, to fill up the
 “ Form of a Consecration : That in all the former Consecra-
 “ tions of a Bishop of *Alexandria*, several of the Orthodox Bi-
 “ shops, in the *Egyptian* Province, had constantly assisted with
 “ their Presence ; but there was not so much as one at the
 “ Consecration of *Timotheus*. They said further, That *Timo-
 theus* was not satisfied with invading *Proterius*’s Property ;
 “ he had also compass’d his Death ; for it was entirely from his
 “ Instigation, as well as in Pursuit of his Scheme, that the Villains
 “ pursued *Proterius*, even into the holy Baptistry itself, and
 “ had, without any regard either to the Sacredness of the Place,
 “ the Solemnity of the Day, or the Dignity of the Priesthood,
 “ glutted themselves with the Blood of that Good Man, and of
 “ the six others that were with him : Nay, to heighten the
 “ Cruelty of the Action, they had, they said, even added the
 “ most exquisite Refinement upon Savageness itself ; for, not
 “ contented with having dragg’d his mangled Body up and down
 “ the Streets, they had also torn it open, and had even feasted
 “ upon his Bowels.”

WHILE this Petition lay before the Emperor, a Letter arrived
 from *Timotheus*, which threw the Odium of the late Proceed-

* V. L. 2. c. 8. & Valef. An. ad Locum.

ings upon *Proterius*. So that the Emperor now found himself embarrass'd with the utmost Perplexity: He consider'd, that this was not the first, nor even the second Blow that had been level'd at the Council of *Chalcedon*; and yet that Council had been confirm'd by the highest Sanction, and was all along supported by his immediate Predecessor. As for *Proterius*, he was certainly invested in the See of *Alexandria*; but it was by virtue of a Decree from that Council: He had indeed been barbarously and inhumanly murder'd; nevertheless it was pretended, that that very Act was capable of admitting great Alleviations; at least, *Timotheus* might not have been concerned in it. And whatever Defect of Form there might be in the Consecration of *Timotheus*, it was certain that a Petition had been offer'd in his Behalf, and he was become the common Request of Persons of all Ranks and Distinctions among the *Alexandrians*.

IN short, the Emperor knew not how to determine in an Affair entangled in so much Difficulty. He wrote immediately to all the Bishops, and considerable Monks in the Empire; and having inclosed, in his Circular Letter *, the Petitions of each Party, commanded them to afford him their most mature and impartial Judgments.

ACCORDINGLY, Answers were soon pour'd in from all Quarters. The first that appear'd was from *Leo*, the Bishop of *Rome*, which was as copious in its Defence of the Council, as in its Proofs of the Invalidity of *Timotheus's* Ordination. This was follow'd by several others to the same Effect. And even *Amphilochius*, the Bishop of *Syda*, who was the only Person that abandon'd the Council; nevertheless very far from admitting the Consecration. The Result was, that *Timotheus* was entirely deserted, turn'd out of the See of *Alexandria*, and banish'd to *Gangra*.

THE Administration of Affairs in the West, from the time that *Rome* was taken and sack'd by the *Vandals*, fell successively into the Hands of *Avitus*, *Majorianus*, and *Severus*: When

* *Vid.* Howel. Hist. hancque Anglice redditam.

† L. 2. c. 16.

Leo,

Leo, upon the Request of the People themselves †, gave them an Emperor in the Person of *Anthemius*, *Marcian's* Son in Law.

RECIMER was a Man of great Power and Sway in the West †. He was General of the Army, in the Reign of *Majorianus*, and had even procured that Emperor's Assassination. When *Anthemius* was murder'd, *Recimer* declared *Olybrius* Emperor; who was followed by four succeeding Emperors, *Glycerius*, *Nepos*, *Orestes*, and *Augustulus*; the last Monarch of the West, that bore the Title of Emperor.

† L. 2. c. 7, 16.







T H E
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
O F
Evagrius Scholasticus.

B O O K III, and IV.



THE *Roman* Empire began now to feel Convulsions in all its Parts. On one Side it was infested and harrafs'd by the Ravages and Devastations of the *Saracens*. On the other Side, it was laid open by a furious inroad of the *Hunns*: Who, having already broke into the Empire in a former Expedition, under the Conduct of *Attila* * (during the Reign of *Theodosius* the Younger) were, at this Time, making another Impression; and, crossing the *Danube*, pour'd like an irresist-

* L. I. C. 17.

ble Torrent into *Thrace*; whilst even those Places that were free from the Havock of these sweeping Invasions, groaned under the Violences and Oppressions of a Tyrannical Emperor, entirely given up and abandoned to his Lusts.

LEO having, a little before his Death, declared his Grandson Emperor*; *Zeno* found Means, by the Assistance of *Verina* the Empress Dowager, to lift himself into a Share of the Empire. *Zeno* was Father to the young Monarch, by his Wife *Ariadne*, the late Emperor's Daughter; and upon the Death of his Son (whose Name also was *Leo*) took upon himself the sole Administration of Affairs.

BUT *Zeno* (such is the Cowardise of Wickedness) could not long support himself in a Throne under the Disadvantage of so entirely foul and vicious a Disposition: For as soon as *Basiliscus*, *Verina*'s Brother, conspired against him, he fled, with the utmost Expedition, into *Isauria*.

BASILISCUS having, by this means, ascended the Imperial Throne, resolved rather to follow the Course of his own Inclination, than pursue, by a servile Imitation, the Policy of his Predecessors.

TIMOTHEUS, whom we will call henceforth by his Surname, *Ælurus* (to distinguish him from that *Timotheus* who, upon his Expulsion, succeeded him in the See of *Alexandria*) had been in Banishment eighteen Years, when, on a sudden, *Basiliscus* recall'd him, receiv'd him into his Favour, Protection, and Presence; and, to the many Indications of his Regard towards him, added one more, in publishing, at his Request, a Circular Letter†.

IN this Letter the Council of *Chalcedon* is openly arraign'd and condemned; all its Acts and Decrees are annul'd, its Definition of Faith, Expositions and Illustrations of Creeds, together with *Leo*'s Tract, are branded with the opprobrious Terms of Innovation and Novelty; charged with the Distractions and

* L. 2. c. 17.

† Vid. Howel. Hist.

Dissensions that had arose in the Church, and pronounced to be destructive even of the common Interest and Welfare of Mankind; for which Reason they were straightway to be burn'd, abjured, and anathematized; whilst the Letter was to be subscribed by every Bishop throughout the Empire, in declaration of his Assent to none but the *Nicene* Creed.

ACACIUS was at this Time Bishop of *Constantinople*; having succeeded *Gennadius*, who, upon the Death of *Anatolius*, *Flavian's* Successor, had received the Investiture of that See.

THOUGH this Letter was subscribed by no less than five hundred Bishops (among whom were the Bishops of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*) yet it met with no small Repulse from *Acacius*, notwithstanding all the Penalties that were threatened to be inflicted, even upon the bare mention of any of those Innovations which the Council of *Chalcedon* was at present charged with.

THIS Council had granted several Privileges of the highest Importance to the See of *Constantinople**; for it had not only assigned the second Place in the Ecclesiastical Precedence to that See, but had also annex'd to it the *Asiatick*, as well as the *Pontick* and *Thracian* Dioceses.

AND since her Pretensions to these Privileges were entirely founded upon the Validity of that Council's Decrees, *Acacius* perceived that, by Virtue of this Letter, they were now to be given up. He was moreover confirmed in this Sentiment by *Ælurus*; who, in his Journey to *Alexandria*, had stop'd at *Ephesus*, and did not proceed any farther, till he had restored the Patriarchal Jurisdiction to that See†: By which Proceeding, a sensible

* As the Bishop of Rome constantly presided either in Person, or else by Deputies, in all Oecumenical Synods; so it evidently appears from the 28th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, that the See of Rome took Place of all the other Sees, in that and other Considerations of Precedence, only in Consequence of the Superiority of the City of Rome over all the other Cities in the Empire. For the Reason assign'd by that very Canon, for the See of Constantinople's filling up the second Place in the Ecclesiastical Precedence, is, because the City of Constantinople, which went by the Name of Rome the Younger, was next in Dignity to Rome the Elder.

† V. Annot. Valef. c. 6. l. 3.

Wound was given to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and a considerable Branch of Authority was, at the same Time, torn off from the See of *Constantinople*.

ACACIUS, whether actuated by these Motives, or prompted by a sincere Regard for the Council itself, soon brought over a considerable Party to his Side. The People of *Constantinople*, as well as the whole Body of Monks, took the Alarm: Whilst the Circular Letter became the Subject of the highest Complaints; and the Emperor himself was publicly branded with the Name of Heretick.

DURING this tumultuous Uproar at *Constantinople*, the *Asiatic* Bishops assembled themselves at *Ephesus* †; and having form'd a Synod and deposed *Acacius*, drew up a Petition to the two Emperors *, beseeching them, in the most importunate Expressions, not to reverse the Imperial Letter. They told them, "That such a Proceeding would inevitably draw after it the most fatal Consequences: That as for themselves, they were so far from having been awed or compelled into the Subscription (as it had been maliciously reported) that they had subscribed with the utmost Pleasure and Alacrity. And did moreover declare, before *Jesus Christ* their Saviour, that they humbly intreated their Majesties, not to incur the Sentence that had been duly and Canonically pronounced against those Bishops, and against *Acacius* in particular; whose Conduct in the Administration of his See, had appeared to be so very Notorious".

HOWEVER, *Basiliscus* perceived that this Storm was too violent to be resisted; and therefore thought it more prudent to divert it than wait its Approach. In pursuance of this Design, the Imperial Letter was immediately recalled; and at the same Time, another was dispatch'd to corroborate the Council of *Chalcedon*, and invest the See of *Constantinople* with all the Plenitude of its former Prerogatives: *Basiliscus* declaring from

† L. 3. c. 5.
the Title of Cæsar.

* Basiliscus and his Son Marcus, whom he had honour'd with

the Throne, in a solemn Constitution, that he had been surpris'd unawares into the late Proceedings.

ZENO, having all this while been block'd up by a close Siege in the City of *Seleucia*, began now to be inspir'd with a Courage superior to his natural Complexion; and as he had lost the Empire without even hazarding a Battle, he seem'd resolv'd to recover it at all Adventures. Accordingly, having brought over the Army that lay before the Town, by a dextrous Application of a Sum of Money, he march'd directly to *Constantinople*, and took Possession of the Throne. For *Basiliscus*, far from waiting his Approach, had even retired into the Church for Sanctuary.

PAUL had now for some time enjoy'd the See of *Ephesus*, in all the Security of a quiet and undisturb'd Possession †. He had been unanimously re-instated in it by the Voice of a Synod; had been publickly install'd by *Ælurus*, with the highest Solemnity; and had even received a fresh Confirmation of his See, in the very last Circular Letter of *Basiliscus**: Which, notwithstanding the Re-enlargement of the *Constantinopolitan* Jurisdiction, still contain'd a Clause that expressly secured to the present Bishops, the Possession of their Sees. However, the Face of Affairs is now entirely changed: for *Basiliscus* is no longer regarded as an Emperor, but is view'd in the odious Light of an Usurper; and accordingly his Circular Letter is repeal'd †; whilst *Peter*, distinguish'd by the Name of *Fullo*, is removed from the See of *Antioch*, and *Paul* from the See of *Ephesus*. *Ælurus* himself being in the mean time shelter'd from the Emperor's Resentment, by no other Consideration than that of his advanced Age.

THE Violence of these Proceedings soon roused the *Asiatick* Bishops, who began now to consider the Imprudence and Temerity of their late Conduct. They saw *Acacius* was wheel'd into the highest Favour at Court, and knew how justly they deserved his utmost Indignation. Whereupon they sent him an Epistle full of the deepest Submission; telling him, "That they

† L. 3. c. 6.

* V. L. 3. c. 7.

‡ Lib. 3. c. 8. sub. fin.

“ had sincerely repented of their Crimes, and therefore humbly
 “ desired his Forgiveness. Their Belief, they solemnly protest-
 “ ed, was exactly agreeable to the Definition made by the Coun-
 “ cil of *Chalcedon*, notwithstanding their late Declaration to
 “ the contrary: That that Declaration had been extorted from
 “ them: But as they had made it with the utmost Violence,
 “ both to their Inclinations and Consciences; so it was neither
 “ real nor sincere; for they were absolutely forced and com-
 “ pelled into the Subscription”.

BUT to return: *Ælurus* did not live long to enjoy the Em-
 peror's Clemency. Nevertheless his Death, how agreeable so-
 ever to the Emperor, did not fail to produce a Circumstance
 which fill'd his Breast with the warmest Resentment *. For the
Alexandrians, finding their See vacant, hasten'd immediately to
 an Election: And as they had already fix'd their Eyes upon one
Peter, surnamed *Mongus*; so now, without waiting for an In-
 timation of the Emperor's Pleasure, they advance him, by their
 own Authority, to the See. But *Mongus* was not only depo-
 sed, but even hardly escaped with his Life: Whilst *Timotheus*
 (who had before succeeded *Proterius*) was, by the Emperor's
 Appointment, raised again to the See of *Alexandria*. Thus was
 the Disposal of that Bishoprick entirely swallowed up in the
 Crown; when a Law was made, to enable the People and Cler-
 gy of *Alexandria* †, for the future, to elect their own Bishops:
 And accordingly, upon the Death of *Timotheus*, they threw
 their Eyes upon *John*.

JOHN was the Man, who had, by their Appointment, pe-
 tition'd the Emperor in behalf of this Law. And tho' he took
 care to veil his Design with the nicest Art; yet, notwithstanding
 all his Address, he was not able entirely to conceal it: For the
 Emperor perceived, that, whatever was urged in Favour of the
 City of *Alexandria*, *John*'s immediate Aim was level'd at the
 See: And therefore he had obliged him, before the Law was en-
 acted, to take a solemn Oath, that he would never make any Ad-
 vances towards obtaining the Bishoprick for himself.

* L. 3. c. 11.

† L. 3. c. 12.

By this Time the Broils and Dissensions, which at first sprang up at *Alexandria*, partly from the Fruitfulness of the Soil, and partly from the Favourableness of the Climate, were propagated through all the vast Extent of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*: And having taken so deep Root, that a violent Eradication appear'd to be altogether impracticable, *Zeno* thought, by destroying their Seeds, he might at least cut off an Increase; and therefore publish'd an Edict of Union, call'd *Henoticum*, directed to all the Bishops, Monks, and People of *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, setting forth, "That the Emperor, prompted by the Consideration of the mighty Advantages that necessarily accrued to the State, from an universal Harmony and Agreement in the true Faith, as well as moved by the earnest Intreaties of several Persons of great Eminence and Distinction in the Church, who were sensibly affected with the Miseries that naturally flow from the present Dissensions, had resolved at last to labour an Union. And as he consider'd that the *Nicene* Creed was the great Bulwark, and indeed the only Support of his Dominions; he declared, he neither did nor ever would acknowledge any other: That in this he had the Concurrence of all the Churches throughout his Empire; for it was the only Creed that was used and received in Baptism. Lastly, he said, that this very Creed was the Model upon which the Decrees of the *Ephesine* Synod were form'd. And therefore, as *Nestorius* was, by that Council, Formally and Legally deposed; so he and *Eutyches* in particular (together with all others, who either had or did embrace any Sentiments repugnant to the said Creed) were consequently involved in the *Anathema* of the present Edict".

BEFORE this Edict was publish'd, *John*, having broke thro' all the solemn Obligations of an Oath, had raised himself, by the Help of a Sum of Money, to the See of *Alexandria*; whereupon an Order of Extrusion was issued out against him; and *Mongus* was again to be reinstated, provided he would promise to sign the Edict, and receive the *Proterians* * into Communion.

* A Party who had obtain'd this Name from their Adherence to Proterius.

MONGUS, finding a way open'd to the very See from which he had been so lately expell'd, was easily perswaded, by *Pergamius* the Governor of *Egypt*, into a Compliance with the Conditions. And perhaps he might think that a Rescript, thus calculated for a general Comprehension, might be easily subscribed, without offering any Violence to his own Sentiments. For though it anathematized the Tenets of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, yet it did not make use of those strong and determinate Expressions, with regard to the manner of our blessed Saviour's Existence, with which the Council of *Chalcedon* had so remarkably fortified her Rule of Faith *. And though it did not expressly cancel the Decrees of that Council; yet it entirely refer'd all its Definitions to the *Nicene Creed*, as the only Standard of Faith. And as for the *Proterians*, there could arise no Doubt about receiving them into Communion; since they did not scruple to embrace the Edict themselves. Thus were the Dissensions that had so long reign'd among the *Alexandrians*, at once composed; whilst all Parties were swallowed up in a general Union with the Catholick Church.

JOHN, being forced out of the See which he had so lately purchased, fled immediately to *Rome*, and represented his Case in the most artificial Colouring to *Simplicius*. He told him, "That he had always strenuously defended *Leo's* and the Council of *Chalcedon's* Decrees: That for this very Reason, he was become so obnoxious to the Emperor; and no wonder he was removed from his See, since it was to make room for a Man who would always as vigorously oppose them".

THE See of *Antioch*, which had been twice fill'd since the Time that *Fullo* enjoy'd it, very fortunately became vacant, by the Banishment of *Calendio*, to receive him again.

* Since *Eutyches* had asserted, that there was only one single Nature residing in *Christ*, after he was cloath'd with *Flesh*; and since this Opinion, which was directly contrary to the Primitive Faith, began to prevail in the Church, the Council of *Chalcedon* found herself obliged to be very express and emphatical in Confirmation of the two Natures, as residing

distinctly, and without any Confusion, in one Person; by which Means she also effectually supplanted the Heresy of *Nestorius*, who maintain'd a double Personality in our blessed Saviour, in Consequence of his being the Eternal Word, as well as Man. Vid. Annot. variorum sub. fin. c. 14. Lib. 3. compar. cum Henotico ibid. & cum fid. Constan. L. 2. c. 4.

WHEN *Zeno* was besieged in the City of *Seleucia**, *Armatus*, a Relation of the Empress Dowager *Verina*, had the Command of the Forces that lay before the Town; and being afterwards brought over by the Force of a considerable Sum of Money, was received by *Zeno*, after his recovery of the Throne, into the highest Favour and Confidence; when, on a sudden, he was put to Death, and his Son *Basiliscus*, notwithstanding his *Cæsarean* Dignity, saw himself constrain'd to take Holy Orders.

HILLUS, by whose Advice this Affair was entirely conducted †, had no sooner removed his Rival *Armatus*, but the Jealousy which he had lately directed, with such Success, against another, was darted upon himself; and though the Scheme which was laid against his Life, proved afterwards abortive; yet *Zeno*, spighted as it were, at the Disappointment, added Revenge to Hatred, resolving not to give over the Pursuit, but with the Death of *Hillus*: And therefore, to disarm him at once of all his Caution and Prevention, gave him, under a shew of Friendship, the entire Command of all his Forces in the *East*.

HILLUS, finding himself at the Head of a powerful Army, joins *Leontius* and *Pamphrepius*, marches into the *East*, and assumes his Share in the Division of the Empire.

IN the mean time *Calendio*, from his Attachment to *Hillus*, had unfortunately drawn upon himself a Suspicion of being engaged in this Rebellion. And, since it was contrary to all the Rules of Policy, to suffer a Rebel any longer to move in so high a Sphere as the See of *Antioch*, furnish'd with Influences, and strengthen'd with Dependencies, he was banish'd to *Oasis*.

CALENDIO had all along discover'd an irreconcilable Aversion to *Mongus* ‖, had taken the Field amongst the most violent of his Adversaries, and had even accused him of anathematizing the Council of *Chalcedon*, not only in a Letter to *Aca-cius*, but also in another to the Emperor himself; so that *Mongus*, finding himself deliver'd from so Powerful an Adversary,

* Vid. c. 24. l. 3.

† V. ib. c. 27.

‖ L. 3. c. 16.

resolved

resolved now to practise all his Art and Dissimulation, in order to insinuate himself into the Esteem of *Acacius*; thinking that if he could but gain this Point, he might defy all the Artillery planted against him, with equal Bravery and Contempt. Accordingly he sends him a Letter full of the highest Strains of Complaisance; "Commending him for the Care and Industry he had employ'd in the Preservation of the Faith; which, he said, was still the same, whether dress'd in the Words of the *Nicene Creed*, or deliver'd in the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*. He tells him, he is surpris'd, how it could enter into any Man's Thoughts, to charge him with anathematizing the Council. The very Supposition itself was absurd. For had he not acknowledged it, given his Assent to it, and solemnly confirm'd it? But *Acacius* must know, that there was a set of busy and malicious Monks, who, having form'd themselves into a Party against their Bishop, were continually traducing him with their unreasonable Aspersions; and though they had drawn People's Affections from him, were not yet contented, because they were forced to submit to his Jurisdiction".

By this Time several Accusations were brought against *Mongus*; and among the rest, that from the Bishops and Clergy of *Alexandria* was not the least considerable †. It declared, "That *Mongus* was a Heretick; that no more than two Bishops assisted at his Consecration, and even they were Men of the same Heretical Principles with himself: Whereas *John* was entirely Orthodox, and had been ordain'd in due Form. That moreover all who embraced the true Faith had, since *John's* Departure, been worried and gall'd with all manner of Persecution. Lastly, That *Acacius* had received a full Detail of these Particulars, and it was now sufficiently evident, that he supported *Mongus*".

In the mean while *John* lost no Opportunity of inveighing against *Mongus* at *Rome*: So that he at last prevail'd upon *Simplicius* to embark in his Cause, and write to the Emperor in his Behalf. And though no Redress could be obtain'd, notwith-

† Lib. 3. c. 20.

standing this powerful Application; yet upon the Death of *Simplicius*, he carry'd his Complaints to his Successor. But since he found that *Mongus* was placed beyond the Reach of his Resentment, he resolved at least to wound him through the Sides of *Acacius* (who was sufficiently known to hold Communion with *Mongus*) by prevailing upon *Felix*, the Bishop of *Rome*, to depose him.

WHEN *John* brought this Libel against *Acacius*, *Vitalis* and *Misenus* were sent to *Constantinople*, with a Commission to petition the Emperor, in the Name of the *Roman* See, that *Acacius* might be order'd to appear, and answer to the Articles alledged against him. These Bishops were hardly arrived at *Constantinople*, when an Information was brought to *Rome* of their holding Communion with *Mongus*. It was said, "That during their whole Journey, none of the Orthodox† had been able to obtain either their Conversation or their Confidence: Several Questions indeed had been proposed to them, but they never vouchsafed an Answer. That besides, they had made no Enquiry into the many audacious Attempts which had been made upon the Faith. Lastly, That the Name of *Mongus* had been allowed a Place in the Sacred Diptychs; which was a Circumstance that the Hereticks had made no small Advantage of: For by striking in, upon this Occasion, with the Credulity of the Ignorant, they had perswaded them to believe, that even the See of *Rome* was in Communion with *Mongus*".

WHILST a Synodical Process was carrying on at *Rome*, in which these two Bishops were afterwards excommunicated*; *Mongus*, who had now entirely thrown off his Mask, denounced another Anathema against *Leo's* Tract, and the Council of *Chalcedon*; confirming at the same Time the Writings of *Dioscorus* and *Timotheus*; and commanding them to be received, under Pain of an Anathema: Whilst several Monks, who refused to join with him in Communion, were, for that very Reason, expell'd their Monasteries.

† L. ib. c. 21.

* C. 22.

THE Emperor had all this while appeared to be no Favourer of the Council: For even the Letter which he sent to *Felix*, the Bishop of *Rome* *, notwithstanding all its Colouring, was not able to disguise the Turn of his Inclinations. He told him, "That he had no Reason to be moved at a Representation made by a Man of *John's* Character, who was notoriously guilty both of Perjury and Sacrilege. And as for *Mongus*, he assured him, that he had not been promoted to the See of *Alexandria* without due Precaution, having first subscribed with his own Hand to the *Nicene* Creed; subjoining at last to this Effect, that since the Council of *Chalcedon* did not differ in Point of Faith from the Council of *Nice*, neither himself nor *Mongus* could, with any Reason, be supposed not to embrace it". However, he was highly offended at these Proceedings, and sent *Cosmas* with the utmost Expedition to *Alexandria*, with Orders to reprimand *Mongus*, for the Boisterousness of his late Conduct †.

THE Breaches among the *Alexandrians* were now grown too wide to be closed, even by the nicest Application of the most skilful Hand. For as *Mongus*, by his late Proceedings, had sufficiently exasperated the opposite Party; so had he strengthen'd his own by the Accession of several Bishops and Archimandrites. *Cosmas* therefore, perceiving that all Proposals of Accommodation were entirely fruitless, return'd to *Constantinople*, after having restored the Monks; and *Arsenius*, the Prefect of *Egypt*, was sent with a fresh Commission to compose these Dissensions.

BUT *Arsenius*, soon finding the *Alexandrians* in a Humour not in the least disposed to listen to a Mediation, sent some of them to *Constantinople* to dispute the Matter before the Emperor himself; who, from a total Dislike to the Council, only listened to a Dispute which he was not willing to determine.

DURING these Broils at *Alexandria*, *Acacius*, the Bishop of *Constantinople*, died; who, notwithstanding he had been deposed

* C. 20.

† C. 22.

by *Felix*; yet because the Form of his Deposition was not carried on and conducted, according to the Rules prescribed by the Canons, he still continued in his See. He was succeeded by *Fravita*; upon whose Death the See of *Constantinople* was confer'd on *Euphemius*.

FRAVITA did not enjoy his See above four Months; and therefore the Synodical Letters, which *Mongus* had sent to him, came into the Hands of *Euphemius*. In these Letters the Council of *Chalcedon* was solemnly anathematized; which was a thing so highly offensive to *Euphemius*, that he immediately disclaimed all Communion with *Mongus*: Whereupon a War was open'd between the two Sees. But while both Parties were forming Designs of carrying on a Synodical Process against each other, *Mongus* dies, and is succeeded by *Athanasius*.

ATHANASIUS, upon his Accession to the See, applied himself strenuously to compose the grand Dissension that had so long divided the City of *Alexandria*, as well as the Church itself. But, whether from the Obstinacy of the Party which combated the Council, or the Violence of the Factions into which it was split; or lastly, whether it proceeded from his own want of Warmth for the Council * (having afterwards, in his Synodical Letter to *Palladius*, *Fullo's* Successor, deliver'd himself in a Strain not inferior to *Mongus* himself) his Design, how happily soever intended, was, in the Conclusion, defeated.

ATHANASIUS, in rejecting the Council of *Chalcedon*, was followed by *John* his Successor; upon whose Death the See of *Alexandria* was fill'd by another of the same Name; whilst the See of *Antioch*, becoming vacant by the Death of *Palladius*, is fill'd by *Flavian*.

ZENO, having ended a Life made up of various Fortunes, crowded with Struggles and Contentions for an Empire, harraſſed with Distractions both in Church and State; and accompanied with equal Difficulties, Dangers and Successes, during the Course of three Rebellions, which were conducted by *Marcian*,

* C. 23.

by *Theodorick*, and by *Hillus*, *Leontius* and *Pamprepius*; *Ariadne*, notwithstanding the Pretensions of *Longinus*, Brother to her deceased Lord, bestow'd the Crown, together with her Royal Person, upon *Anastasius*.

ANASTASIUS had no sooner mounted the Throne, but, in compliance with his own natural Disposition *, he resolved to pursue all Measures that might tend to diffuse a universal Peace and Tranquillity throughout his Dominions. This naturally led him to reject all Schemes which favour'd an Alteration in Affairs, either Civil or Ecclesiastical; thinking it better that things should continue in their present Channel, since the Stream could not be either check'd or diverted, without the Expence, or at least the Hazard of a Ruffle. But whatever Effects this Conduct might produce in the State, it was attended with very fatal Consequences in the Church: For whilst the Emperor, by this studied Neutrality, appear'd to embark on neither Side of the Controversy, she became a Prey to intestine Divisions, and was almost torn asunder by different Factions; some declaring for the Council of *Chalcedon*, and maintaining all its Decrees in their utmost Latitude and Extent; others not only rejecting them, but even anathematizing the Council itself, together with *Leo's* Epistle: Whilst at the same time those who embraced the *Henoticum* of *Zeno*, clash'd no less in their Notions concerning the Faith. So that the *Eastern* Bishops renounced Communion with the Bishops of *Africk* and the *West*; and the *Western* and *African* Bishops with them: Neither Side being able, in the mean while, to support the Thought of holding Communion, even with itself.

DURING these Distractions in the Church, *Euphemius* fell a Victim to the Emperor's Indignation. When *Ariadne* first made known her Intention, of placing the Crown upon the Head of *Anastasius* †, *Euphemius*, the Bishop of *Constantinople*, fearing lest there might be some Grounds for a Report which had been confidently spread abroad, concerning his Inclination to *Manichæism*, refused to yield his Assent, till, for the Security of the Faith, he had drawn from him an Oath, as well as a Declaration

* C. 30.

† C. 32.

under his own Hand, that he would never introduce any Novelty into the Church to corrupt the true Faith.

HOWEVER *Anastasius*, after his Accession to the Throne, bent the whole Force of his Application towards suppressing all Innovations †. So that guiding himself by the Opinion which had generally prevail'd in each Place, he turn'd those Bishops out of their Sees who were so hardy as to oppose it, either in declaring for, or against the Council of *Chalcedon*.

EUPHEMIUS was one of those who appear'd in the foremost Rank, in Defence of the Council *; and as he had already, by his former Conduct, raised a sufficient Storm in the Emperor's Breast, which had been some time labouring for a Vent, it now discharged itself full upon him, and tore him from his See.

ABOUT this time *Xenaias*, the Bishop of *Hierapolis*, having conceived an inveterate Enmity to *Flavian* ‖, resolved to hunt him down; and accordingly, in a bold Accusation, charged him with the Heresy of *Nestorius*. But when *Flavian* had clear'd himself of this groundless Aspersions, by publickly anathematizing *Nestorius* and his Principles; *Xenaias*, being drove from this Quarter, soon betook himself to another; and insisted upon his anathematizing *Theodorus*, *Theodorit*, *Ibas*, and several others; among whom there were some, who had not only solemnly detested those very Tenets of which they were accused, but had also died in the Bosom of the Church: *Theodorit* and *Ibas* having, in particular, received a full Attestation of the Soundness of their Principles, in being restored by the Council of *Chalcedon* to their respective Bishopricks, which had been wrested from them, in pursuance of the Sentence pronounced against them by *Dioscorus* in the second *Ephesine* Synod.

HOWEVER *Flavian*, in hopes of subduing his Adversary, broke through all these Regards, and entirely complied with his imperious Demands; when on a sudden he is called upon to anathematise the Council of *Chalcedon* itself, together with all

† C. 30.

* C. *ibid.*

‖ C. 31.

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who

who maintained the Doctrine of the two Natures in *Christ*. Whereupon *Flavian* published a Confession of Faith, declaring his Assent to none of that Council's Decrees, except those only in which *Nestorius* and *Eutyches* were concerned. But this was far from satisfying a Man who was resolved, at any rate, to fasten *Nestorianism* upon him. *Xenaias* still persisted in his former Demand, and the Bishop of *Antioch* must either, by a solemn Anathema, renounce the entire Proceedings of the Council, together with the Party abovementioned, or stand convicted of the Heresy of *Nestorius*.

BUT *Flavian* was not to be daunted by these Threats from *Xenaias*. He resolved to abide by his late Confession, and maintain the Sentiments which he had deliver'd in it, with the utmost Resolution and Constancy. So that *Xenaias*, highly incens'd by his obstinate Deportment, put himself at the Head of a considerable Body of Monks, and, pouring into *Antioch* with them, repeated his Demand. Whereupon the People, enraged at an Insult heighten'd with all the aggravating Circumstances of an Invasion, immediately drew together, with a full Resolution to defend their Patriarch, even at the Expence of their Lives. Accordingly a fierce Engagement ensued, and several of the Monks were slain. But whether it was this, or any of the former Incidents, that drew down the Emperor's Displeasure; or lastly, whether all of them in Conjunction, it was not long before *Flavian* was turn'd out of his See, and banish'd to *Petræ* (a City upon the Confines of *Palestine*;) *Severus*, who had formerly applied himself to the Study of the Law, being appointed to succeed him.

WHEN *Euphemius* was removed from the See of *Constantinople*, he deliver'd the Emperor's *Declaration* into the Hands of *Macedonius*; who being appointed to succeed him, was no sooner advanced to the See, than *Anastasius* commanded him to restore it; saying, "It would bring a manifest Disgrace upon the Imperial Crown, if such a *Declaration*, under the Hand of an Emperor, should be found upon Record in the Church". *Macedonius* reply'd, "That he would never betray the Faith". And therefore boldly refused to obey. Several Stratagems were immediately put in Practice to force him from his See. His Morals were attack'd; and even no less a Crime than Sodomy was

was laid to his Charge. But *Macedonius*, by the Force of an untainted Innocence, subdued at once the Malice and Contrivance of his most envenom'd Adversaries.

MACEDONIUS did not at first discover any Inclination to take Arms in Defence of the Council of *Chalcedon*. He had indeed, at the Demand of *Xenaias* and his Party, given in a Confession of Faith: But neither the first *Ephesine* Synod, nor the Council of *Chalcedon*, were so much as mention'd it. However, when he was afterwards call'd upon to anathematise that Council, he refused to comply.

THERE was another Accident that contributed not a little to his Fall. The Emperor thought fit to make an Addition to the *Trisagium**, by inserting these Words, "*Who wast crucified for us*". Whereupon the People, alarm'd at an Innovation in so celebrated an Hymn, broke out at once into a violent and outrageous Commotion. Several of the remarkable Places about the City were burn'd to Ashes; many of the Nobility were reduced to the utmost Perils, and barely escaped with their Lives: Whilst the Emperor himself, who seem'd to be hardly secure from their Fury, was openly insulted in the Streets by the Rabble, who carried in Triumph the Head of the Monk by whose Advice, they said, The Addition had been made.

MACEDONIUS all this while was consider'd as the great Author and Promoter of the Sedition: Which made so deep an Impression on the Emperor's Mind, that though it was afterwards happily composed, by a timely Strain of Dissimulation; yet he could not forbear pouring out his Wrath upon the Man, who was but suspected of being concern'd in raising and fomenting it. So that this Circumstance, join'd to the former, served not a little to hasten his Expulsion from the See of *Constantinople*.

BUT to return to *Antioch*: *Severus* being raised to that See, took the first Opportunity of declaring his Enmity to the Council of *Chalcedon*. He had already been expell'd a Monastery,

* *The Form of Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God,*

for asserting the single Nature in *Christ*; and now, at his very Entrance into his See, all his Synodical Letters are swell'd with Anathemas against the Council.

THESE Letters raised the Indignation of some, and the Detestation of others. In *Palestine* they were received with great Clamours, Outrages and Tumults; so that the Men, by whom they were deliver'd, were not only treated with the utmost Contumely and Reproach, but were even forced to fly from the Rage and Fury of the People, as well as of the Monks; who, from this very Act, had conceived the rankest Inveteracy to their Persons. Some of the Bishops boldly rejected them; whilst those who received them, were said to have been either inveigled or compell'd. At least, they afterwards renounced them. *Cosmas*, Bishop of *Epiphania*; and *Severianus*, Bishop of *Arethusa*, proceeded so far as to send *Severus* a formal Deposition. But this rash and precipitate Sentence served only to draw down an Order of Expulsion upon themselves, which had inevitably been put in Force against them both, had they not happen'd to be strongly supported by the Cities in which they presided. For *Anastasius* (such was the Tendernefs and Humanity of his Disposition) declared, he had rather wave the Accomplishment of any Undertaking, how great soever, than accomplish it either at the Expence, or even the Hazard, of his Subjects Blood. In this Posture were the Affairs of the Church, when *Anastasius*, after the usual Struggles and Contests that attend the Breakings of vast and overgrown Kingdoms, was call'd from his Empire and the World at once.

AMANTIVS, a Man of a very considerable Figure at Court, finding the Throne vacant by the Death of *Anastasius*, and being unhappily incapacitated, as being an Eunuch, from wearing the Purple himself, thought he had now a fair Opportunity of bestowing it upon *Theocritus*; and accordingly threw a Sum of Money into the Hands of *Justin*, with Orders to dispose of it in such a Manner as might best advance the Pretensions of his Friend. *Justin* had formerly the Command of the Body Guards; and now wanted nothing but a Sum of Money to promote his own ambitious Views: So that he soon insinuated himself into the Affections of all about him; became the Idol of their Inclinations; and is, contrary to a universal Expectation, declared Emperor.

JUSTIN

JUSTIN having by this Means raised himself to the Throne, began to reflect upon the Instability of a Station which was exposed to the Ambition, as well as Fury, of the most powerful and enraged Competitors. *Anastasius*, he knew, had left several Relations behind him, not at all unequal to the Empire, either for Birth, Quality, or Power. And as for *Theocritus*, he imagined that he would not sit down contented with the Disappointment he had so lately sustained; nor *Amantius* easily digest a Treatment no less Injurious than Contemptuous. He resolved therefore to take away all their Lives, that by thus destroying the Seeds, he might prevent a Competition, which was likely to grow up and ripen into a plentiful Harvest.

BUT *Vitalian* was not so easily to be removed: He was a Man of great Bravery, Conduct and Ambition; and had discover'd an insatiable Thirst for the Empire, in the Reign of *Anastasius*: When, with equal Celerity and Success, he over-ran all *Thrace* and *Mæsia*, at the Head of a very formidable Army of *Huns*; and having laid all waste before him, with Fire and Sword, pursued his Conquests almost to the very Gates of *Constantinople*: So that his Name was still formidable, notwithstanding the total Defeat which he afterwards received. Besides, the Greatness of his military Atchievements had drawn the Eyes of all Men upon him, and his Reputation was become equal to the Size of his Prowess.

As *Justin* therefore could not promise himself any Security in a Throne which had so long been the Mark of *Vitalian's* Ambition; so neither did he see any Way to deliver himself from so formidable an Enemy. His Power, he knew, was too great to be even barely alarm'd; much less did he think it safe to provoke it by an open Attack; especially since his Fame was grown to such a height, as to promise the Confluence of any Numbers to his Side: So that he resolved to practise a deep Dissimulation; and accordingly put on the Face of Friendship, enticed him to Court, gave him one of the most considerable Posts in the Army, and at last advanced him to the Consulship. Thus was this great Man betrayed, by a false glare of Kindness, into an entire Resignation of his Person; whilst he was pamper'd, as it were, with

with Honours, only to furnish out a more noble Sacrifice to an Emperor's Apprehensions.

IN the mean time *Severus*, the Bishop of *Antioch*, continuing to pour out his Anathemas against the Council of *Chalcedon* with the utmost Profusion, an Order was issued out to apprehend him, and cut out his Tongue.

BUT *Severus*, whether from an Apprehension of the Emperor's Displeasure, or a timely Notice of the Order itself, found Means to elude the Sentence, by a hasty Flight, notwithstanding the utmost Vigilance of *Irenaeus*, the Governor of the *East*. He was succeeded by *Paul*; upon whose Abdication, the Administration of the See of *Antioch* came to *Euphrasius*.

THE City of *Antioch* had scarce raised her Head from the Ruins caused by a dreadful Series of Conflagrations, when on a sudden she felt the Throws and Convulsions of an Earthquake.

EUPHRASIUS was Bishop of that See when this Earthquake happen'd; and being swallowed in the general Ruin, the Administration of Affairs fell, through the Direction of Divine Providence, into the Hands of *Ephraemius*, Governor of the *East*, whom the *Antiochians* soon afterwards honour'd with the Title of Bishop, in Consideration of his extraordinary Care and Vigilance, at a Time when their City was reduced to the utmost Extremity, being ravaged by Fires, depopulated by an Earthquake, and bereft of their Bishop.

THE Council of *Chalcedon* had now obtain'd the greatest Esteem and Veneration, being become the Darling of the Emperor, and, by his express Orders, publickly recommended from the Pulpit in all the Churches throughout the Empire; when, on a sudden, it was combated by two Persons, of no less Distinction in the Church than the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*.

JUSTINIAN (whom *Justin*, a little before his Death, admitted to a Part in the Imperial Administration) constantly

stantly express'd, upon all Occasions, as great a Warmth in behalf of the Council of *Chalcedon*, as his Empress *Theodora* did against it. Whether his Conduct in this Respect, was owing to a Tincture which he had imbibed from *Justin*; or whether it was only a Part which he acted in Appearance, to preserve an equal Balance between the two opposite Parties, does not appear. However it was, he continued, even after the Death of *Justin*, to maintain the same Character.

IN the mean time *Theodora* received all, who asserted the single Nature in *Christ*, into her immediate Favour and Protection; by which means the most inveterate Enemies to the Council found an easy Passage to her Royal Bounty; and among the rest *Severus*, the late Bishop of *Antioch*, who, upon her Intercession with the Emperor, was sent for to Court.

SEVERUS being arrived at *Constantinople*, had frequent Opportunities of entering into Discourse with *Anthimus*, the Bishop of that See; and finding that his Sentiments, in Matters of Religion, ran exactly in the same Channel with his own, perswaded him to fortify himself with the utmost Resolution, and bravely throw up his See.

WHEN *Severus* had gain'd thus far upon *Anthimus*, he soon acquainted *Theodosius*, the Bishop of *Alexandria*, with the Success of his Enterprize. And as *Theodosius* was already sufficiently infected with the Principles of *Severus*; so he wanted no great Perswasion to induce him to oppose the Council.

JUSTINIAN, whatever were his real Sentiments, thought it expedient at least to turn *Anthimus* and *Theodosius* out of their Sees*; and, to give the highest Confirmation to his Act, publish'd a Constitution, in which they and their Adherents were solemnly anathematized, whilst the severest Penalties were denounced against all who should be concern'd in propagating their Tenets. Thus was the Council of *Chalcedon*, after various Struggles, Contentions and Oppositions, rescued at once from all its Adversaries, being publicly deliver'd from every

* Vid. L. 3. c. 11.
LIII

Pulpit, and uncontrollably received in all Parts of the Empire, in Conjunction with the Council of *Nice*, the Council of *Constantinople*, and the first *Ephesine* Synod.

THE *Persians* having broke through the Treaty of Peace, which they themselves had sued for (during the Reign of *Theodosius* *) by a furious Inroad into *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, *Anastasius* (in whose Reign this Invasion was made) took Care, at the Conclusion of the War, to build and fortify *Daras* in *Mesopotamia*, as a Place which by so considerable a Strength, join'd to the Commodiousness of its Situation, might stand as a proper Boundary between the two Empires. In this Posture were Affairs when *Justinian* came to the Throne. But the *Persian* Emperor having soon afterwards solicited him, for some Reasons of State, to adopt his Son *Chosdroës*, and meeting with a Denial, immediately took the Field, till, after various Engagements with the *Roman* Army, under the Conduct of *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes*, a Peace was at last concluded, under the Title of *Indissoluble* †.

ABOUT this time the City of *Rome*, which had been in the Possession of the *Goths* for the space of Sixty Years, was, by the Conduct of *Belisarius*, re-united again to the *Roman* Empire. Upon the Death of *Theodorick*, who, in the Reign of *Zeno*, had subdued *Odoacer*, and made himself Master of *Rome*, *Amalasuntha*, in Consideration of her Son's Minority, took upon herself the Administration of Affairs. But being apprehensive that a Conspiracy was forming against her, she sent an Invitation to *Justinian*, to undertake a War against the *Goths*. *Justinian*, having accepted the Overture, sent *Belisarius* with an Army into *Italy*. In the mean time *Athalarick*, who was Son to *Theodorick* and *Amalasuntha*, being taken off before he was of Age, *Theodaatus* succeeded him. He was related to *Theodorick*; of a studious Complexion, and little versed in Military Affairs; so that, upon the Approach of *Belisarius*, he voluntarily resigned up his Crown, leaving the Management of Affairs, as well as the Command of the Forces, to *Vitiges*. However, *Belisarius* found the Gates of *Rome* open to receive him; for *Vitiges* had

* L. I. c. 19. Comp. cum l. 3. c. 37. † V. L. 4. c. 19.

before retired out of the City, upon the News of his Arrival into *Italy*. Thus was *Rome* wrested out of the Hands of the *Goths*, and united again to the *Roman* Empire. And though she afterwards became the Prize of a long Contention between the two Nations ; yet after several succeeding Revolutions, she was at last finally recovered by the Conduct of *Narses*.

WHILST the State was engaged in these as well as other Expeditions, partly against the *Vandals*, and partly against that mighty Branch of the *Goths*, who, being possess'd of the Country about the Lake *Maotis*, left their old Habitations, and hovering in a prodigious Swarm upon the Borders of the Empire, cast the utmost Terror and Destruction around 'em ; the Church, which was entirely recovered from the Disorders that had so long ravaged in her Bowels, was revived and strengthen'd by the Accession of three mighty People, the *Eruli*, the *Abasgi*, and the Inhabitants upon the Banks of the *Tanais*, who, having all shaken off the Fetters of Superstition and Paganism, embraced Christianity.

IT might reasonably have been expected that the Church should now have enjoyed a long run of Health and Vigour, when another Distemper broke out, occasioned by a Sore, which having been for some Time rancouring in her Entrails, was at last grown to a Head. *Origen* had scattered several Errors among his Writings, which had infected the *Anchorets* of the *Nova Laura*, as well as *Macarius* himself, who was at this time Bishop of *Jerusalem* : But *Macarius* being soon afterwards expelled his See, *Eustochius* was appointed to succeed him. He could not but detest these dangerous Principles, which had spread themselves over his Diocese : And therefore, being thoroughly resolved to eradicate 'em, entered upon a Visitation to the *Nova Laura*, and expell'd several of the Members : Who were no sooner drove from their Cells, but they dispers'd into all Parts, and, having form'd themselves into a considerable Body, were honour'd with the Protection of *Theodorus*, the Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

THEODORUS, having a very great Interest at Court, resolved upon this Occasion to exert it all against *Eustochius*.
 “ Accordingly he represented the Heinousness of his late Proceedings
 L 111 2 “

“ceedings to the Emperor *; told him they were directly contrary to the Laws both of God and Man; and what Right could *Eustochius* pretend in dispossessing People of their lawful Habitations”?

WHEREUPON *Eustochius*, perceiving that a Flame was kindling against him, immediately sent *Conon* and *Rufus*, with several others of great Character and Distinction, to *Constantinople*.

THESE two Abbots, distinguished as much by the Eminence of their Virtue, as the Dignity of the Monasteries over which they presided, had hardly enter'd upon the Affairs of *Origen*, *Evagrius* and *Didymus* †, when *Theodorus*, to cause a Diversion, introduced, very fortunately for the Church, the Affair of *Theodorus*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, *Theodorite* and *Ibas*. Upon which a Question was started, whether Persons after Death were liable to an Anathema: Which being, after a short Debate, resolved in the Affirmative, the Synod, when assembled, proceeded to Sentence, in which the Epistle of *Ibas*, the Writings of *Theodorus* and *Theodorite*, as well as the Errors of *Origen* and his Followers, were condemned.

IN this Council, which was the fifth that was *Oecumenical*, *Eutychius* the Bishop of *Constantinople* presided, by reason of the Absence of *Vigilius*, the Bishop of *Rome*. *Eutychius* happened to be in the Assembly when that famous Question was first started; “Whether Persons after Death were liable to an Anathema”. And though at that Time he was destitute of the Advantages arising from an eminent Station; yet, being excellently versed in the holy Scriptures, he ventured upon that Occasion to declare his Opinion, though with a Freedom not altogether becoming his Rank; saying, “That the Matter before ‘em would not so much as admit of the least Shadow of a Debate; since they had the Example of King *Josiah* to determine it; whose Zeal, in destroying the Priests of *Baal*, extended even to the Sepulchers of the Dead”. This gained him so great a Reputation, that the Emperor, upon the Death

* V. L. 4. c. 38.

† Vid. *ibid*.

of *Menas*, the second from *Anthimus*, raised him to the See of *Constantinople*.

NOT long after the Dissolution of this Synod, another Flame broke out in the Church with more Fury and Violence than the former, occasion'd by an Edict which the Emperor establish'd, setting forth, "That whereas it was the Opinion of the Emperor, that the Body of our Blessed Saviour was incorruptible, and altogether incapable of undergoing those Changes to which human Bodies are liable; and consequently that our Blessed Lord, both before and after his Passion, received his Sustenance in the same Manner*; so he commanded that it should be received and embraced with a universal Reverence and Assent throughout his Dominions". Thus was the Glory of a Reign, so remarkably conspicuous for the Bravery and Conduct of Generals, repeated Conquests over the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the Propagation of Christianity, and the Magnificence of publick Buildings, Churches, Hospitals, and religious Houses, all raised and endow'd at the Emperor's Expence, sullied and obscured, partly indeed by some Acts of Rapaciousness, but chiefly by this sudden and unexpected Revolt from the true Faith.

BUT to return: This Blow, attended with all the Circumstances of a surprising and unforeseen Event, filled the Minds of the Bishops with the utmost Perplexity. The Edict ran in a very high and peremptory Strain, and no Application of Force or Threats was wanting to support it. Besides, *Eutychius*, the Bishop of *Constantinople* was already banished his See, for no other Reason than because he refused to receive it.

THE See of *Antioch* was at this Time filled by *Anastasius*; a Man of known Integrity, exact Conduct, and unshaken Constancy, joined to an uncommon Gravity in his Deportment, and a profound Knowledge in Divinity. The Bishops therefore, not knowing how to disentangle themselves from the Embarrassment in which they were at present involved, thought to shelter themselves under the Character of one who had acquired so just

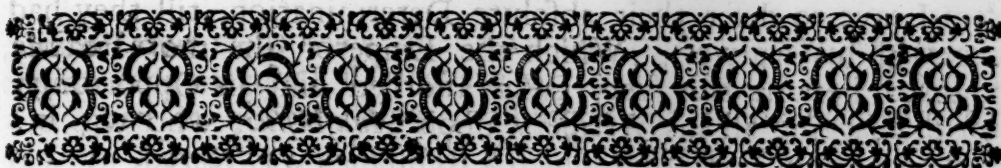
* V. L. 4. C. 39.

a Reputation and Esteem; and accordingly, having refer'd the Matter to *Anastasius*, humbly besought the Emperor to give 'em Leave to defer their absolute Determination, till they had receiv'd his Answer. Which the Emperor the more readily granted, because this very Delay afforded him an Opportunity for discharging all his Artillery upon *Anastasius*, who was become the only Fort from which a Resistance was feared, as will as the only Person that, by the Strength of his Character alone, could add a Weight to the Doctrine it self.

BUT *Anastasius*, notwithstanding all the Practices and Attempts of the Emperor, still remained inflexible, declaring in his Letter to the Monks in *Syria*, " That our Blessed Saviour's
" Body was absolutely liable to Corruption ; that this was the
" Opinion of the holy Fathers, as well as the Apostles them-
" selves ; and therefore he exhorted 'em, with the utmost Ear-
" nestness, to undergo all Extremities, rather than suffer a
" Doctrine so well grounded to be wrested from them". In this manner did *Anastasius* oppose the Side of the Emperor's Impetuosity, which had certainly over-whelmed him, had not *Justinian* been prevented by a sudden Death from putting his Design in Execution.



THE



T H E
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
O F
Evagrius Scholasticus.

B O O K V, and VI.



THE Death of *Justinian* was not publickly known, till *Justin* had even put on the Purple, and made his Appearance in the *Circus*. He was Nephew to *Justinian*, and had a considerable Place at Court; but was a Man very soft and effeminate, covetous and rapacious; and abandon'd to all Excesses of Voluptuousness and Debauchery; whilst at the same Time he was agitated by those two remarkable Contrarieties of Temper, Boldness and Fear. So that as soon as he was advanced to the Empire, he conceived the utmost Jealousy of his Relation *Justin*, from the Consideration of the Glory which he had so justly deserved, as well by the Greatness of his Military Achievements,

Atchievements, as his Violence and Conduct in the Administration of the highest Employments in the State.

THERE was an Agreement made between these two Persons, in the Reign of *Justinian* (to prevent all Disputes that might possibly arise about the Succession, which seem'd to hang in a doubtful Balance between them) that when either of them obtain'd the Purple, the other should be immediately advanced to the highest Station in the Empire. Upon this Pretence *Justin* is called Home (though engaged in repelling the *Abari*) is received with the warmest Expressions of Kindness, loaded with Grandeur and Power; when on a sudden he was strip'd of his Guards and Domesticks, forbid the Emperor's Presence, and sent, with the shew of a pompous Commission, to *Alexandria*, where he was afterwards barbarously assassinated.

IN the mean time, an Order being issued out commanding the Bishops to retire to their respective Sees, and pursue the same Forms and Regulations which had obtain'd, without listening to any Alteration in Point of Faith, an Edict was soon afterwards publish'd, setting forth, "That the Emperor, in Pursuance as
" well of the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers, as the Precepts of
" the Gospel itself, earnestly exhorted all Persons to combine in
" a strict and entire Harmony of Opinion, by jointly acknowledging a Trinity of Persons in a Unity of Godhead; and believing that our Lord Jesus Christ (who, in respect to his Godhead, was of the same Substance with the Father) became, by
" Virtue of his Incarnation, of the same Substance with us,
" without either Addition of Persons to the Blessed Trinity, or
" Diminution of Godhead in himself; being perfect God, and
" perfect Man; and that neither by Conversion of Nature,
" Confusion of Substance, or Division of Persons; truly obnoxious to all the Infirmities of human Nature, Sin only excepted; and though utterly impregnable against all Sufferings, with regard to his Godhead, yet entirely obnoxious to them through all the Extent of his Humanity. And that as this was the only true Faith; so all who either had or did dissent from it, were, by this Edict, anathematized, and adjudged to be Aliens to the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church. Nevertheless, that the Emperor did not scruple, in a Matter of such high Importance, to lay aside his Imperial Authority, and
" even

“ even stoop to intreat them to conspire in a Point of Doxology to their great God and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, without either barking for the future in those idle Controversies about Persons or Syllables||, since both those Syllables which had been severally made use of in determining the Mode of our Blessed Saviour’s Existence, equally tended to unravel the same Meaning, and constitute the same Faith; Regard being still had to the present Establishment in the Church, in the same manner as had hitherto obtained†”. So that, while all Parties readily closed in with the Edict, and acknowledged it to be perfectly Orthodox; the same jarring Sentiments, which had been hitherto so warmly pursued, were still, under the Umbrage of this last Paragraph, as warmly maintain’d.

It was a considerable time after the Publication of this Edict, that *Anastasius* Bishop of *Antioch*, was removed from his See*. He had greatly embezzel’d as well as misapply’d the Revenues belonging to that Church, and, to justify his Conduct, declared, that it was only to disappoint the Rapaciousness of *Justin*, who, he said, was the common Scourge of Mankind. This alone had been sufficient to rouse the Emperor’s Indignation, who was even already incensed against him for refusing to advance a Sum of Money, upon his Promotion to the See.

Not long after this, the Inhabitants of *Armenia the Great*, who had been for some time vex’d and harass’d by the *Persians*, for their Attachment to the *Christian* Religion, began to repent of their Revolt; and since they could obtain no better Treatment from their new Masters, resolved once to throw themselves again into the Arms of the *Roman* Empire. In pur-

|| By Persons and Syllables the Emperor alludes partly to the Heresy of *Nestorius*, and partly to the Differences that had arisen between the *Eutychians* and the *Catholics* about the Prepositions *In* and *Of*. For as *Nestorius* asserted, that there were two distinct Persons in *Christ*, inasmuch as he was the eternal Word as well as Man: So *Eutyches* maintained that there were indeed two Natures

residing in *Christ* before his Union with the Flesh; but that after that Union he consisted only of One: Whereas *Catholics* continued still to adore him in both Natures.

† Vide L. 5. c. 4. item L. 2. c. 5. sub fin.

* Vide Annot. Valesii, ad Cap. 5. comparatam cum Annot. ult. cap. 4.

fuance of this Resolution, an Embassy was immediately dispatched to *Constantinople*, and, the Overture being accepted, the *Armenians* rise up in Arms, massacre their *Persian* Governors, and, in Conjunction with their Neighbour Allies, declare for the *Romans*.

THE *Persians* had made several Inroads into the *Roman* Empire since the Conclusion of the Treaty which went by the Name of *Indissoluble*†. So that when the Embassadors of the *Persian* Emperor remonstrated against these Proceedings, no other Answer was return'd ||, than that the *Romans*, in a Time of War, could by no means refuse their Protection to their Fellow-Christians.

THIS Revolt of the *Armenians* happen'd in the first Year of *Gregory's* Administration. For he was the Person who, upon the Expulsion of *Anastasius* from the See of *Antioch*, was appointed to succeed him. *Gregory* was a Man of great Natural as well as Acquired Abilities, and Master of an unshaken Steadiness and Resolution; so that he neither wanted Courage to engage in any Enterprize, nor Application to prosecute it. This happy Disposition of Mind, together with a deep Penetration, an inflexible Integrity, and a surprising Quickness of Apprehension, conspired to form in him a remarkable Adroitness in the Transaction of Affairs. The Monastery of Mount *Sinai* was, during his Presidentship, besieged by the *Arabs*. This plunged him into very great Difficulties and Dangers; but having surmounted 'em all, and procured his Monastery a lasting Peace, he was from thence advanced to the See of *Antioch*.

BUT to return: *Chosdroës* the *Persian* Emperor, considering the Answer which the *Romans* return'd as no less than an open Declaration of War, immediately took the Field at the Head of a powerful Army; and, having divided his Forces, cross'd the *Tigris*, and marched with the utmost Expedition to *Nisibis*, leaving the Command of the rest of his Troops to

† L. 4. c. 25, & 27.

|| L. 5. c. 7.

Adarmanes, with Orders to take the Rout of *Circesium*, a Roman Frontier.

NISIBIS was a City in *Mesopotamia*, of great Strength; and *Marcian*, who had the Command of the Eastern Forces, was at this very time sat down before it; but with an Army neither well appointed, nor well disciplined. For *Justin*, having flatter'd himself into a Belief of an idle and ill-grounded Report, that *Chosdroës* was dead, had made no Preparations towards the carrying on a War; thinking that even the Tedioufness of the present Siege could proceed from nothing else but the ill Conduct of *Marcian*. And tho' *Gregory* had inform'd him of the Impracticableness of the Undertaking, as well from the Strength of the Place itself, as from the Certainty of its being speedily relieved (for *Chosdroës* was already upon his *March*); yet so entirely was he lost in a Lethargy of Ease and Stupidity, that no Arguments were prevalent enough to dispossess his Mind of this fond Conceit, till, after having taken away *Marcian's* Commission, he saw his Army, such as it was, scatter'd and dispers'd into all Quarters; whilst the Enemy, pursuing their Ravages with Fire and Sword, storm'd several Castles, and at last became even Masters of *Daras* and *Apamea*.

THESE *Blows* were no sooner given than *Justin* began to be sensible of his Mistake, and feel the Horror of it in all its Consequences. He had hitherto fed his Imagination with the most swelling Expectations of Success, and had even raised himself to the utmost Pitch of Arrogance and Sufficiency, when on a sudden he fell into the deepest Plunge of Despair and Distraction, leaving the Administration of Affairs to the sole Conduct and Direction of *Tiberius*.

TIBERIUS, knowing the Temper and Disposition of the Army from their Behaviour in the late ill-digested Expedition against the *Abari* (in which he himself commanded them, and even hardly escaped with his Life) thought it the greatest Folly as well as Imprudence to build any Expectation of Success upon a Body of Men so entirely spiritless and dejected. This put him upon trying other Measures. Accordingly *Trajan* the Senator was sent to the Court of *Persia* with a Letter from the

Empress herself, full of the most artful Strokes of Insinuation and Address; and whether it was owing to the Letter itself, or the Address of the Person that deliver'd it, join'd to the Venerableness of his Years and gray Hairs, a Truce was granted for the Space of three Years to extend throughout all the East, except *Armenia*.

JUSTIN, being roused from his late Disorder into a Sense of his own Weakness and Inability, resolved, in pursuance of the Empress's Advice, to take a Partner into the Government; and therefore, in a full Assembly, consisting of the principal Persons in the State, declared *Tiberius* his Coadjutor in the Empire under the Title of *Cæsar*, charging him, at the same time, in a very pathetic Speech, to retrieve the Miscarriages of a Conduct that had been so fatal to the *Roman* Empire.

IN the mean while *Chosdroës*, notwithstanding his Truce, pursued his Conquests with the utmost Vigour and Success. For having taken *Daras*, and made an Inroad into *Armenia*, he was even forming a Design of invading *Cappadocia* and laying Siege to *Cæsarea*; whilst the Embassadors of the *Roman* Empire were all along received with the utmost Contempt, and commanded to attend his Marches. Whereupon *Tiberius*, having raised a very formidable Army, surpris'd him unawares, and, after a small Stand, forced him to retire into the East, and shelter himself under the Articles of the late Treaty. Thus did the *Roman* Army, under the Conduct of *Justinian* (who was Brother to that *Justin*, whom the Emperor *Justin* had formerly slain) gain an entire Victory over the *Persians*, and having enter'd into the very Heart of the Empire, quarter'd all the Winter unmolested, without having sustain'd any Loss during the whole Expedition.

THIS Defeat made such an Impression upon *Chosdroës*, that he was never afterwards able to recover the usual Strength of his Mind, which was now so entirely shatter'd and discomfited, that he soon died under a total Suppression of Grief, leaving the Empire to his Son *Hormisdas*, with this remarkable Law in Memory of his own signal Overthrow, that no Emperor of *Persia* should, for the future, engage in an Expedition against the *Romans*.

WHILST

WHILST the State was employ'd in these Transactions, the Church enjoy'd a profound Tranquillity, being sensible of no Alteration, but what proceeded from a Succession in some of her Principal Sees, by which *Pelagius* became Bishop of *Rome*, *Eutychius* of *Constantinople*, *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, and *John* of *Jerusalem*.

ABOUT this time a Storm broke out at *Constantinople*, with so much Violence, that it not only threaten'd *Eutychius*, but even the Emperor himself. *Anatolius*, a Man who from a Meanness of Birth and Occupation had rais'd himself to the highest Dignities in the City of *Antioch*, being convicted of *Paganism*, found means to make an Interest in the Governor of the *East*, and had even almost obtain'd a Pardon both for himself and his Associates, when the People, in a furious Insurrection, demanded the Prosecution, which had been begun against him, to be continued. *Anatolius* had industriously riveted himself into an Intimacy with *Gregory*, partly for the Benefit of his Conversation, and partly to increase his own Influence and Authority in the City, under the Countenance and Patronage of such an eminent and distinguished Acquaintance. This gave Rise to a Suspicion, that *Gregory* himself had been concern'd in promoting his Discharge; which was afterwards confirm'd by some bold and confident Intimations, which induced several to believe, that *Gregory* had even assisted at some of his execrable Sacrifices. Whereupon *Tiberius*, prompted by a strong Desire to know from the Mouth of *Anatolius* himself, what Grounds there were for a Suspicion which had so strongly prevailed, order'd him to be brought to *Constantinople*.

ANATOLIUS had several Confidants and Accomplices; but it appear'd from his Examination (which was by Torture) that *Gregory* was not in their Number.

IN the End, *Anatolius* was expos'd in the Amphitheatre to the Fury of wild Beasts; and even what they left of his Body was afterwards nailed to a Cross. But some of those Persons, who had been concern'd with him in his Pagan Practices, being only sentenced to Banishment, the People of *Constantinople* weighing the Heinousness of the Crime with the Lightness of the

the Punishment that was order'd to be inflicted upon them, rose in a tumultuous Manner, and having hurried them aboard a Vessel, immediately set Fire to it: And so far were they from being satisfied with this violent Proceeding, that they threaten'd to massacre *Eutychius*; not sparing the Emperor himself, whom they openly accused of betraying the Faith.

JUSTINIAN, in his first Expedition against the *Persians*, had been attended with remarkable Success: But being afterwards very unfortunate in all the Enterprises in which he was engaged, *Tiberius*, after the Death of *Justin*, took away his Commission, and gave it to *Mauricius*; for whom the Divine Providence had, as it were, reserved the rest of the Enterprises which were to fill up the Glory of this Reign *, on Purpose that he might ascend the Imperial Throne by equal Steps, both of Merit and Renown.

NOT long after this, *Tiberius* died. He was a Man of a tall Stature, well proportion'd, and had a remarkable Propriety and Justness of Features; so that he was distinguish'd from the rest of Mankind, as well by the Elegance and Comeliness of his Person, as the Lenity and Humaneness of his Disposition. He consider'd Riches in no other Light, than as they ought to be distributed among his Subjects, and thought that he most abounded when he most bestow'd; not contented with relieving their Necessities, he even provided for their Affluence, regarding rather what an Emperor ought to give, than what his Subjects might reasonably expect to receive. No Gold, he thought, was so base, as that which was drain'd from bleeding Provinces: This induced him graciously to remit a Year's Tribute. And being touch'd with a lively Compassion at the Miseries which those Countries groaned under, that had been ravaged and laid waste by the *Persians*, he lighten'd their Tribute in a Proportion, which even exceeded the Damage they had sustain'd. Former Emperors were used to sell the Places of the highest Trust and Importance in the State. But *Tiberius* was so far from following their Example in this Particular, that he not only broke

* Vide p. 96.

through the Rule himself, but even provided against the Practice of it for the future, by an Express Constitution. Thus was his Reign conducted with the wisest Administration, crowded with Blessings and Comforts which were continually showering upon his Subjects, and crown'd at last with the Nomination of *Mauricius*, whom he honour'd with the Name of *Tiberius*; giving him, at the same time, his Daughter *Augusta* in Marriage.

As soon as *Mauricius* had ascended the Imperial Throne, and celebrated his Nuptials with the usual Pomp and Solemnity, he began to turn his Thoughts to the War with the *Persians*; which was afterwards conducted, though with various Success, by the two Generals *John* and *Philippicus*. But *Philippicus*, who had succeeded *John*, being afterwards recalled, *Priscus* was sent with the Command of the Forces into the *East*.

PRISCUS was a Man of great Reservedness, difficult of Access, and very cautious of appearing in Publick. By this affected Distance, he thought he might best preserve an Awe among the Soldiers, and by that means add a double Weight to his Orders. This is certain; that as soon as he arrived at the Camp, he publish'd some Orders relating to the Behaviour of the Army, in a very haughty Strain; which, joined to the Splendor and Magnificence of his Dress, raised the Indignation of the Soldiery against him, who rush'd in a Body into his Tent, and having rifled his sumptuous Baggage, and forced him, by a very hasty Flight, to retire to *Edeffa*, immediately order'd a Detachment to sit down before the Town, and demand him to be deliver'd up. But when they found that the People of *Edeffa* were resolved to protect him at all Adventures, they were contented to raise the Siege; and having seized upon *Germanus*, who had the Command of the Troops in one of the Provinces of *Phaenicia*, forced him to accept of the Command of the Army, and even proceeded (not without the utmost Menaces and Tortures) to constitute him Emperor: So singular was the Reluctance with which *Germanus* accepted the Imperial Title.

As soon as the News of this Revolt was brought to *Constantinople*, *Philippicus* was sent with a Commission to reduce the Army to its former Temper and Disposition. He was a Man of great

great Eminence and Distinction, married to the Emperor's Sister, and had lately been engaged in a very conspicuous Scene of Action in *Persia*, while he had the Command of the Oriental Army; being particularly remarkable for his Conduct in suppressing the Growth of Luxury and Delicacy, and for bringing back the Soldiery to the ancient Standard of Military Order and Decorum. But *Philippicus*, notwithstanding his Rank and Abilities, was not able to procure himself a tolerable Reception: For the Army was so entirely debauched by their late Disorder, that it was dangerous for any one to embark in his Favour.

IN this Posture were the *Roman* Forces, when *Gregory*, Bishop of *Antioch* returned from the *Constantinopolitan* Synod. A Dispute arising between *Gregory* and *Asterius*, Persons of all Ranks and Degrees among the *Antiochians* took part with the latter, declaring that they had all, in some manner or other, been injured by *Gregory*; so that at last his Name came, as it were by a general Licence, to be continually loaded with Contumely and Reproach, not only in the Theatre, but even in the publick Streets.

ASTERIUS, when this Displeasure arose between him and *Gregory*, was Governor of the *East*, but being afterwards succeeded by *John*, an Inquiry was ordered to be made concerning the Grounds and Occasion of this Disorder, which was now grown to such a Height, as even to fill the City with continual Uproars and Tumults. *John* was a Man of slender Abilities, and entirely incapable of steering in such a boisterous Sea. However, he thought fit to publish a Declaration, inviting any Person to bring his Accusation against *Gregory*.

THIS Declaration was no sooner set forth, than an Accusation was brought against *Gregory*, charging him at the same Time both with Incest and Adultery, having, as it was said, "lain with his own Sister; even after she was married": Whereupon *Gregory* appealed to the Emperor and Council. This occasion'd his Journey to *Constantinople*, where having been heard in a Synod, consisting of all the Patriarchs (who assisted either in Person or by Deputy) together with the Members of the Senate, and several of the Metropolitans, he was at last acquitted, whilst his Accuser, having undergone a painful
and

and ignominious Punishment, was, as a Reward due to his Merits, sentenced to Banishment.

It was not long after *Gregory's* Return, that the City of *Antioch* felt the Convulsions of another Earthquake. She had lately been sufficiently rock'd by one in the Reign of *Tiberius*; but as that had laid *Daphne* entirely level with the Ground, so it had rather shatter'd than demolished the Buildings of *Antioch*. But this scatter'd such prodigious Havock and Desolation around, that not only Churches and Houses, and publick Edifices, were either dismember'd, or thrown to the Ground, but even a great Part of the District, called *Ostracine*, was entirely buried in Ruins; whilst no less than sixty thousand Men were destroyed, and among the rest *Asterius*. *Gregory* the Bishop being all this while preserved, as it were by a Miracle, from the common Destruction. For though the House, where he was, was torn from its Foundation, yet the Ruins did not reach the Part in which he happened to be; whilst all were entirely destroyed, except those only who were about his Person; and who afterwards, when that very Place began to be agitated by a fresh Motion, took him up upon their Shoulders, and by the help of a Rope let him down from the Place just time enough to escape its Fall.

In the mean time the Enemy, taking Advantage of the present Situation of the Army, pour'd in mighty Numbers into the *Roman* Empire, expecting no manner of Opportunity from a Body of Troops, so entirely broken and shattered within themselves; when on a sudden *Germanus* gave 'em Battle, and having gained a signal Victory, pursued his Conquest so far, that there was not so much as one of the Enemy that escaped the Sword.

MAURICIUS was a Prince of great Prudence, Generosity and Clemency. He could not forbear rewarding the Army, upon gaining so remarkable a Victory; though it was obtain'd at a Time, when it was in open Rebellion to his Person. And tho' *Germanus* and several others were afterwards call'd to their Trial, and even receiv'd Sentence of Death; yet so far was he from suffering the Punishment to be inflicted, that he even generously discharged 'em, and that too not without some extraordinary Instances of his Bounty.

DURING these Transactions in the *East*, the *Abari*, invited by the Favourableness of the Occasion, made a furious Inroad, and having taken several Cities and Places of Strength, and among the rest *Cingidunus* and *Enchialus* by Storm, became at last Masters of all *Achaia*.

ALL this Time there was no Army to oppose their Progress. For the Bulk of the *Roman* Forces was now in the *East*, and that too in the most deplorable Circumstances of Distraction and wild Rebellion. The old commanding Officers, as well as Subalterns, were dismissed, and new ones received in their Room; while no Orders nor Appointments from the Government were observed, but each Man's Will and Pleasure was his Law. And though *Philippicus* had already been sent to appease their Fury, and bring 'em back to their former Disposition; yet all his Attempts had proved ineffectual.

IN this Posture and Situation was the Army, when the *Abari* enter'd the *Roman* Empire. And yet, notwithstanding the present Exigence of Affairs, join'd to the pressing Instances of the most considerable Person in the Imperial Guards, who was sent on purpose to labour the Point, they could not be prevailed upon to receive their former Officers, till after a very pathetic Speech, made to them by *Gregory* the Bishop of *Antioch*, they were not only contented to resign themselves again to their Command, but even petitioned the Emperor, that *Philippicus* might be appointed their General. Who having accordingly entered upon his Commission, marched directly to *Martyropolis*, a City in *Armenia* the Great.

MARTYROPOLIS was a Place of great Consequence to the *Romans*, and had lately been betrayed into the Hands of the *Persians*, by the Treachery of one *Sittas* an Officer in the Army. However, *Philippicus* was not able to recover it either in this or the following Campaign, notwithstanding two most vigorous Sieges, together with the Success of a signal Victory. And tho' *Commentiolus*, who succeeded him in his Commission, afterwards besieged it with the utmost Vigour and Resolution; yet was he forced to content himself with only storming a Castle, which

which was situated on the other Side of the River, leaving the City to a voluntary Surrender, which proved fatal to *Sittas*.

DURING these Transactions *Varamus*, the *Persian* General, return'd from his Expedition against the *Turks*; and having soon afterwards form'd a Conspiracy against his Royal Master, and procured his Death, was carrying on the same Designs against *Chosdroës*, whom the *Persians* had now declared Emperor.

CHOSDROES was Son to *Hormisdas*, whose Assassination had so lately been brought about by the Instigation of *Varamus*. And as he found himself under a Necessity to secure himself from the Attempts of this Powerful Rebel, who had already taken the Field against him; so, as soon as he appear'd at the Head of his Army, and saw what a Spirit of Disaffection had already possess'd it, he was forced to take Measures for a hasty Flight; and, to prevent his being deliver'd up into the Enemy's Hand, fled to *Mauricius* for Protection. Thus did the *Persian* Emperor become an humble Suppliant to the *Romans*, who not only received him with the highest Expressions of Humanity, but even assisted him with Supplies both of Men and Money; and afterwards, upon the total Defeat of *Varamus*, restored him to his Throne; whilst the *Romans* themselves, by this happy Conjunction of Interests, became Masters again of *Daras* and *Martyropolis*.

AND this was the State of the *Roman* Empire in the twelfth Year of the Reign of *Mauricius Tiberius*, when *Gregory*, who succeeded *Pelagius*, was Bishop of *Rome*, *John* of *Constantinople*, *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, and *Anastasius* of *Antioch* (being upon the Death of *Gregory* restored again to that See) but the See of *Jerusalem*, vacant by the Death of *John*, remain'd unfill'd.

ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.



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THE
I N D E X
TO THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS.

A	Page	Page
A <i>BARI</i> seize <i>Achaia</i>	650	<i>Acacius</i> of <i>Amida</i> 571
<i>Abasgi</i> converted 635		<i>Acacius</i> the Martyr 551
<i>Abba</i> 321		<i>Acacius</i> , Bishop of <i>Meletina</i> 600
<i>Abdas</i> , a <i>Persian</i> Bishop 558		<i>Acacius</i> , Bishop of <i>C. P.</i> 615
<i>Abdechalaas</i> the Martyr 223		— declares for the Council of <i>Chal-</i>
<i>Abdiesus</i> the Confessor 224		<i>cedon</i> 616
<i>Abdiesus</i> the Martyr 225		— is deposed <i>ibid</i>
<i>Abdus</i> miraculously cured 54		— dies 62
<i>Abdus</i> , Bishop and Martyr 225		<i>Acepsimas</i> , Bishop and Martyr 224
<i>Abgarus</i> 299		<i>Acepsimas</i> the Ascetic 415
<i>Ablabius</i> the <i>Novatian</i> 562		<i>Acesius</i> , the <i>Novatian</i> 206, 242
<i>Abraam</i> the Ascetic 415		<i>Achab</i> or <i>John</i> , the <i>Meletian</i> Bishop 234
<i>Abraham</i> 49		<i>Achillas</i> , a <i>Presbyter</i> and publick Cate-
<i>Abramius</i> , Bishop and Martyr 225		chist at <i>Alexandria</i> 127
<i>Acacian</i> Creed 298		<i>Achillas</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i> 187, 191
<i>Acacians</i> 297, 299, 300, 306, 315, 341, 357, 372		<i>Achillas</i> , the <i>Arian</i> 188, 195
<i>Acacius</i> of <i>Berea</i> 446, 452, 456, 469, 501, 539		<i>Acts</i> of the <i>Apostles</i> Canonical 71
<i>Acacius</i> of <i>Cesarea</i> 246, 247, 248, 259, 279, 294, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 308, 309, 312, 341, 367		<i>Acts</i> of <i>Pilate</i> 52, 148
		<i>Adamantius</i> the Physician 563
		<i>Adanctus</i> the Martyr 142
		<i>Addas</i> 488
		<i>Adelphius</i> , the <i>Messalian</i> 582
		<i>Adrian</i> the Emperor 78
		<i>Adrian</i>

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Adrian</i> the Martyr	139	— his Death	214
<i>Ædesius</i> the Martyr	134	— proves Christ's Divinity in his Cir-	
Another <i>Ædesius</i>	220	cular Letters	188, 192, &c.
<i>Æditui</i> , their Office	337	<i>Alexander</i> , Bishop of <i>Constantinople</i>	239,
<i>Æmilian</i> the Prefect	119		241
<i>Actians</i>	303	— his Death	246
<i>Actius</i> of <i>Lydda</i>	195	<i>Alexander</i> the Confessor	295
<i>Actius</i> the Atheist	270, 276, 279, 280,	<i>Alexander</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	558
	300, 302, 303, 304, 305, 307, 324,	<i>Alexander</i> of <i>Jerusalem</i> , a translated Bi-	
	328, 341	shop	584, 585
<i>Actius</i> the Emperor murdered	607	<i>Alexander</i> of <i>Adriana</i> , another translated	
<i>Africanus</i>	50	Bishop	ibid.
<i>Agapetus</i> the Monk	415, 506	<i>Alexandrians</i> , <i>Philo's</i> Account of 'em	59
<i>Agapetus</i> , a <i>Macedonian</i>	554	<i>Alexio</i> of <i>Bethagathon</i> , an Ascetick	318
<i>Agapius</i> , Bishop of <i>Cæsarea</i> in <i>Palestine</i> ,		<i>Alpheus</i> the Martyr	132
and Martyr	127, 132, 134	<i>Amantius</i> the Eunuch	630
<i>Agapius</i> , another of the Name, a Mar-		<i>St. Ambrose</i> , Bishop of <i>Milan</i>	438, &c.
tyr	133		464
<i>Agapius</i> , the <i>Arian</i>	484	— his Steadiness	464, &c.
<i>Agas</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225	— his Care and Strictness of Dis-	
<i>Agathonica</i> the Martyr	84	cipline	495, 526
<i>Agbarus</i> , King of <i>Edeffa</i> , his Letter		<i>Ambrosius</i> , a Disciple and Friend of <i>Ori-</i>	
to <i>Christ</i> , with the Reply	53, 54	gen	104
<i>Agdelas</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225	<i>Amnian</i> the Monk	415
<i>Agelius</i> , the <i>Novatian</i> Bishop	294, 375,	<i>Amnianus Clemens</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	70
	456, 458, 465, 477	<i>Ammon</i> the Martyr	114
<i>Agilo</i> and <i>Gomoarius</i> , Officers	372	<i>Ammon</i> the Monk	211, 401
<i>Agrippa</i>	61	<i>Ammon</i> the <i>Tabennesian</i> Ascetick	405
<i>Agrippa</i> <i>Caesar</i>	79	<i>Ammonarium</i> the Martyr	113
<i>Agrippinus</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	85	<i>Ammonius</i> the Ascetick	404, 411
<i>Ajax</i> the Monk	501	Another <i>Ammonius</i> an Ascetick	413
<i>Aithalas</i> , a <i>Presbyter</i> and Confessor	224	<i>Ammonius</i> the Poet	519
<i>Alamundarus</i> , King of the <i>Saracens</i>	570	<i>Ammonius</i> the Monk	564
<i>Alaphio</i> of <i>Asalea</i> the Ascetick	318	<i>Ammonius</i> <i>Presbyter</i> and Martyr	143
<i>Alarick</i>	558	<i>Ammonius</i> , <i>Origen's</i> Master	108
<i>Albinus</i>	63	<i>Ammonius</i> , Bishop of <i>Laodicea</i>	539
<i>Alcibiades</i> the Martyr	90	<i>Amphilochius</i> , Metropolitan of <i>Lycania</i>	
<i>Alexander</i> , <i>Salome's</i> Husband	51		381, 425, 452, 454
<i>Alexander</i> Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	77	<i>Amphilochius</i> , Bishop of <i>Lyda</i>	610
<i>Alexander</i> the Martyr	92	<i>Amphion</i>	213
<i>Alexander</i> the <i>Montanist</i>	96	<i>Ananias</i> the Martyr	223
<i>Alexander</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i> , and		<i>Ananus</i>	63
Martyr, a Friend of <i>Origen's</i>	104,	<i>Anastasius</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	468, 558
	107, 109, 112	<i>Anastasius</i> , <i>Nestorius's</i> <i>Presbyter</i>	
<i>Alexander</i> , another Martyr of that Name	113		581, 599
Another <i>Alexander</i> , a Martyr	120	<i>Anastasius</i> made Emperor	626
Two <i>Alexanders</i> , Martyrs	132	— his Death	630
<i>Alexander</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	187,	<i>Anastasius</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	637
	191, &c. 213	— is deposed	641
		<i>Anatolius</i> , Bishop of <i>Laodicea</i>	126
		<i>Anatolius</i>	

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Anatolius of Antioch</i>	645	<i>Aquila and Priscilla</i>	61
<i>Andragathius, Maximus's General</i>	463, 466	<i>Aquilinus miraculously cured</i>	216
<i>St. Andrew</i>	65	<i>Arabad</i>	321
<i>Anencletus Bishop of Rome</i>	70	<i>Arbogastes the Rebel</i>	488, 494
<i>Anicetus, Bishop of Rome</i>	81	<i>Arcadia, vide Pulcheria</i>	
<i>Annas the High-priest</i>	52	<i>Arcadius declared Augustus</i>	462
<i>Annianus, Successor to St. Mark</i>	63	— his Death	551
<i>Annianus of Antioch</i>	299, 308	<i>Archelaus, Son of Herod</i>	50, 52
<i>Anomeans</i>	315, 419	<i>Archelaus, Bishop of the Caschari</i>	226
<i>Anteros, Bishop of Rome</i>	111	<i>Archelaus the Prefect</i>	234
<i>Anthemius, Emperor of the West</i>	611	<i>Ardaburius the General</i>	569, 576
<i>Anthimus, Bishop of C. P.</i>	633	<i>Ares the Martyr</i>	137
<i>Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia</i>	131	<i>Arethas</i>	52
<i>Antiochus</i>	390	<i>Arintheus, one of Valens's Generals</i>	439
<i>Antiochus of Ptolemais</i>	525	<i>Aristides, his Apology</i>	78
<i>Antoninus Pius</i>	80	<i>Aristobulus, the Jewish High-priest</i>	50
<i>Antoninus Verus</i>	81	<i>Aristobulus, an Historian</i>	108
— his Persecution	81, 89	<i>Arius</i> 187, 190, 195, 198, 227, 236,	238, 240
<i>Antoninus the Martyr</i>	136	— his Doctrines	187, &c.
<i>Antonius the Ascetick</i>	210, &c.	— Excommunicated	188
	317, &c. 320	— Condemned in the Council of	
<i>Antony of Germa</i>	581	Nice, anathematized and banished	200
<i>Anulinus, the Proconsul of Africk</i>	153	— returns with <i>Enzoins</i>	229
<i>Anulph the Ascetick</i>	317	— his Death	241
<i>Aonés the Monk</i>	414	<i>Arius, another of that Name</i>	188, 195
<i>Apelles the Marcionite</i>	94	<i>Armatus the General</i>	621
<i>Apelles the Ascetick</i>	405	<i>Armenia converted</i>	222
<i>Aphraates the Monk</i>	386, &c.	<i>Armenians submit to the Romans</i>	641
<i>Apion, an Ecclesiastical Writer</i>	99	<i>Asaces, King of Armenia</i>	358
<i>Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, his Writings</i>	87	<i>Asacius the Ascetick</i>	318
<i>Apollinaris, an Adversary of Montanus</i>	95	<i>Asacius, Bishop of Constantinople</i>	543
	315, 351	<i>Asacius High-priest of Galatia</i>	347
<i>Apollinaris of Laodicea</i>	419	<i>Arsenius</i>	232, &c. 260
<i>Apollinaris the Heretick</i>	427, &c. 444	<i>Arsenius the Ascetick</i>	401
— his Opposition to <i>Origen</i>	530	<i>Arfion the Ascetick</i>	411
<i>Apello Daphneus, his Oracle</i>	353	<i>Arfifius the Ascetick</i>	ibid.
— the Root of his Temple destroy'd	354	<i>Artemas the Heretick</i>	125
by Fire from Heaven	355	<i>Artemius the Martyr</i>	335
<i>Apollo Didymus, his Temple</i>	113	<i>Artemon the Heretick</i>	99
<i>Apollonia the Martyr</i>	96	<i>Asclepas of Gaza</i>	252, 258, 266
<i>Apollonius, an Adversary of Montanus,</i>	317	<i>Asclepiades, Bishop of Antioch</i>	111
and a Martyr	408	<i>Asclepiades, a Novatian Bishop</i>	578
<i>Apollonius the Ascetick</i>	406	<i>Asclepius, a Marcionite Bishop</i>	137
<i>Another Apollonius, an Ascetick</i>	133	<i>Ascholiis of Thessalonica</i>	447, 452
<i>Apollonius the Ascetick</i>		<i>Aspar, Ardaburius's Son</i>	576
<i>Appbian, a Pupil of Eusebius and Mar-</i>		<i>Asphalius</i>	280
<i>tyr</i>		<i>Asterius</i>	237
		<i>Asterius the Bishop</i>	261
		<i>Asterius, perhaps the same with him</i>	299
		mentioned Page 237	Another

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
Another <i>Asterius</i>	510	B <i>Abylas</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> and Mar-	
<i>Asterius</i> , Governour of the <i>East</i>	648	tyr	112
— kill'd in an Earthquake	649	<i>Babylas</i> the Martyr	353
<i>Asturius</i> the Confessor	121	<i>Bacchylus</i> , Bishop of <i>Corinth</i>	97
After the Martyr	113	<i>Bacurius</i> , an <i>Iberian</i> Viceroy	222
<i>Athalarick</i>	624	<i>Bacurius</i> the General	493
<i>Athanasick</i> , King of the <i>Goths</i>	462	<i>Baphi</i>	52
<i>Athanasius</i> of <i>Anazarbus</i>	195	<i>Barba</i> succeeds <i>Dorotheus</i>	556
St. <i>Athanasius</i> 197, 215, 220, 227, 231,		— his Death	581
&c. 234, 237, 242, 249, 251, 254,		<i>Barbasymes</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225
256, 258, 259, 260, 264, 266, 268,		<i>Barcabas</i>	79
278, 279, 284, 286, 287, 338, 339,		<i>Barchochebas</i> , his Rebellion and Defeat	78
343, 344, 364, 365			
— succeeds <i>Alexander</i>	214	<i>Barcoph</i>	79
— refuse Communion with <i>Arius</i>	230	<i>Bardefanes</i> , his Writings	87
— is banished into <i>Gaul</i>	237	<i>Barnabas</i> , one of the Seventy Disciples	53
— his Return	246		
— his Flight to <i>Rome</i>	251, 252	<i>Barses</i> , Bishop of <i>Edeffa</i>	391, 414, 446
— his Return	254	St. <i>Bartholomew</i>	94
— his second Flight to <i>Italy</i>	255	<i>Basil</i> of <i>Ancyra</i> 237, 259, 266, 270,	
— is acquitted in the Council of <i>Sar-</i>		273, 275, 280, &c. 291, 296, 297,	
<i>dica</i>	259, 260	301, 302, 307, 308, 313, 320, 366	
— his Return	265	<i>Basil</i> of <i>Cesarea</i>	320, 351, 415
— his third Flight	270	— his Character	419, &c.
— his Return	338	<i>Basil</i> the Martyr	346
— is persecuted by <i>Valens</i>	384	<i>Basil</i> of <i>Cappadocia</i>	351
— his Death	395	<i>Basilicus</i> the <i>Marcionite</i>	94
<i>Athanasius</i> (the <i>Arian</i>) of <i>Ancyra</i>	313, 367	Another <i>Basilicus</i>	299
<i>Athanasius</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	625	<i>Basilides</i> , his Heresy	79
<i>Arbenais</i> , the Empress, baptized by the		— his Followers	80
Name of <i>Eudocia</i>	572	<i>Basilides</i> the Martyr, a Disciple of <i>Ori-</i>	
<i>Attalus</i> the Martyr	90	<i>gen</i>	106
Another <i>Attalus</i>	560	<i>Basilides</i> , Bishop of <i>Pentapolis</i>	124
<i>Atticus</i>	547, 569, 577, 578	<i>Basiliscus</i> conspires against <i>Zeno</i>	614
The <i>Audean</i> Heresy	380	— is made Emperor	ibid.
<i>Avilius</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	70	— declares against the Council of	
<i>Avitus</i> the Ascetick	415	<i>Chalcedon</i>	ibid.
<i>Aurelian</i> the Emperor	125	— recalls the Declaration	616
<i>Aurelius</i> <i>Anthedonius</i> the Ascetick	318	<i>Basiliscus</i> , <i>Armatus</i> 's Son, goes into Or-	
<i>Augustulus</i> , the last Emperor of the <i>West</i>	611	<i>ders</i>	621
		<i>Basilus</i> of <i>Selencia</i> deposed	604
<i>Auses</i> , or <i>Joshua</i>	47	<i>Basso</i> and <i>Bassus</i> , two Asceticks	415
<i>Autolychns</i>	86	<i>Bathyllus</i>	98
<i>Auxanon</i>	207, 210, 295	<i>Battbeus</i> the Ascetick	414
<i>Auxentius</i> the Martyr	135	<i>Belisarius</i> concludes a Peace with the	
Another <i>Auxentius</i>	283, 284, 429	<i>Persians</i>	634
<i>Azadas</i> the Martyr	224		
<i>Azadanes</i> , Deacon and Confessor	ibid.		
<i>Azizus</i> the Monk	414		

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Benjamin</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	78	<i>Cassianus</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	94
<i>Benjamin</i> , the Martyr	568	<i>Cathari</i> , the Followers of <i>Novatus</i>	114
<i>Benivolus</i> , the Confessor	464	Catholicks persecuted by <i>Valens</i>	376
<i>Benus</i> , the Ascetick	405	<i>Cecropius</i>	280, 319
<i>Berillus</i> , Bishop of <i>Bosra</i> , an Ecclesiastical Writer	109	<i>Celadion</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	81
<i>Besas</i> , the Martyr	113	<i>Celestine</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	561, 600
<i>Bethera</i>	78	<i>Celte</i> , their Conversion	219
<i>Biblias</i> , the Martyr	91	<i>Cephas</i> , one of the seventy Disciples	53
<i>Blandina</i> , the Martyr	90	<i>Cerdo</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	70
<i>Blastus</i> , the Montanist	96	— his Death	77
<i>Bochres</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225	<i>Cerdon</i> , the Heretick	80
<i>Boniface</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	561	<i>Cerintbus</i>	72, 122
<i>Briso</i> , Bishop of <i>Philippopolis</i>	539	<i>Charemon</i> , Bishop of <i>Nilus</i> and Martyr	115
<i>Buddas</i>	226	<i>Charemon</i> , the Martyr	119, 120
<i>Burgundians</i> , Converts to Christianity	580	<i>Chalcedon</i> , a Prediction concerning it	374
<i>Busris</i> , the Encratite and Confessor	346	<i>Chosdroes</i> , the Persian King, declares War with the Romans	642
C		— takes <i>Daras</i> and <i>Apamea</i>	643
<i>Cæcilian</i> , Bishop of <i>Carthage</i>	153	— is defeated and dies	644
<i>Casareus</i> , Master of the Offices	490	<i>Chosdroes</i> , his Successor, submits to <i>Mauricius</i> , and is restored to his Kingdom	651
<i>Caiaphas</i>	52	<i>Chrestus</i> , Bishop of <i>Syracuse</i>	153
<i>Caius</i> , the first and second, Bishops of <i>Jerusalem</i>	94	<i>Chrispion</i> , the Ascetick	413
<i>Caius</i> , his Dispute with <i>Proclus</i> against the <i>Cataphrygians</i>	109	<i>Christ</i> , his Divinity and Humanity	46, 47, 48
<i>Caius</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	126	— the Name	47
Another <i>Caius</i>	283, 284	— his Genealogies in <i>St. Matthew</i> and <i>St. Luke</i> reconcil'd	50
<i>Calemerus</i>	590	— his Relations	ibid.
<i>Calendio</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> , banished	621	Christianity, the inconceivable Progress of it	56
<i>Caligula</i> vexes the Jews	57	<i>Chrysanthus</i> , the Novatian Bishop	561, 565
<i>Callicrates</i> of <i>Claudiopolis</i>	366	<i>St. Chrysostom</i>	524
<i>Callinicus</i> of <i>Pelusium</i>	232, &c.	— elected to the See of <i>C. P.</i>	507
<i>Calliopius</i> , a Presbyter of the Church of <i>Nice</i>	577	— his Character	ibid.
<i>Callistus</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	111	— & <i>passim</i> in <i>lib. 6. Socr.</i>	
<i>Candidus</i> , an Ecclesiastical Writer	99	— made a Deacon and Presbyter	509
<i>Capito</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	94	— ordain'd Bishop	510
<i>Carinus</i> , the Emperor	125	— his Journey to <i>Ephesus</i> , Management there and Return	526
<i>Carpocrates</i>	79	— his Banishment	535
<i>Carpocratians</i>	80	— his Return	536
<i>Carpones</i> , the Arian	188	— the Sentence of his Deposition confirm'd	540
<i>Carpus</i> , the Martyr	84	— banished again	541
<i>Carterius</i> of <i>Antaradus</i> deposed	228	— his Death	548
<i>Carterius</i> , the Macedonian	486		
<i>Carterius</i> , the Ascetick	508		
<i>Carus</i> , the Emperor	125		

O o o o

St. Chry-

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
St. <i>Chrysoſtom</i> , his Name reſtored to the		Council of <i>Arles</i>	153
<i>Diptychs</i>	577	<i>Alexandria</i>	188
his Body brought to C. P.	588	<i>Bithynia</i>	190
<i>Claudius</i>	58	<i>Nice</i>	197
<i>Clemens</i> of <i>Alexandria</i>	94, 108	<i>Cæſarea</i> in <i>Paleſtine</i>	232
<i>Clemens</i> of <i>Rome</i>	66, 70	<i>Tyre</i>	ibid.
his <i>Epistle</i> to the <i>Corinthians</i>	70, 74	<i>Antioch</i>	247, 250, 251, 253
<i>Cleobians</i>	80	<i>Sardica</i>	258
<i>Commodus</i> ſucceeds <i>Antoninus</i>	94	<i>Philippopolis</i>	ibid.
<i>Conſtans</i>	243, 263, 322, 323	<i>Sirmium</i>	273, &c.
murdered	269	<i>Milan</i>	277, &c. 281
<i>Conſtantia</i> , Siſter to <i>Conſtantine</i> the Great		<i>Ancyra</i>	280
	185, 229	<i>Ariminum</i>	281, &c. 293
<i>Conſtantine</i> the Great proclaimed Empe- ror	143, 184	<i>Nicomedia</i> in <i>Bithynia</i>	281
his <i>Triumph</i>	150	<i>Nice</i> in <i>Thrace</i>	293
his <i>Victory</i> over <i>Licinius</i>	155	<i>Seleucia</i>	296, &c.
his <i>Conversion</i> to the Faith	184	<i>Gangra</i>	309, 310
his <i>Victory</i> over <i>Maxentius</i>	185	<i>Conſtantinople</i>	451, &c.
his <i>Zeal</i> for <i>Chriſtianity</i> , and <i>Favour</i> to the <i>Chriſtians</i>	186, &c. 218, 225	<i>Ephesus</i>	583
his <i>Epistles</i>	196, 203, &c.	Another held there	600, 602
his <i>Victory</i> over the <i>Goths</i> and <i>Sarmatians</i>	218	<i>Alexandria</i>	338, &c.
his <i>Averſion</i> to <i>Hereticks</i> and <i>Schiſmaticks</i>	242	<i>Illyricum</i>	379
his <i>Death</i>	243	<i>Tarſus</i>	383
a <i>Lie</i> of the <i>Arians</i> about him	323	<i>Rome</i>	459
<i>Conſtantine</i> the Younger	243, 246	<i>Pazus</i>	478
his <i>Death</i>	246	<i>Sangarus</i>	ibid.
<i>Conſtantinople</i>	215	<i>Chalcedon</i>	603
<i>Conſtantius</i> , Father to <i>Conſtantine</i> the Great, his <i>Death</i>	143	<i>Conſtantinople</i>	636
<i>Conſtantius</i> , the Son of <i>Conſtantine</i>	252, 254, 263, 266, 269, 273, 280, 285, 287, &c. 291, 302, 303, 322, 327.	<i>Creſcens</i>	66
receives the <i>Government</i> of the East	243	<i>Creſcens</i> , the <i>Cynick</i> , informs againſt <i>Juſtin</i>	84, 85
The <i>Empire</i> bequeath'd by his Father's <i>Will</i> to him	245	<i>Criſpus</i> , the Son of <i>Conſtantine</i> the Great	155
his <i>Death</i>	316	<i>Cronion</i> , the <i>Aſcetic</i>	401
<i>Copres</i> the <i>Aſcetic</i>	505	<i>Cteſiphon</i> , the Capital of <i>Persia</i> , inveſted by <i>Julian</i>	358
<i>Coracius</i> the <i>Millenary</i>	122	<i>Cabricus</i> , aliàs <i>Manes</i>	226
<i>Cornelius</i> of <i>Cæſarea</i>	57	<i>Customs</i> and <i>Ceremonies</i> different in dif- ferent Churches	479, &c.
<i>Cornelius</i> , Biſhop of <i>Alexandria</i>	85	<i>Cymatius</i> of <i>Paltus</i> depoſed	228
<i>Cornelius</i> , Biſhop of <i>Rome</i>	112, 115	<i>Cyprian</i> , Biſhop of <i>Carthage</i>	117
<i>Cosmas</i> Biſhop of <i>Epiphania</i>	630	<i>Cyriacus</i> , Biſhop of <i>Adana</i>	455, 459, 547
		<i>Cyril</i> , Biſhop of <i>Antioch</i>	126
		<i>Cyril</i> of <i>Jeruſalem</i>	273, 294, 299, 301, 307, 308, 309, 320, 337, 357, 443, 451, 460, 467
		<i>Cyril</i> of <i>Alexandria</i>	556, 563, 583, 584, 600
		<i>Cyril</i> , the <i>Deacon</i> and <i>Martyr</i>	334
		<i>Cyrinus</i>	

The INDEX.

Cyrinus of Chalcedon 533, 547
Cyrus of Beræa 227
 ———— deposed 228

D

D *Ailampo* 379
Dalmatius, the Cenfor 232
Dalmatius, Half-brother to *Constantine*
 the Great 325
Dalmatius a Monk 379
Damas, Bishop of the *Magnesian* 74
Damasus, Bishop of *Rome* 427, 443,
 460, 461, 467, 468, 506, 558
Daniel, an *Egyptian* Martyr 138
Dausas, Bishop and Martyr 225
Decentius, Brother to *Magnentius* 276
Demetrius, Bishop of *Antioch* 120
Demetrius, Bishop of *Alexandria* 97,
 101, 102, 103, 112
Demetrius the Historian 108
Demetrius the Presbyter 120
Demetrius, Bishop of *Pessinus* 534, 547
Demophilus 283
 ———— succeeds *Eudoxius* at *C. P.*
 384, 443, 448, 458, 465
Desiderius, Brother to *Magnentius* 276
Desposunoi 51
Dianius of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* 248
Didymus of *Alexandria* 320, &c. 361,
 362, 419
Didymus, the Ascetick 401
Diocletian, the Emperor 125, 184
 ———— his Persecution 130
 ———— his Death at *Salona* 185
Diodorus 270, 271
 ———— Ordain'd Bishop of *Tarsus* 446,
 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 508
Diogenes, a Notary 281
Dionysia, the Martyr 113
Dionysius, the *Areopagite*, Bishop of *A-*
thens 66
Dionysius, Bishop of *Corinth*, his Wri-
 tings 85
Dionysius, Bishop of *Alexandria* 112,
 114, 116, 118, 121, &c.
 ———— one of *Origen's* Scholars 107
Dionysius, Bishop of *Rome* 124, 125
Dionysius of *Tripolis*, the Martyr 132
 Another *Dionysius*, a Martyr 133
Dionysius of *Alba* 278

Page

Dionysius, the Ascetick 411
Dionysius, the General 608
Dioscorus, the Martyr 113, 114
Dioscorus, the Presbyter 120
Dioscorus, the Ascetick 406
Dioscorus, another Ascetick, one of the
 Brothers surnamed *The Tall* 411, 522
 ———— Ordain'd Bishop of *Hermipolis*
 519
 ———— his Death 534, 538
Dioscorus, Bishop of *Alexandria* 602
 ———— deposed 604
Dius, Bishop of *Jerusalem* 110
Dius, Presbyter and Martyr 143
Dolichianus, Bishop of *Jerusalem* 94
Dominica, the Empress 441
Domitian, his Persecution 73
Domitilla, vide *Flavia*
Domnius, the Martyr 134
Domnus, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*
 120
Domnus, Bishop of *Antioch* 125
Donatus, Bishop of *Euræa* 500
Dorotheus of *Antioch* 126
Dorotheus, the Martyr, perhaps the same
 with the former 131
Dorotheus, the Ascetick 407
Dorotheus, the *Arian* 435, 465, 483, 556
Dositheus, a Translated Bishop 585
Dracelian 205
Dracontius of *Pergamus* 307, 308, 313

E

E *Aster*, the Controversy concerning
 the Time of its Observation
 197, 478
Eastern Bishops refuse Communion with
 the *Western* 626
Ebionæans, their Heresy 72
Ecobolius 326, 342
Egyptian Magician mention'd *Acts* 21.
 62
Eleazar 52
Elebicus, an Imperial General 490
Eleusius of *Cyzicus* 280, 291, 294, 295,
 297, 298, 301, 307, 308, 313,
 314, 342, 344, 373, 452, 458
Eleutherus, Bishop of *Rome* 89
Elias, the Martyr 137
 O o o o 2
Elpidius

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Elpidius</i> of <i>Satalia</i> in <i>Armenia</i>	307, 308	<i>Eugenius</i> of <i>Nice</i>	277, 280
<i>Elpidius</i> , the Courtier	332	<i>Eugenius</i> a Rebel	488, 492, 503
<i>Elpidius</i> of <i>Laodicea</i>	506	<i>Eulalius</i> of the <i>Cappadocian Caesarea</i>	309
<i>Elpidius</i> a Presbyter	541	<i>Eulalius</i> of <i>Amasia</i>	443
<i>Emilian</i> , the Martyr	335	<i>Eulogius</i> of <i>Edeffa</i>	392, 414, 446, 452
<i>Encratites</i> , a Sect so call'd	346	Another <i>Eulogius</i>	406
<i>Ennatha</i> , the Martyr	136	<i>Eulogius</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	645
<i>Ephraemius</i> , Governor of the <i>East</i> , made Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	632	<i>Eulufius</i>	547
<i>Ephraim</i> <i>Syrus</i>	306, 318, 320, &c.	<i>Eumenes</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	78
<i>Ephres</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	78	<i>Eunomians</i>	277, 485
<i>Epictetus</i> , a Bishop	288, 289	<i>Eunomius</i>	277, 302, 304, 305, 313, 373, 448, 458, 485
<i>Epimachus</i> , the Martyr	113	—— His Herefy	460
<i>Epiphanius</i>	524, 529	<i>Eunomius</i> , the <i>Arian</i> , Bishop at <i>Samofata</i>	389
—— his Education and Character	412, &c.	<i>Eunomius</i> , Bishop of <i>Theodosiopolis</i>	574
—— his Quarrel with <i>St. Chrysostom</i>	530	<i>Eunus</i> , the Martyr	113
—— his Departure from <i>C. P.</i>	532	<i>Evolcius</i> , the Deacon	390
—— his Death	ibid.	<i>Euphemius</i> , Bishop of <i>C. P.</i>	625
<i>Epiphanius</i> , the Sophist	315	—— Disclaims Communion with <i>Mongus</i>	ibid.
<i>Epolonius</i> , according to the <i>Roman</i> Mar- tyrology, one of the Youths that suf- fer'd with <i>Babylas</i>	353	—— Deposed	627
<i>Equitius</i> , one of <i>Marcellus's</i> Deacons	473	<i>Euphrasius</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	632
<i>Exuli</i> converted	635	<i>Euphratas</i>	263
<i>Effens</i>	80	<i>Euphration</i> of <i>Balanea</i> deposed	228
<i>Ethiopia</i> converted	56	<i>Euphronius</i>	228, 247, 249
<i>Evagrius</i> of <i>Mitylene</i>	299	<i>Eupolemus</i> the Historian	108
<i>Evagrius</i> , Bishop of <i>Constantinople</i>	384	<i>Euppsychius</i> , the Martyr	346
<i>Evagrius</i> , the Ascetick	402, 404, 508	<i>Eusebius</i> , Bishop of <i>Laodicea</i>	119, 120, 126
<i>Evagrius</i> , Ordain'd Bishop at <i>Antioch</i>	467, &c.	<i>Eusebius</i> of <i>Nicomedia</i>	188, 192, 195, 197, 200, 227, 230, &c. 242, 245, 247, 251, 323
<i>Evagrius</i> , Commander of <i>Alexandria</i>	470	—— Anathematized and Banished	200
<i>Evaresus</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	74	—— Recants	213
<i>Eubulus</i> , the Martyr	139	—— Translated to <i>C. P.</i>	247
<i>Eubites</i> , or <i>Messalians</i>	381	—— his Death	251
<i>Eudemus</i> , a Presbyter	476	<i>Eusebius</i> of <i>Caesarea</i>	190, 195, 198, 200, 228, 237, 249, 259
<i>Eudocia</i> , vide <i>Athenais</i>		—— the Extent of his History	184
<i>Eudoxia</i> , the Empress	532, 539, 607, 608	—— his Creed	201
<i>Eudoxius</i> of <i>Germanicia</i>	248, 257, 280, 281, 286, 291, 299, 301, 302, 304, 305, 312, 314, 320, 312	—— his Letter to the Council of <i>Nice</i>	ibid.
—— invades the Sec of <i>Antioch</i>	279, 296	—— Clear'd of <i>Arianism</i>	238
—— is Translated to <i>C. P.</i>	313	—— his Death	246
—— his Death	384	<i>Eusebius</i> of <i>Emisa</i>	249, 250, 320
		<i>Eusebius</i> of <i>Vercelle</i>	278, 338, 340, 341
		<i>Eusebius</i> , the Eunuch	287
		—— put to Death by <i>Julian</i>	329
		<i>Eusebius</i>	

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Eusebius</i> , a deprived Presbyter	308	<i>Felix</i>	286, &c. 290, 291, 292
<i>Eusebius</i> of C. P.	309	<i>Felix</i> the Courtier	332
<i>Eusebius</i> of Samosata	312, 313, 367, 388, &c. 446	—— his Death	333
<i>Eusebius</i> , the Martyr	333	<i>Fidelius</i>	299
<i>Eusebius</i> , the Monk	411	<i>Firmilian</i> , Bishop of <i>Cæsarea</i> in <i>Cappadocia</i> , a Friend of <i>Origen</i>	107, 120, 124
Another <i>Eusebius</i> , a Monk	414	<i>Firmilian</i> , the Prefect	135, 139
A third <i>Eusebius</i> , an Ascetick, perhaps the same with the former	415	<i>Firmus</i> , of the <i>Cappadocian Cæsarea</i>	590
<i>Eusebius</i> of <i>Chalcis</i>	446	<i>Flaccilla</i> , the Empress	449, 465
<i>Eusebius</i> <i>Scholaſticus</i>	518	<i>Flaccillus</i>	228, 247, 249
<i>Eusebius</i> , Bishop of <i>Doryleum</i> , condemned and deposed in the Council of <i>Ephesus</i>	602	<i>Flavia Domitilla</i> , the Martyr	70
<i>Eusebius</i> of <i>Ancyra</i> deposed in the Council of <i>Chalcedon</i>	604	<i>Flavianus</i> , an Ascetick	270, 271, 386
<i>Eustathius</i> of <i>Berea</i>	595	<i>Flavian</i> of <i>Antioch</i>	444, 445, 456, 459, 460, 467, &c. 490, 558
—— afterwards of <i>Antioch</i>	198, 213, 227, &c.	<i>Flavian</i> , Bishop of C. P. deposed	602
<i>Eustathius</i> of <i>Sebastia</i>	280, 291, 299, 301, 302, 307, 308, 309, &c. 314	<i>Flavian</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	625
<i>Eustathius</i> of <i>Berytus</i> deposed	604	—— is required to Anathematise the Council of <i>Chalcedon</i>	627
<i>Eustochius</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	635	—— is deposed and banished	628
<i>Eutropius</i> of <i>Adrianople</i> deposed	228	<i>Florinus</i> , the <i>Montanist</i>	96, 97
<i>Eutropius</i> , the <i>Macedonian</i>	486	<i>Florus</i> , Procurator of <i>Judea</i>	64
<i>Eutropius</i> , the Eunuch	513	<i>Fravita</i> , Bishop of C. P.	625
<i>Eutrochius</i> the Reader	544	<i>Fritigern</i>	433
—— <i>Sifinnius's</i> Dream of him	ibid.	<i>Fruventius</i>	220
<i>Eutyches</i> , the <i>Archimandrite</i> , deposed	602	G	
<i>Eutychianus</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	126	<i>Gaddanas</i> , the Monk	414
<i>Eutychianus</i> , the <i>Novatian</i>	210	<i>Gaddiabes</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225
<i>Eutychian</i> Heresy	445	<i>Gaius</i> , the Rebel	514, 516, 518
<i>Eutychius</i>	299, 485	—— his Death	518
<i>Eutychius</i> , Bishop of C. P.	636, 645	<i>Gaius</i> , the <i>Arian</i> , perhaps the same with <i>Cains</i>	188
—— Banished his See	637	<i>Galba</i> , the Emperor	66
<i>Euzois</i>	188, 229, 236, 311, 316, 332, 340, 364	<i>Galerius</i> , the Emperor	143
—— his Death	435	<i>Galileans</i> , a Sect so called	49
<i>Exucotians</i> , the <i>Acacians</i> so call'd	315	<i>Gallienus</i> , the Emperor	118, 120
F		<i>Gallus</i> , the Emperor	117, 118
<i>Fabian</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i> and Martyr	111, 112	<i>Gallus</i>	276, 325, 326
<i>Fabius</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	112, 114, 120	—— Created <i>Cæſar</i> by <i>Constantinus</i>	273
<i>Fadus</i> , Procurator of <i>Judea</i>	58	<i>Gaudentius</i>	258
<i>Faustas</i> the Martyr	119, 120, 143	<i>Gelasius</i> of <i>Cæsarea</i> in <i>Paleſtine</i>	452
<i>Felix</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	126	<i>George</i> of <i>Laodicea</i>	248, 259, 280, 297, 308, 312, 315, 316
		<i>George</i> , Uſurper of the See of <i>Alexandria</i>	252, 272, 273, 296, 299, 303, 330, 331, 338
		<i>Germanicus</i> , the Martyr	82
		<i>Germanicus</i>	Germanicus,

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Germanus</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	110	<i>Helena</i> , <i>Simon Magus's</i> Accomplice	59
<i>Germanus</i> , the Martyr	136	<i>Helena</i> , Mother to <i>Constantine</i> 216, &c.	327
<i>Germanus</i> , a Presbyter	346	<i>Helena</i> , <i>Constantius's</i> Sister	305
<i>Germinius</i> 280, 283, 284, 291,	307	<i>Heliodorus</i>	414
<i>Gerontius</i> of <i>Nicomedia</i>	526	Another <i>Heliodorus</i> , an Ascetick	481
The <i>Gnosis</i> or Gift of Knowledge	55	<i>Heliodorus</i> , Bishop of <i>Tricca</i>	570
The <i>Gnosticks</i>	79	<i>Helion</i> , <i>Theodosius's</i> Favourite	188, 195
<i>Gordius</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	110	<i>Helladius</i> , the <i>Arian</i>	452,
<i>Gorgonius</i> , the Martyr	131	<i>Helladius</i> , <i>St. Basil's</i> Successor	454, 526
Gospels, &c. which were spurious	66	<i>Hellanicus</i> of <i>Tripolis</i>	195
—— The Four Canonical	75, 105,	<i>Helles</i> , the Ascetick	405
	109	<i>Hemero-Baptists</i>	80
<i>Goths</i> , a Civil War amongst them	433	<i>Heortasius</i> of <i>Sardis</i>	307, &c.
—— Their Defection	434, 438, 441	<i>Heracius</i> , <i>Origen's</i> Scholar, afterwards	
<i>Grata</i> , <i>Iusta</i> and <i>Galla</i> , <i>Valentinian's</i>		his Assistant in the <i>Alexandrian</i> School,	
Daughters	432	and Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	102, 107, 111, 112
<i>Gratian</i> , the Emperor	442	<i>Heracles</i> , the Martyr, a Disciple of	106
—— Murdered	463	<i>Origen</i>	526
<i>Gregorius Thaumaturgus</i>	107, 425	<i>Heracles</i> , a Deacon of <i>St. Chrysostom</i>	99
<i>Gregory</i> of <i>Pontus</i>	120	<i>Heracitus</i> , an Ecclesiastical Writer	309
<i>Gregory</i> of <i>Berytus</i>	195	<i>Heracius</i> of <i>Jerusalem</i>	106
<i>Gregory</i> , Usurper of the See of <i>Alexan-</i>		<i>Herais</i> , the Martyr, a Disciple of <i>Ori-</i>	309
<i>dria</i>	250, &c. 259	<i>gen</i>	66
—— Removed from <i>Alexandria</i> , and,		<i>Herennius</i> of <i>Jerusalem</i>	252
according to <i>Theodoret</i> , torn in pieces	252	<i>Hermas</i> , his Pastor	418
<i>Gregory Nazianzen</i>	351, 418	<i>Hermogenes</i> , Master of the Horse to	419, &c. 425
—— his Character	419, &c. 425	<i>Constantius</i>	450, 451
—— Chosen Bishop of <i>C. P.</i>	447	<i>Hermon</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	585
—— Leaves that Place	450, 451	<i>Herod</i>	49, 50
—— A Translated Bishop	585	—— his miserable Exit	51
<i>Gregory Nyssen</i>	425, 452, 454, 456	<i>Herod</i> the Younger	52
<i>Gregory</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> , accused of		—— The Calamities that befel him	ibid.
Incest	648	—— his Death	58
—— acquitted	ibid.	<i>Heron</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	85
—— miraculously preserved in an		<i>Heron</i> , the Martyr, a Disciple of <i>Ori-</i>	106
Earthquake at <i>Antioch</i>	649	<i>gen</i>	113
		Another of the Name, a Martyr	85
H		<i>Heros</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	412
<i>Habakkuk</i> the Prophet, his Body	502	<i>Hesychas</i> , the Ascetick	143
found	502	<i>Hesychius</i> , Bishop and Martyr	104
<i>Habraam</i> , one of <i>Ephraim Syrus's</i> Scho-		The <i>Hexapla</i> of <i>Origen</i>	121
lars	321	<i>Hierax</i> , an <i>Egyptian</i> Bishop	562, 563
<i>Harmonius</i>	ibid.	<i>Hierax</i> , a School-master and Confessor	585
<i>Harpocraton</i> , of <i>Cynopolis</i>	213	<i>Hierophilus</i> of <i>Plotinopolis</i> , a Translated	585
<i>Hegeesippus</i> , an Ecclesiastical Writer	79	Bishop	Hilarion,
<i>Helcesaites</i> , their Herefy	112		
<i>Helena</i> , Queen of the <i>Adiabeni</i>	58		

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Hilarion, the Ascetic</i>	317	<i>Impostor, a Jewish one, takes upon him</i>	
<i>Hilary, a Notary</i>	281	the Character of <i>Moses</i>	586
<i>Hilary of Jerusalem</i>	309	Indifferent Things left to every Church's	
<i>Hilary of Poitiers</i>	320, 341	Discretion and Appointment	480
<i>Hillas made General in the East</i>	621	<i>India converted</i>	219, 220
<i>Honoratus</i>	300	<i>Innocentius, Bishop of Rome</i>	
<i>Honorius born</i>	465		469, 545, 558, 561
— made Emperor	489	<i>Joannites</i>	540, 541
— Dies	576	<i>Joash, the Body of his Son found at</i>	
<i>Hormisdas, Bishop and Martyr</i>	225	the Feet of the Prophet <i>Zachary</i>	
<i>Hosius of Corduba</i>	196, 213, 258, 259, 273, 277, 280, 291		590, 591
<i>Huns invade the Goths</i>	434	<i>John, the Baptist</i>	52
— invade the Empire	613	— his Death	53
<i>Hyginus, Bishop of Rome</i>	80	— his Head Translated to C. P.	487
<i>Hymeneus, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	120	<i>St. John, the Apostle</i>	65, 71, 123
<i>Hypatia</i>	564	— his Epistles and Revelation	66, 70, 93
<i>Hypatianus of Heraclea</i>	273	— his Gospel	71
<i>Hyppolitus, an Ecclesiastical Writer</i>	109	— Buried at <i>Ephesus</i>	73
<i>Hyrcanus</i>	50	<i>John, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	78
		<i>John, whose Surname was Mark</i>	123
		<i>John, the Elder</i>	ibid.
		<i>John, the Martyr</i>	140
		<i>John, Bishop and Martyr</i>	225
		Another <i>John, Bishop and Martyr</i>	ibid.
		<i>John, a Bishop</i>	271
		<i>John, perhaps the same with John of</i>	
		<i>Apamea</i>	350
		<i>John, the Egyptian</i>	405
		Another <i>John, an Ascetic of Egypt</i>	407
		<i>John, Bishop of Apamea</i>	446, 473
		<i>John, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	467, 500
		<i>John of Thebais, a Monk famous for</i>	
		Prediction, perhaps the same with him	
		mentioned p. 405	489
		<i>John, the Usurper</i>	576
		<i>John of Antioch</i>	508, 583, 584
		<i>John of Proconnesus, a Translated Bishop</i>	585
		<i>John, chosen Bishop of Alexandria</i>	619
		— Deposed	ibid.
		<i>John, Successor to Athanasius in the See</i>	
		of <i>Alexandria</i>	625
		Another <i>John, Successor to John</i>	ibid.
		<i>John, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	635
		<i>John, Governor of the East</i>	648
		<i>Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas</i>	52

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Joseph</i> , called <i>Barsabas</i> , one of the seventy Disciples	53	— his Death and Character	359, 360
<i>Josephus</i> , the Historian, his Testimony concerning Christ	ibid.	<i>Julian of Edessa</i> , the Ascetick	318, 387
— his Character and Writings	69, 108	<i>Julian</i> , Uncle to the Emperor <i>Julian</i>	331
<i>Joshua</i> , vide <i>Anses</i>		<i>Julian</i> , surnamed in the Syriac <i>Sabba</i> , an Ascetick	362
<i>Jovian</i>	343, 365, 366	<i>Julius</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	229, 248, 252, 255, 256, 258, 265, 276
— Proclaim'd Emperor	363	<i>Julius</i> , the <i>Arian</i>	195
— Declares for the <i>Nicene</i> Faith	364	<i>Jupiter Philus</i> , an Image erected to him	148
— his Death	367, 368	<i>Justin Martyr</i>	80, 81, 84
<i>Irenaeus</i> , Bishop of <i>Lyons</i> , his Writings	75, 93, 97	— his Works	85
<i>Irene</i> , Daughter to <i>Triphyllus</i> , Bishop of <i>Nicosia</i>	209	<i>Justin</i> made Emperor	630
<i>Irenion</i> of <i>Gaza</i>	367	<i>Justin</i> , Successor to <i>Justinian</i>	639
<i>Isaac</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225	<i>Justin</i> , the General	ibid.
<i>Isaacius</i> , the Monk	439, 512, 537	— assassinated	640
<i>Ischyrius</i>	231, &c. 258, 260	<i>Justina</i> , Mother to the Emperor <i>Valentinian</i>	432, 463, 464, 475
<i>Ischyrius</i> , the Martyr	114	<i>Justinian</i> , the Emperor	632
<i>Isdigerdes</i> , the <i>Persian</i> King	557	— his Death	638
<i>Ismael</i> , the Son of <i>Baphi</i>	52	<i>Justus</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	74
<i>Isidore</i> , the Martyr	113	<i>Justus</i> , surnamed <i>Barsabas</i>	75
<i>Isidore</i> , the Ascetick	401	<i>Justus</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	78
Another <i>Isidore</i> , an Ascetick	406	<i>Juvenal</i> of <i>Jerusalem</i>	583
<i>Isidore</i> , perhaps the same with the former	417	<i>Juventinus</i> , the Martyr	348
<i>Isidore</i> of <i>Cyprus</i>	456, 452		
<i>Isidore</i> , <i>Theophilus</i> of <i>Alexandria</i> 's Presbyter	467, 510	L	
<i>Judas Gaulonites</i>	49	<i>Lauritius</i>	296, 297
<i>Judas</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	78	<i>Lazarus</i> , Bishop and Ascetick	414
<i>Judas</i> , an Ecclesiastical Writer	110	<i>Leo</i> , the Emperor	608
<i>St. Jude</i> 's Epistle	63, 66	— his circular Letter	610
<i>Julian</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	94	<i>Leo</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	ibid.
<i>Julian</i> , the first and second, Bishops of <i>Jerusalem</i>	ibid.	<i>Leona</i> , a Favourite of <i>Constantius</i>	297
<i>Julian</i> , Bishop of <i>Apamea</i>	95	<i>Leonides</i> , the Martyr, the Father of <i>Origen</i>	101
<i>Julian</i> , the Martyr	113	<i>Leontius</i> of <i>Antioch</i>	266, 270, &c. 276, 279
<i>Julian</i> , the Martyr under <i>Dioclesian</i>	139	<i>Leontius</i> , the Presbyter	280
<i>Julian</i> , the <i>Arian</i>	188	<i>Leontius</i> of <i>Tripolis</i> in <i>Lydia</i>	299
<i>Julian</i>	325, &c. 341, &c.	<i>Leontius</i> of <i>Comana</i>	366
— Created <i>Cesar</i>	276, 327	<i>Leontius</i> , the Ascetick	415, 539
— has the Care of the <i>West</i> committed to him	296	<i>Leontius</i> , Professor at <i>Athens</i>	572
— Proclaimed Emperor by the Army	316	<i>Lectorius</i> , Bishop of <i>Meletine</i>	381
— comes to <i>Constantinople</i> , and is Proclaimed Emperor there	325	<i>Levi</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	78
		<i>Libanius</i> , the Sophist	326
		<i>Liberius</i> ,	

The I N D E X.

	Page		Page
<i>Liberius</i> , Bishop of Rome	276, 286, &c. 291, 292	<i>Macedonius</i> of Constantinople	247, 251, 254, 255, 266, 271, 280, 294, &c. 307, 308, 313, 314, 364, 628, 629
<i>Licinius</i>	143, 184	<i>Macedonius</i> of Mopsuestia	257
— his Victory over <i>Maximin</i>	150	<i>Macedonius</i> , the Martyr	345
— his Rebellion, Defeat and Death	153, 154, 155, 186	<i>Macedonius</i> , the Monk	491
<i>Linus</i> , Bishop of Rome	65	<i>Machabun</i>	53
<i>Lacian</i> , a Presbyter and Martyr	143	<i>Macrianus</i> , an Enemy to Christianity	118
<i>Lucian</i> , the Heretick	193	<i>Magi</i>	51
<i>Lucian</i> , the Martyr	251	<i>Magnentius</i>	269, 273, 275, 276
<i>Lucifer Calaritanus</i>	278, 320, 338, 340	<i>Magnus</i>	299
<i>Luciferians</i>	444	<i>Magnus</i> , the Emperor's Treasure	397
<i>Lucius Quietus</i> , Procurator of Judæa	77	<i>Malchion</i> , a Presbyter of Antioch, <i>Paulus Samosatensis</i> 's particular Antagonist	125
<i>Lucius Verus</i>	81	<i>Malchion</i> , the Ascetick	413
<i>Lucius</i> , the Martyr	85	<i>Malchus</i> , the Martyr	120
<i>Lucius</i> , Bishop of Rome	117	<i>Malchus</i> , an Ascetick	416
<i>Lucius</i> , the Presbyter	120	<i>Mamea</i> , Mother to the Emperor <i>Alexander</i> , instructed by <i>Origen</i>	107
<i>Lucius</i> , the Arian	188, 195	<i>Mamas</i> , the Martyr	326
— Bishop of Alexandria	338, 364, 395, 397, 416, &c. 436, &c. 448	<i>Manes</i> , the Heretick	226
<i>Lucius</i> , one of <i>George</i> 's Presbyters	364	The Manichaean Heresy	125
<i>Lucius</i> , the Arian Bishop at Samosata	390	<i>Maras</i>	321
<i>Lucius</i> of Adrianople	252, 259, 266, 270	<i>Marathonians</i>	314
St. Luke	71, 75	<i>Marathonius</i> of Nicomedia	294, 314
<i>Lysanias</i>	52	<i>Marcella</i> , the Martyr	106
M			
<i>Maures</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225	<i>Marcellinus</i> , Bishop of Rome	126
<i>Macar</i> , the Martyr	113	<i>Marcellus</i> of Ancyra	237, &c. 252, 257, 258, 259, 260, 266, 270
The <i>Macarii</i>	316, 402, 417, &c.	<i>Marcellus</i> of Apamea	472, &c.
<i>Macarius</i> of Jerusalem	195, 205, 213, 217, 224	<i>Marcian</i> , the Ascetick	415
<i>Macarius</i> , <i>Athanasius</i> 's Presbyter	231, 232, 234, 235, 259, 260	<i>Marcian</i> of Lampsaebus	452
<i>Macarius</i> , or rather <i>Arius</i> , of Palestine	260	<i>Marcian</i> , the Novatian	375, 477, 478, 507
A third <i>Macarius</i>	408	<i>Marcian</i> , the Novatian Bishop of C. P.	589
<i>Macarius</i> , the Novatian	477	<i>Marcian</i> chosen Emperor	602
<i>Macarius</i> , Bishop of Jerusalem	635	— his Character	603
<i>Macedonians</i>	314, 341, 371	<i>Marcianus</i> , the Martyr	271
— reconcile themselves to the Catholic Church	319, &c.	<i>Marcion</i> , the Heretick	80, 94
— and again fall away	443	<i>Marcionites</i>	80
— their Obstinacy	452	<i>Marck</i> , the Ascetick	408
— some of them <i>Novatians</i> in Principle	481	<i>Marck</i> , the Novatian	589
<i>Macedonius</i>	235	<i>Marcabdes</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225
		<i>Mareas</i> , Bishop and Martyr	ibid.
		<i>Marian</i> , the Ascetick	415
		<i>Marina</i> , v. <i>Pulcheria</i>	120
		<i>Marinus</i> , the Martyr	120
		P P P P	<i>Marinus</i>

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Marinus, the Arian</i>	465, 483	<i>Maximus, an Ecclesiastical Writer</i>	99
<i>Maris of Chalcedon</i>	197, 200, 230, 235, 237, 251, 256, 301, 342	<i>Maximus, the Confessor, once a Nova- tarian</i>	115
<i>Maris of Dolicha</i>	446	<i>Maximus, Bishop of Alexandria</i>	119, 120, 124, 127
<i>St. Mark</i>	59	<i>Maximus of Jerusalem</i>	229, 236, 248, 268, 294
— his Gospel and Preaching	ibid.	<i>Maximus, the Heathen of Ephesus</i>	326
— his Death	63	<i>Maximus, the Martyr</i>	348
<i>Mark, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	78	<i>Maximus, the Philosopher</i>	359
<i>Mark, the Heretick</i>	80	<i>Maximus, the Usurper</i>	462, &c.
<i>Mark, Bishop of Alexandria</i>	81	<i>Maximus of Seleucia</i>	508
<i>Mark, Bishop of Rome</i>	229	<i>Mazabanes, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	112
<i>Mark of Arethuse</i>	256, 273, 274, 325	<i>Melas, Bishop and Ascetick</i>	411
<i>Marofas, the Ascetick</i>	415	<i>Melchisedech</i>	48
<i>Martin</i>	319	<i>The Meletian Monks</i>	203
<i>Martyrius</i>	257	<i>Meletius, called the Attick Honey-comb</i>	127
<i>Martyrius, Bishop of Marcianopolis</i>	454, 455	<i>Meletius, the Schismatick</i>	191, 202
<i>Martyrius, the Martyr</i>	271	<i>Meletius of Antioch</i>	311, &c. 337, 371, 418, 442, &c. 447, 452, &c.
<i>Maruthas, a Mesopotamian Bishop</i>	557	— <i>Theodosius's Dream of him</i>	442
<i>St. Matthew, the Apostle to Ethiopia</i>	219	— <i>Dies</i>	456
— his Gospel	75	— <i>a Translated Bishop</i>	585
<i>Matthias, one of the Seventy Disciples</i>	53	<i>The Melitine Legion</i>	93
<i>Matthias, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	78	<i>Melito, Bishop of Sardis, his Writings</i>	86
<i>Maturus, the Martyr</i>	90	<i>Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus</i>	583, 600
<i>Mavia, Queen of the Saracens</i>	435, &c.	<i>Menander's Heresy</i>	72
<i>Mauricius made General by Tiberius</i>	646	<i>Menas, the Arian</i>	188, 195
— afterwards Emperor	647	<i>Menophantus of Ephesus</i>	200, 259, 277
— Marries <i>Augusta</i> , the Daughter of <i>Tiberius</i>	ibid.	<i>Mercuria, the Martyr</i>	113
<i>Maxentius, his Usurpation</i>	144, 184	<i>Meropius</i>	220
— his Tyranny	ibid.	<i>Messalian Hereticks</i>	381
— his Defeat	150	<i>Methodius of Olympus</i>	530
— his Death	ibid. and 185	<i>Metra, the Martyr</i>	113
<i>Maximian, the Emperor</i>	125, 143	<i>Metrodorus, the Martyr</i>	84
<i>Maximian Hercules</i>	184	<i>Metrophanes, Bishop of C. P.</i>	239
<i>Maximian Galerius</i>	ibid.	<i>Millenaries</i>	122
<i>Maximian, Bishop of C. P.</i>	584, 587, 602	<i>Milles, Bishop and Martyr</i>	225
<i>Maximilla, Montanus's Prophetess</i>	95	<i>Miltiades, an Adversary of Montanus</i>	96
<i>Maximin, Bishop of Antioch</i>	86	<i>Miltiades, Bishop of Rome</i>	153, 197
<i>Maximin</i>	148	<i>Minucius Fundanus, Proconsul in Asia under Adrian</i>	80
— assumes the Title of Emperor	144, 147	<i>Miracles</i>	198, 209, 212, 214, 218, 225, 273, 278, 305, 316, 326, 330, 332, 334, 337, 355, 357, 360, 412, 417, 436, 471, 473, 501, 512
— Created <i>Cesar</i>	184	<i>Mocius, Bishop and Martyr</i>	225
<i>Maximin of Treves</i>	258	<i>Monastick Discipline and Life</i>	212
<i>Maximin, one of Ardaburius's Council</i>	570		

Mongus

The I N D E X.

	Page		Page
<i>Mongus</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	618	— is Deposed	583
— Deposed	ibid.	— is Banished	584
— Re-instated	620	<i>Nicarete</i>	543
— Accused of Heresy	622	<i>Nicolaitans</i> , their Heresy	72
— Anathematizes the Council of <i>Chalcedon</i>	623	<i>Nicolas</i> , the Deacon	ibid.
— Reprimanded by the Emperor	624	<i>Nicopolis</i> , a Fountain famous for its fa- native Power there	355
<i>Mongus</i> Dies	625	<i>Nilammon</i> , the Ascetick	537
<i>Montanus</i> , the Heretick	95	<i>Nilus</i> , the Martyr	140
<i>Moses</i> , his Antiquity	108	<i>Nisibis</i> besieged by <i>Sapor</i> King of <i>Persia</i> , and miraculously preserved	305, 306
<i>Moses</i> , the Martyr, sometime a <i>Nova-</i> <i>tian</i>	115	— Besieged by <i>Marcian</i>	643
<i>Moses</i> , the Ascetick	408	<i>Nitrian</i> Monks	563
Another <i>Moses</i> , an Ascetick	409	<i>Novatians</i>	242, 294, 295
A third <i>Moses</i> , an Ascetick	416	— subdivide	426
<i>Moses</i> , Bishop of <i>Saracens</i>	436, &c.	— Favoured by <i>Theodosius</i>	458
<i>Musannus</i> , a Writer against <i>Tatian</i>	87	<i>Novatus</i>	114, 115, 116
		<i>Numerian</i> , the Emperor	125

N

N arcissus, Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	94, 97, 98, 104, 110
<i>Narcissus</i> of <i>Cilicia</i>	235, 256, 259, 277
<i>Narcissus</i> of <i>Neronias</i>	200, 235, 256, 259, 277
<i>Narsens</i> , the <i>Persian</i> General	569
<i>Natalis</i> , the Confessor, corrupted by the Followers of <i>Artemon</i>	99
<i>Nectarius</i>	454, 455, 456, &c. 460, 467, 506
— Elected Bishop of <i>C. P.</i>	452
— Puts down the Office of the Pe- nitentiary Presbyters	475, 476
— his Death	507
<i>Nemesion</i> , the Martyr	114
<i>Neonias</i> of <i>Seleucia</i>	307, 308
<i>Nepos</i> , an <i>Egyptian</i> Bishop, a Millenary	122
<i>Nepos</i> , Emperor of the <i>West</i>	611
<i>Nepotianus</i>	269
<i>Nero</i> , the Lion, in <i>St. Paul's</i> Epistle to <i>Timothy</i>	62
— his Persecution	64
<i>Nestabus</i> , the Martyr	333
<i>Nestor</i> , the Confessor	ibid.
<i>Nestorius</i> , Bishop of <i>Constantinople</i>	579, 599, 600
— the Origin of his Heresy	581

O

O lybrius, Emperor of the <i>West</i>	611
<i>Olympias</i> , the Deaconess	511
<i>Olympius</i>	270, 470, 471
<i>Onager</i>	263, 264
<i>Onesimus</i> , Bishop of <i>Ephesus</i>	74
<i>Optar</i> , the <i>Hunnish</i> King	580
<i>Optimus</i> of <i>Pisidia</i>	425, 452, 454
— a Translated Bishop	585
<i>Or</i> , the Hermit	505
<i>Orestes</i>	562, 563, 564
<i>Orestes</i> , Emperor of the <i>West</i>	611
<i>Origen</i> , the Ascetick	411
<i>Origen</i>	101, 480, 525, 530
— vide <i>Hexapla</i>	
<i>Ormisdas</i> , the Confessor	467, &c.
<i>Osroeni</i>	222
<i>Otreius</i> of <i>Meletine</i>	454

P

P achomius, an Ascetick	316, 317
<i>Pachon</i> , the Ascetick	409
<i>Pachumius</i> , Bishop and Martyr	143
<i>Pacinicus</i> of <i>Zela</i>	566
<i>Palladius</i> , the Prefect	396
<i>Palladius</i> , a Monk	415
Another <i>Palladius</i> , a Monk	416
P p p p z	<i>Palladius</i>

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Palladius</i> , the Bishop	547	Another <i>Paul</i> , an Ascetick	415
<i>Palladius</i> of <i>Aspuna</i> , a Translated Bishop	585	A third <i>Paul</i> of <i>Telmisus</i> , an Ascetick	ibid.
<i>Palma</i> , Bishop of <i>Pontus</i>	86	A fourth <i>Paul</i> , an Ascetick of <i>Chalcis</i>	ibid.
<i>Pambos</i> , the Ascetick	401	<i>Paul</i> , the Novatian Bishop at <i>C. P.</i>	565, 580, 587, 588
<i>Pamphilus</i> , the Martyr	135, 137	<i>Paul</i> of <i>Antioch</i>	632
<i>Pancratius</i> of <i>Pelusium</i>	273	<i>Paulinus</i> of <i>Tyre</i>	190, 195
<i>Panea</i> , a Tree famous for its fanative		<i>Paulinus</i> of <i>Triers</i>	277
Power at the Gate of <i>Hermopolis</i>	355	<i>Paulinus</i> of <i>Antioch</i>	338, 340, 371, 444, 445, 456, 467, &c.
<i>Parsophius</i>	527	<i>Paulonas</i>	321
<i>Pantenus</i> , the Christian Philosopher	94	<i>Paulus</i> , the Martyr	132
<i>Papas</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225	<i>Pelagius</i> of <i>Laodicea</i>	367, 388, 452, 454
<i>Paphlagonians</i>	295	<i>Pelagius</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	645
<i>Paphnutius</i>	207, 236, 306	<i>Peleus</i> , the Martyr	140
<i>Papias</i> , Bishop of <i>Hierapolis</i>	74	<i>Pella</i> , the Flight of the Christians from	67
— his Writings	75	Jerusalem thither	67
<i>Papulus</i> , the Martyr	84	<i>Perigenes</i> translated from <i>Pa trato Co-</i>	585
Paschal Controversy considered	479	rinth	585
<i>Patermutius</i> , the Martyr	140	<i>Persia</i> , whence converted	222
<i>Patripassians</i>	257	<i>Pesians</i> infest the Roman Territories	343
<i>Patrophilus</i> of <i>Scythopolis</i>	190, 200, 237, 248, 249, 277, 249, 296, 299	— defeated	571
<i>St. Paul</i>	56, 62	<i>St. Peter</i> opposes <i>Simon Magus</i>	59
— his Preaching	65	— his Preaching	65
— his Epistles	ibid.	— his Epistles	ibid.
— Married	73	— Married, and had Children	73
— Beheaded	64	— Crucified	64
— his Monument at <i>Rome</i>	ibid.	— his Monument at <i>Rome</i>	ibid.
<i>Paul</i> , the Heretick	102	<i>Peter</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i> and Martyr	127
<i>Paul</i> , the Martyr	135	Another <i>Peter</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	395, 427, 438, 448, 461
<i>Paul</i> of <i>Jamna</i> , a Martyr	137	<i>Peter</i> , the Martyr	131
<i>Paulus Samosatenus</i>	124, 257	Two <i>Peters</i> , Asceticks	416
<i>Paul</i> of <i>Neocesarea</i>	208	<i>Peter</i> , the Ascetick, <i>St. Basil's</i> Brother	425, 452
<i>Paul</i> the Simple	211	<i>Peter Mongus</i> , vide <i>Mongus</i>	
<i>Paul</i> , Bishop and Martyr	225	<i>Peter</i> , a Reader	565
<i>Paul</i> , Bishop of <i>Tyre</i>	234	<i>Peterius</i> , the Ascetick	402
<i>Paul</i> , Bishop of <i>C. P.</i>	246, 247, 256, 258	<i>Petrus Apselamus</i> , a Martyr	137
— is expelled and flies to <i>Rome</i>	252	<i>Phileas</i> , Bishop of <i>Tbmuis</i> and Martyr	141
— Returns	254	<i>Philemon</i> , a Roman Presbyter	118
— is Banished	254, 255	<i>Philetus</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	111
— goes again into <i>Italy</i>	256	<i>Philip</i> , <i>Herod's</i> Brother	52
— his second Return	263	<i>St. Philip</i> married	73
— his Re-instatment	266	— his Daughters	ibid.
— is Banished again and Murdered	269, 270	<i>Philip</i> ,	
— his Body brought from <i>Ancyra</i>	455		
to <i>C. P.</i>	409		
<i>Paul</i> of <i>Ferne</i> , the Ascetick	409		

The I N D E X.

	Page		Page
<i>Philip</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	78	<i>Potitius</i> , the <i>Marcionite</i>	94
<i>Philip</i> , Bishop of <i>Crete</i>	86	<i>Prapidianus</i> , an <i>Ascetick</i> , afterwards Bishop	415
<i>Philip</i> the Emperor, a Christian	112	<i>Pridilianus</i> , according to the <i>Roman</i>	
<i>Philip</i> the Prefect	254	Martyrology, one of the Youths that	
<i>Philippicus</i> sent against <i>Germanus</i>	647	suffered with <i>Babylas</i>	353
<i>Philo</i>	57, 61, 108	<i>Primus</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	77
<i>Philogenius</i> of <i>Antioch</i>	195, 198	<i>Priscian</i>	459
	Page	<i>Priscilla</i> , vide <i>Aquila</i>	
<i>Philoromas</i> , the Martyr	141	<i>Priscus</i> , the Martyr	120
Philosophers	47	<i>Priscus</i> , made General of the East	647
<i>Philumena</i> , the <i>Marcionite</i>	94	<i>Probatas</i> , the Eunuch	364
<i>Phoebus</i>	299	<i>Probianus</i> , his Cure	216
<i>Photinus</i>	257, 273, 274, 275	<i>Probus</i> , the Emperor	125
<i>Protopogenes</i> of <i>Sardica</i>	258	<i>Probus</i> , the Martyr	137
<i>Physcon</i> , the <i>Ascetick</i>	413	<i>Proclus</i> , a <i>Presbyter</i> of <i>C. P.</i> ordain'd	
<i>Piammon</i> , the Monk	407	Bishop of <i>Cyzicus</i>	578, 579
<i>Picentius</i> , the Prefect	452	<i>Proclus</i> , Bishop of <i>C. P.</i>	584, 587, 588,
<i>Pierius</i> of <i>Alexandria</i>	127		602
<i>Pilate</i> (vide <i>Acts</i> of <i>Pilate</i>)	52	<i>Proclus</i> , vide <i>Caius</i>	
— oppresses the <i>Jews</i>	57	<i>Procopius</i> , the Martyr	132
— his own Executioner	58	<i>Procopius</i> , the Usurper	371, 372
<i>Pinytus</i> , Bishop of the <i>Gnossians</i>	86	<i>Procopius</i> , the Lieutenant-General	571
<i>Pionius</i> , the Martyr	84	<i>Profane Learning</i> , the Uses of it	251,
<i>Pior</i> , the <i>Ascetick</i>	401		252
<i>Pior</i> , an <i>Ascetick</i> , perhaps the same with		<i>Proterius</i> , chosen by the Council of	
the former	410	<i>Chalcedon</i> , to succeed <i>Dioscorus</i>	606,
<i>Pius</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	81		608
<i>Placidia</i> , Daughter to <i>Theodisius</i> the		<i>Protopogenes</i> of <i>Sardica</i>	258, 259
Great	576	<i>Protopetrus</i> , the Martyr, a Friend of	
<i>Pliny</i> , the younger	73	<i>Origen</i>	111
<i>Platarch</i> , the Martyr, a Scholar of <i>Ori-</i>		<i>Protopogenes</i> of <i>Edeffa</i>	393, 446
<i>gen</i>	102, 106	<i>Protopogenes</i> , Bishop of <i>Carre</i> , and an	
<i>Pneumatomachi</i>	314	<i>Ascetick</i>	414, 446
<i>Polycarp</i> , Bishop of <i>Smyrna</i>	74, 81,	<i>Ptolemy</i> , the Martyr	85
	97, 98	<i>Ptolemy</i> , the Martyr under <i>Decius</i>	114
— his Epistles	74	<i>Publia</i> , the Deaconess	350, 351
— his Martyrdom	82	<i>Publius</i> , Bishop of <i>Athens</i> and Martyr	86
<i>Polycarp</i> of <i>Nicopolis</i> , a translated Bishop		<i>Publius</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	94
	585	<i>Publius</i> , the <i>Ascetick</i>	415
<i>Polycrates</i> , Bishop of <i>Ephesus</i>	73, 97, 98	<i>Pulcheria</i> , <i>Arcadia</i> , and <i>Marina</i> , the	
<i>Polychronius</i> , Bishop of <i>Apamea</i>	558	younger <i>Theodisius</i> 's Sisters	575
<i>Pontianus</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	105, 111	<i>Pusices</i> , the Martyr with his Daughter	
<i>Ponticus</i> , the Martyr	91		223
<i>Porphyry</i> 's Censure of <i>Origen</i>	108	<i>Putabasties</i> , the <i>Ascetick</i>	411
<i>Porphyry</i> , the Martyr	138		
<i>Porphyry</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	558		
<i>Potamiana</i> , the Martyr	107		
<i>Pothinus</i> , Bishop of <i>Lyon</i> , his Martyr-			
dom	91		

Quadratus,

The INDEX.

		Page
Q.		
Q uadratus		
—— his Apology		74
Quadratus, Bishop of Athens		78
Quartodecimans	478,	481
Quinta, the Martyr		113
Quintianus, of Gaza	252,	259
Quintus the Phrygian		82
Quirinus		49
R.		
R ebaptization of Hereticks the	on-	
troverfly concerning		118
Recimer		611
Revelation of St. John		122
—— wrote by St. John the Apostle		85
Reverentius, a Translated Bishop	585	
Rhodanus of Elusa	278	
Rhodon, an eminent Writer against the		
Marcionites	94	
Rohas	588	
Romanus, a Deacon and Martyr	132	
Romanus, the Confessor	350	
Romanus, the Monk	416	
Romanus, Commander in Egypt	470	
Romas, Bishop and Martyr	225	
Rome, plundered by Gizerick	607	
—— recovered from the Goths	634	
Romulus, the Martyr	132	
Ruffinus	497,	506
Rufius, Procurator of Judea		78
Rusticula, the Novatian Bishop	561	
S.		
S Abba, vide Julian		
Sabbatius, the Novatian	477, 478,	
	555, 561,	577
Sabbatius, the Arian		581
Sabellians	257, 339,	460
Sabinus, the Prefect		147
Sabinus, Bishop and Martyr		225
Sabinus, the Macedonian		256
Sacristis, their Office		337
Sadducus		49
Sagaris, Bishop of Laodicea and Martyr		98
Salamanes, the Ascetick		413
Salias, one of Constant's Generals		264
Salome, Herod's Sister		51
Salust, the Prefect		353
Sanctus, the Martyr		90
Sapor, King of Persia	222,	305
Sapor, Bishop and Martyr		225
Sapor, the General		445
Invasion of the Saracens		435
—— a short History of them		437
—— another Invasion		613
Sarmates, the Arian	188,	195
Sarmatian Invasion		431
Saturninus, the Heretick		79
Scythianus		226
Sebastianus		272
Secundus of Ptolemais		188
—— Anathematized		200
Sejanus, an Enemy to the Jews		57
Selenas, Bishop of the Goths		484
Selencian, Similitudinarians		376
Selencus, the Martyr		138
Seneca, Bishop of Jerusalem		78
Septuagint Translation		93
Serapion of Thmuis	278,	320
Serapion, the Ascetick		316
Another Serapion, an Ascetick		406
A third Serapion, an Ascetick		411
Serapion, St. Chrysostom's Arch-deacon		511, 526, 528
—— Ordained Bishop of Heraclea		538
Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, and Ad-		
versary of Montanus	96,	111
Serapion, the Martyr		113
Serapion, a Lapsar, the Manner of his		
Restitution and Death		116
Two Serenus's, Disciples of Origen and		
Martyrs		106
Serra		304
Severian of Gabala	525, 528, 535,	537
Severianus, Bishop of Arethusa		630
Severus		184
—— his Persecution		101
—— his Death		184
Severus, the Heretick		87
Severus, the Monk		416
Severus,		

The I N D E X.

	Page		Page
<i>Severus</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	628	The <i>Stromata</i> of <i>Clemens Alexandri-</i>	108
—— his Flight	632	<i>nus</i>	108
<i>Sextus</i> , an Ecclesiastical Writer	99	<i>Symeon</i> , Archbishop of <i>Seleucia</i> and <i>Ctesi-</i>	222
<i>Silvanists</i>	297, 300	<i>phon</i> , Martyr	321
<i>Silvanus</i> , Bishop of <i>Gaza</i> and Martyr	134, 143	<i>Symeon</i> <i>Ephraim</i> , <i>Syrus's</i> Scholar	446
<i>Silvanus</i> , Bishop of <i>Emisa</i> and Martyr	140, 143	<i>Symeon</i> , Bishop of <i>Germanicia</i>	415
<i>Silvanus's</i> Rebellion	276	<i>Symeon</i> , the Monk	ibid.
<i>Silvanus</i> of <i>Tarsus</i>	297, 301, 302, 303, 307, 366, 377	<i>Symmachus</i> , Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	94
<i>Silvanus</i> , the Ascetick	413	<i>Symmachus</i> the <i>Ebionæan</i> , a Translator	104
<i>Silvanus</i> of <i>Troas</i> , a translated Bishop	585	of the Bible	466
<i>Silvester</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	197	<i>Symmachus</i>	94
<i>Simeon</i> , the Son of <i>Cleopas</i>	69	<i>Syneros</i>	371
—— his Martyrdom	73	Synod of <i>Lampsacus</i>	534
<i>Simeon</i> , Archbishop of <i>Seleucia</i> and <i>Ctesi-</i>	222	<i>sub Queron</i>	306
<i>siphon</i>	222	<i>Constantinople</i>	309
<i>Similitudinarians</i>	379, 419	Synod of <i>Neocæsarea</i>	309
<i>Simon</i> , the Son of <i>Camitus</i>	52	—— <i>Vide Councils.</i>	
<i>Simon Magus</i>	56		
—— an Account of his Pretensions	59		
<i>Sirianus</i>	251		
<i>Siricius</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	468		
<i>Sisinnius</i> , the <i>Novatian</i>	457, 477, 507, 549, 561		
<i>Sisinnius</i> , Bishop of <i>C. P.</i>	578		
—— Dies	579		
<i>Socrates</i> , Bishop of <i>Laodicea</i>	126		
<i>Socrates</i> , Instances of his Kindness to	210		
the <i>Novatians</i>	184		
—— the Compass of his History	411		
<i>Solm</i> , Bishop and Ascetick	297, 298, 307, 308, 341, 366		
<i>Sophronius</i> of <i>Pompeopolis</i> in <i>Paphlagonia</i>	53		
<i>Sothbenes</i> , one of the Seventy Disciples	85		
<i>Soter</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	208		
<i>Spuridon</i> of <i>Trimithus</i>	117		
<i>Stephen</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i>	126		
<i>Stephen</i> , Bishop of <i>Laodicea</i>	259, 263, 264, 266		
<i>Stephen</i> of <i>Antioch</i>	304		
Another <i>Stephen</i>	409		
<i>Stephen</i> , the Ascetick	446		
<i>Stephen</i> , Bishop of <i>Germanicia</i>	591		
<i>Stephen</i> , the Deacon and Proto-martyr,			
his Body found			

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Thebutbis</i> , the first Heretick	80	——— Recants	213
<i>Thecla</i> , the Martyr	132	<i>Theon</i> , a Philosopher	564
<i>Themison</i> , the Montanist	96	<i>Theonas</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	127
<i>Themistius</i>	432	<i>Theonas</i> of <i>Marmarica</i>	188, 200
<i>Theocritus</i> tries to get the Empire	630	<i>Theonas</i> , the Ascetick	405
<i>Theodotus</i> , Bishop of <i>Cæsarea</i> , a Friend of <i>Origen</i>	107	<i>Theopaschites</i>	445
<i>Theodotus</i> , the Novatian	477	<i>Theopemptus</i>	557
<i>Theodaatus</i> succeeds <i>Athanasius</i>	634	<i>Theophilus</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	85
<i>Theodora</i> , the Empress, declares against the Council of <i>Chalcedon</i>	633	<i>Theophilus</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i> , his Writings	86
<i>Theodorus</i> , Bishop and Martyr	143	<i>Theophilus</i> , Bishop of <i>Cæsarea</i>	97
<i>Theodorus</i>	212	<i>Theophilus</i> , the Martyr	114
<i>Theodorus</i> of <i>Heraclea</i>	232, 235, 248, 251, 256, 259, 288	<i>Theophilus</i> , an <i>Aetian</i>	304
<i>Theodorus</i> of <i>Thrace</i>	256, 259, 277	<i>Theophilus</i> of the <i>Goths</i>	301
<i>Theodorus</i> , the Martyr	332	<i>Theophilus</i> of <i>Castabala</i>	308, 366
<i>Theodorus</i> , the Confessor	354	<i>Theophilus</i> of <i>Alexandria</i> , Successor to <i>Timothy</i>	465, 467, 469, 470, 471, 506, 509, 519, 522, 533, 556
<i>Theodorus</i> , the Courtier	394	<i>Theophilus</i> of <i>Eudoxiopolis</i> , a Translated Bishop	585
<i>Theodorus</i> , the Ascetick	415	<i>Theophrastus</i> , the <i>Eunomian</i>	484
<i>Theodorus</i> of <i>Mopsuestia</i>	508, 558	<i>Theotecnus</i> , Bishop of <i>Cæsarea</i> in <i>Palestine</i>	127
<i>Theodorus</i> , Bishop of <i>Cæsarea</i>	635	<i>Theotecnus</i> , a Curator, and a Creature of <i>Maximin's</i>	148, 152
<i>Theodosia</i> , the Martyr	134	<i>Theotimus</i> , Bishop of <i>Scythia</i>	501, 530
<i>Theodosius</i> of <i>Philadelphia</i> in <i>Lydia</i>	299	<i>Θεοτόκος</i>	582
<i>Theodosius</i> the Great	442, 449, 456, 457, 458, 465, 466, 468, 469, 474, 475	<i>Therapeutæ</i>	60, 212
——— is Baptised	447	<i>Theudas</i> , the Magician	158
——— his Death	503	<i>St. Thomas</i> the Apostle	54
<i>Theodosius</i> the younger	519	——— the Apostle to <i>Parthia</i>	65, 219
<i>Theodosius</i> , Bishop of <i>Alexandria</i>	633	<i>Thraseas</i> , Bishop of <i>Eumenia</i>	98
——— Deposed	ibid.	<i>Thyrus</i> , the Martyr	576
<i>Theodotus</i> , the Montanist, his Exit	96, 99	<i>Tiberius</i> proposes the Admission of Christ into the Number of the <i>Roman</i> Deities	56
<i>Theodotus</i> the Carrier	99	<i>Tiberius's</i> Death	57
<i>Theodotus</i> , Bishop of <i>Laodicea</i>	127, 195, 428	<i>Tiberius</i> made General	643
<i>Theodotus</i> of <i>Hierapolis</i>	446	——— Declared <i>Cæsar</i>	644
<i>Theodotus</i> of <i>Antioch</i>	558	——— Dies	646
<i>Theodotus</i> , Bishop of <i>Ancyra</i>	600	<i>Tigris</i> , one of <i>Chrysostom's</i> Presbyters	534, 545
<i>Theodulus</i> , the Martyr	345	<i>Timæus</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	126
Another <i>Theodulus</i> , a Martyr	139	<i>Timolans</i> , the Martyr	132
<i>Theodulus</i> , a <i>Thracian</i> Bishop	260, 270	<i>Timotheus</i> of <i>Gaza</i> , a Martyr	132
<i>Theodulus</i> of <i>Cheretapa</i>	299	<i>Timotheus</i> of <i>Alexandria</i>	608
<i>Theognis</i> of <i>Nice</i>	197, 200, 206, 227, 230, &c. 237, 242, 245, 251, 288, 323	——— Deposed and Banished	610
——— Anathematized and Banished	200	——— Re-instated	618
		<i>Timothy</i> , Bishop of <i>Ephesus</i>	66
		<i>Timothy</i> ,	

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
<i>Timothy, Athanasius's Presbyter</i>	233	<i>Vetricano, the Usurper</i>	269, 273
<i>Timothy, Successor to Peter of Alexandria</i>	438, 443, 451, 454, 465	<i>Vetricano, Bishop of Scythia</i>	418
<i>Timothy, the Apollinarist</i>	461	<i>Vestius Epagathus, the Martyr</i>	89
<i>Timothy and George, two Arian Presbyters</i>	556	<i>Victor, Bishop of Rome</i>	97, 99
<i>Titus, Bishop of Crete</i>	66	<i>Vincentius</i>	213
<i>Titus of Bostra</i>	320, 345, 367	<i>Vincentius, a Sardican Bishop</i>	263
<i>Tobias, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	78	<i>Vincentius, the Macedonian</i>	487
<i>Trajan's Persecution</i>	73	<i>Vitalian, the General</i>	631
<i>Trajan, one of Valens's Generals</i>	415, 438	<i>Vitalis of Antioch</i>	198, 446
<i>Tribigild</i>	516	<i>— turns Apollinarist</i>	427
<i>Troilus</i>	562	<i>Vitianus</i>	570
<i>Triphyllus of Nicosia</i>	209	<i>Vito</i>	213
<i>Tyrannio, Bishop of Tyre and Martyr</i>	143	<i>Ulfila</i>	301
<i>Tyrannus, Bishop of Antioch</i>	126	<i>Ulpian, the Martyr</i>	134
V		<i>Uranus of Tyre</i>	279, 296, 299
<i>Valens, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	94	<i>Urban, Bishop of Rome</i>	105, 111
<i>Valens, the Martyr</i>	137, 138	<i>Urbanus, the Confessor, sometime a Novatian</i>	115
<i>Valens of Mursa</i>	230, 235, 237, 251, 259, 262, 273, 274, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 291, 307	<i>Urbanus, the Prefect</i>	132, 135
<i>Valens</i>	343, 370, 372	<i>Urbanus, one of the Youths that suffered with Babylas</i>	353
<i>— his Cruelty to the Catholics</i>	385, 395, 418	<i>Ursacius of Singiduum</i>	230, 235, 237, 251, 259, 262, 274, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 291, 307
<i>— his Death</i>	439	<i>Ursacians</i>	292, 293
<i>Valentina, the Martyr</i>	135	<i>Ursinus</i>	429
<i>Valentine of Emesa, and another of Tittle</i>	414, 415	<i>Usthanes</i>	122
<i>Valentinian, afterwards Emperor</i>	343, 379, 465, 466	X	
<i>— his Character</i>	369	<i>Xenaias, Bishop of Hierapolis</i>	627
<i>— his Death</i>	431	<i>Xystus, Bishop of Rome</i>	78, 118, 120, 124
<i>Valentinian, Valens's Son, his Death</i>	425	Z	
<i>Valentinian, the Younger</i>	463, 465	<i>Zabdas, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	127
<i>Valentinian, the Third</i>	577	<i>Zacharias, Prior of the Monastery in Gerar</i>	590
<i>— Married to Eudoxia, Theodosius's Daughter</i>	588	<i>Zacharias, the Ascetick</i>	414
<i>— Murdered</i>	607	<i>Zachary, the Prophet, his Body found</i>	590
<i>Valentinians</i>	242	<i>Zaccheus, the Martyr</i>	132
<i>Valentinus, the Heretick</i>	80	<i>Zaccheus, Bishop of Jerusalem</i>	78
<i>Valerian, the Emperor</i>	118, 119, 120	<i>Zebennus, Bishop of Eleutheropolis</i>	502
<i>Valerius Gratus</i>	52	<i>Zebinas, the Martyr</i>	136
<i>Vararanes, King of Persia</i>	558, 566	<i>Zebinus, Bishop of Antioch</i>	105, 111

Q q q

Z z z

The INDEX.

	Page		Page
Zeno, the Martyr	114	— dies	625
Another Zeno, the Martyr	333	Zenobius, Presbyter and Martyr	143
Zeno, the Confessor	ibid.	Another Zenobius, Ephraim Syrus's Scho-	
Zeno, the Ascetick	416	lar	321
Zeno, Bishop of Majuma	501	Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome	99
Zeno usurps a Share of the Empire	614	Zenigmatius, the Ascetick	415
— flies into <i>Isauria</i>	ibid.	Zocomus, the Sarazen Phylarch	437
— recovers the Empire	617	Zosimus, Bishop of Rome	561
— publishes an Edict of Union	619	Zoticus, Bishop of Camana	95

F I N I S.



ERRATA.

PAGE 66 line 22. read Apostles. p. 80.
 l. 7. r. Thebuthis. p. 110. l. 18. r.
 second. p. 113. l. 1. r. where a Band. p.
 125. l. 14. r. stil'd. p. 141. l. 15. r. Thmu-
 is. p. 165. l. 23. r. Recluse. p. 174. l. 18.
 v. the Christian. p. 191. l. 2. r. effected.
Ibid. l. 4. 6. & alib. r. Melitius and Meli-
 zians. p. 198. l. 19. r. T. L. 1. c. 3. 7.
 p. 199. l. 21. r. very God, begotten. p. 201.
 l. antepenult. r. ἀνεγεία γεννηθῆναι. p. 202.
 l. 35. 36. r. ἀγενήτως. p. 205. l. 17. r. of.
 p. 207. l. 30. r. γάμος. p. 217. l. ult. r.
 Sulpitius. p. 228. l. 11. r. Eusebius's ab-
 solutely. p. 239. l. 17. r. Arians. p. 240.
 l. 26. r. Macarius. p. 258. l. 25. r. Council.
Ibid. l. ult. for μὴν r. μὲν. p. 264. l. 34 for till
 v. ill. p. 266. l. 9 r. communicate. p. 294.
 l. 34. p. 309. l. 39. p. 319. l. antepenult.
 p. 480. l. 4. r. C. P. p. 297. l. 31. r. Pre-
 tence. p. 298. l. 10. r. Leonas. p. 300. l.
 23. r. assisted. p. 305. l. 18. r. where. p.
 307. l. 13. r. Basil. p. 316. l. 32. r. Taben-
 nefians. p. 326. l. 33. r. Nicomedia. p.
 327. l. penult. r. Counsels. p. 328. l. 35. r.
 very. p. 334. l. 22. r. Counsel. p. 343. l.
 penult. r. vastare. p. 346. l. 3. r. teasing.
 p. 347. l. 17. for †† r. †. *Ibid.* l. 29. for §. r.
 †† p. 348. l. antepenult. r. ἀντιπροσέει. p.
 377. l. penult. & ut for p. 214, 215. of the
 former Vol. r. p. 306. p. 401. l. ult. for

Part I. Page 51. r. p. 211. p. 402. l. 25.
 for in the former Vol. (p. 232.) r. p. 316. p.
 405. l. 11. r. heal. p. 419. l. 21. for former
 Volume. r. the former Part of this Historian.
Ibid. l. 31. for in the first Part, p. 238. r. p.
 320. p. 425. l. ult. for p. 103, 124. r. p.
 107, 120. p. 427. l. 19. r. Crucifixion. p.
 428. l. 13. r. Uninitiated. p. 433. l. 19.
 for in the former Vol. r. before. *Ibid.* l. 21.
 for p. 205. r. p. 301. p. 435. l. 30. r. Ma-
 via. p. 436. l. 22. r. in the Faith. p. 446.
 l. 14. for which had the care of these. r.
 which he had the care of. p. 466. l. 17. r.
 Andragathius. p. 473. l. 5. r. Apamea. p.
 487. l. antepenult. r. the custody. p. 502. l.
 31. r. UEL. p. 522. l. 14. after on r. with.
 p. 524. l. antepenult. for to r. so. p. 546. l.
 24. r. unprecedented. p. 548. l. 31. r. Sy-
 ria. p. 566. l. 32. r. Inhumanity. p. 572.
 l. 11. r. requested. p. 576. l. 29. r. Secre-
 taries. p. 583. l. 1. r. Sacrilegious. p. 584.
 l. 21. after erecting r. Monuments. p. 610.
 l. 28. after Council. r. was. p. 629. l. 8. r.
 in it. p. 638. l. 7. r. well. p. 641. l. 27. af-
 ter once r. more. *Ibid.* l. 31. after Whereas
 r. the. p. 649. l. 24. for Opportunity r. Op-
 position.

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